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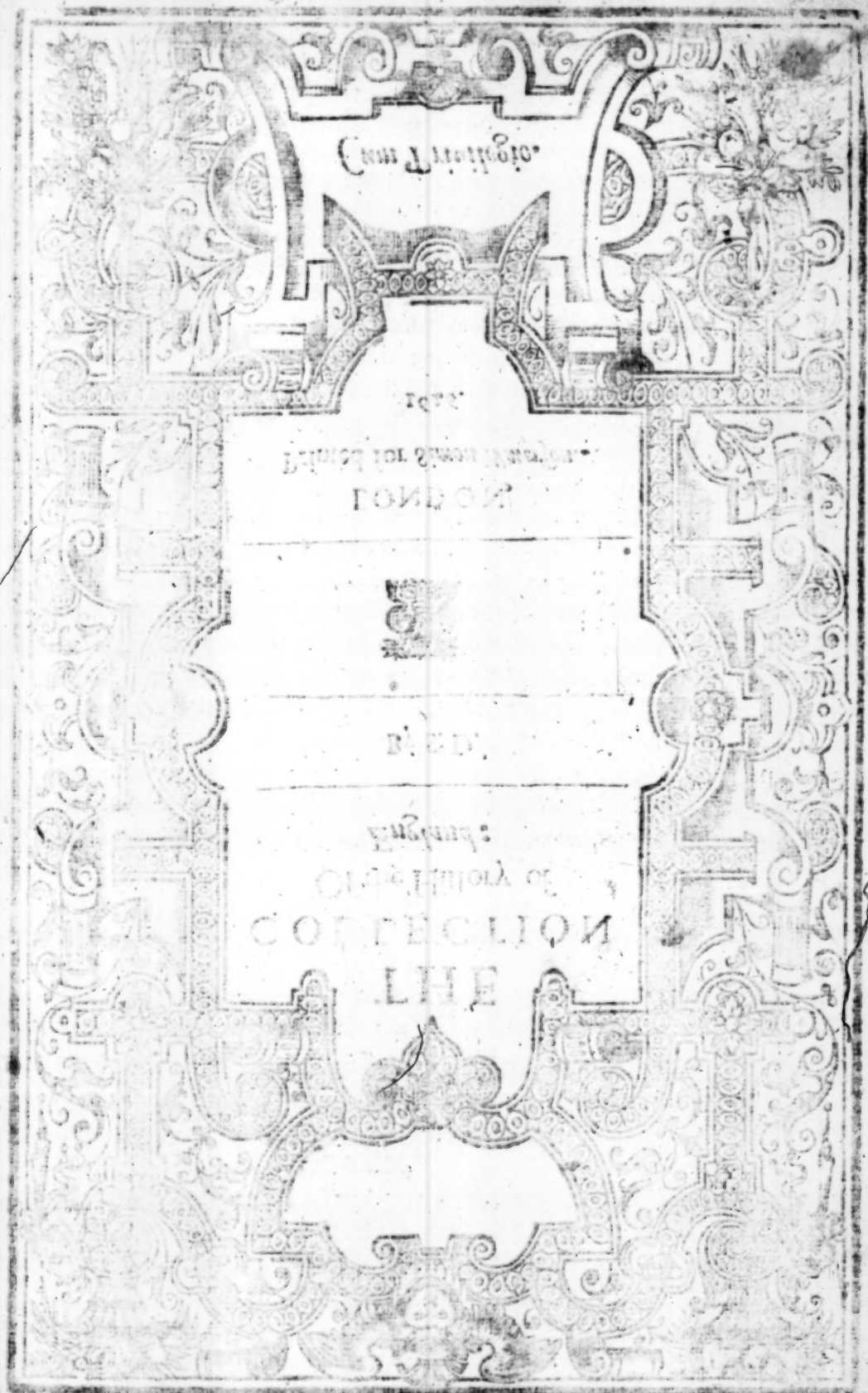
THE COLLECTION Of the Hiſtory of *England:*

By S. D.



LONDON,
Printed for *Simon Waterſon.*
1626.

Cum Priuilegio.



TO THE MAIESTY OF ANNE OF DENMARKE, QVEENE OF England, Scotland, France and Ireland.

Wife of Iames, I^st & Mother of Cha. I^st

QVeenes, the Mothers of our Kings, by whom is continued the Bleſsing of ſucceſſion that preſerues the Kingdome, hauing their parts running in the times wherin they liue, are likewiſe intereſſed in the Hiſtories thereof, which contayne their memories and all that is left of them, when they haue left to be in this world. And therefore to you, great Queene of *England* (and the greater by your loue to the Nation, and the bleſſing you haue brought foorth for the continuation of the future good thereof) doe I your humbleſt ſeruant addreſſe this peece of our Hiſtory; which, as it is a worke of mine, appertaynes of right to your Maieſty, being for the moſt part done vnder your Roofe, during my attendance vpon your Sacred Perſon; and if euer it ſhall come to be an entire worke, and merit any acceptation in the world, it muſt remaine among the memorials of you, and your time, as brought

foorth vnder the ſplendor of your goodneſſe. How-ſoeuer, this which is done ſhall yet ſhewe how de-ſirous I haue beene to lay out my time and in-duſtry, as farre as my ability would extend, to doe your Maieſty and my Country ſeruice in this kind.

And though at high Altars, none but high Prieſts ought to ſacrifize, yet vouchſafe mighty Queene, to accept this poore oblation from the hand of your Ma-ieſties

Humbleſt ſeruant

Samuel Danyel.

Certayne

Certaine Aduertisements to the Reader.

THis Peece of our History, which heere I divulge not, but impart priuately to such Worthy Persons as haue fauoured my indeauors herein, should long since haue beene much more: And come abroad with Dedication, Preface, and all the Complements of a Booke, had my Health and Meanes beene answerable to my desire: But beeing otherwise, I must intreate my Friends, to be content to be payde by peeces, as I may, and accept my willingnesse to yeede as much as mine ability can performe. It is more then the Worke of one man (were he of neuer so strong Forces) to compose a passable Contexture of the whole History of England. For, though the inquiſon of Antient times, written by others, be prepared, yet the Collection and Disposition I find most Laborious: And I know, quam sit magnum dare aliquid in manus hominum, Especially in this kind, wherein more is expected then hath beene deliuered before. Curiosity will not be content with Ordinaries. For mine owne part I am so greedy of doing well, as nothing suffices the appetite of my care herein. I had rather be Maister of a small peece handsomely contriued, then of vaste roomes ill proportioned and vnfurnished, and I know many others are of my mind.

Now for what I haue done, which is the greatest part of our History (and wherein, I dare auow, is more together of the maine, then hath beene yet contracted into one peece) I am to render an Account whence I had my Furniture: Which if I haue omitted to Charge my Margin withall, I would haue the Reader to know, that in the Liues of William the First, William the Second, Henry the First, and

Stephen; *I haue especially followed* William Malmsbury, Ingulphus, Roger Houveden, Huntingdon, *with all such Collections, as haue beene made out of Others for those times. In the Liues of* Henry *the Second*, Richard *the First*, Iohn *and* Henry *the Third*: Giraldus Cambrensis, Rushanger, Mat. Paris, Mat. Westminst. Nich. Triuet, Caxton, *and others. In the Liues of* Edward *the First*, Edward *the Second and Third:* Froissart *and* Walsingham, *with such Collections as by* Polydore Virgile, Fabian, Grafton, Hall, Holingshead, Stow *and* Speed, *diligent and Famous Trauailors in the search of our History, haue beene made and diuulged to the world. For forraine businesses (especially with* France, *where we had most to doe) I haue for Authors,* Paulus AEmilius, Haillan, Tillet, *and others, without whom we cannot truly vnderstand our owne Affayres. And where otherwise I haue had any supplies extraordinary, eyther out of Record or such Instruments of State, as I could procure, I haue giuen a true account of them in the Margin. So that the Reader shall be sure to be payd with no counterfeit Coyne, but such as shal haue the Stampe of Antiquity, the approbation of Testimony, and the allowance of Authority, so farre as I shall proceed herein.*

And for that I would haue this Breuiary to passe with an vninterrupted deliuery of the especiall Affaires of the Kingdome (without imbroyling the memory of the Reader) I haue in a body apart, vnder the Title of an Appendix, *Collected all Treaties, Letters, Articles, Charters, Ordinances, Intertaynments, prouisions of Armies, businesses of Commerce, with other passages of State appertayning to our History; which assoone as I haue meanes to Print, shall, for the better satisfying of such Worthy persons as may make vse of such Materials, accompany this Collection, and to this* Appendix, *I haue made references in the Margin as occasion requires.*

For the Worke it selfe, I can Challenge nothing therein but onely the sowing it together, and the obseruation of those necessary circumstances, and inferences which the History naturally ministers: Desirous to deliuer things done, in as euen, and quiet an Order, as such an heape will permit, without quarrelling with the Beleefe *of Antiquity, deprauing the Actions of other Nations to aduance our owne, or keeping backe those Reasons of State they had, for what they did in those times: holding it fittest and best agreeing with Integrity (the chiefest duty of a Writer) to leaue things to their owne Fame, and the Censure thereof*

to

to the Reader, as being his part rather then mine, who am onely to recite things done, not to rule them.

Now for the errors herin committed, either by mine owne miſtakings or the Printers ouer-ſight, I muſt craue Pardon of courſe; it is a Fate Common to Bookes and Booke-men, and wee cannot auoyde it: For beſides our owne faylings, we muſt heere take vp many things vpon other mens credits, which often comes imperfect to our hands: As the ſummes of Monies, numbers of Souldiers, Shippes, the ſlayne in Battaile, Computation of Times, differences of Names and Titles, &c. Wherein our Authors agree not. And it were to be wiſhed that we had more aſſured notes of theſe particulars then we haue, eſpecially for ſummes of Monies (in regard it ſerues much for inſtruction) wherein I doubt many of our Collectors haue bin but ill Accountants, reckoning Markes for Pounds, and Pounds for Markes. The Computation of Times is not of ſo great moment, figures are eaſily miſtaken; the 10. of Iuly, and the 6. of Auguſt, with a yeare ouer or vnder, makes not a man the wiſer in the buſineſſe then done, which is onely that hee deſires. But theſe things being but of the By, the vnderſtanding Reader will not much care to ſet at them, and therefore I referre him to the Mayne of more important conſideration.

TO THE READER.

THE COLLECTION OF THE HISTORIE OF ENGLAND: CONTAINING BRIEFLY THE EPECIALL AFFAIRES OF THE GOVERNMENT: COMPILED

By SAMVEL DANIEL, one of the Groomes of the Queenes Maiesties most Honourable *Priuie Chamber.*

VNdertaking to Collect the principall affaires of this Kingdome, I had a desire to haue deduced the same from the beginning of the first Brittish Kings, as they are registred in their Catalogue; but finding no authenticall warrant how they came there, I did put off that desire with these considerations: That a lesser part of time, and better knowne (which was from *William* the first, surnamed the *Bastard*) was more then enough for my ability: and how it was but our curiosity to search further backe into times past then we might well discerne, and whereof, we could neyther haue proofe, nor profit: How the beginnings of all people and States were as vncertaine, as the heads of great Riuers; and could not adde to our vertue, and peraduenture little to our reputation to know them. Considering, how commonly they rise from the springs of pouerty, pyracie, robbery and violence. howsoeuer fabulous Writers (to glorifie their nations) striue to abuse the credulity of after ages with heroycall, or miraculous beginnings. For States (as men) are euer best seene, when they are vp, and as they are, not as they were. Besides (it seemes) God in his Prouidence to checke our presumptuous inquisition, wraps vp all things in vncertainty, barres vs out from long antiquity, and bounds our searches within the compasse of a few ages, as if the same were sufficient, both for example, and instruction to the gouernment of men. For had we the particular occurrents of all ages, and all nations, it might more stuff, but not better our vnderstanding. We shall finde still the same correspondencies to hold in the actions of men: Vertues, and Vices the same, though rising and falling, according to the worth or weakenesse of Gouernors: the causes of the ruines, and mutations of States to be alike; and the trayne of affayres carried by precedent, in a course of Succession, vnder like colours.

But yet, for that the chaine of this collection hath a linke of dependency with thoſe former times, we ſhall ſhew the paſſage of things the better: if we take but a ſuperficiall view of that wide, and vncertainly-related ſtate of this Land, ſince the candle of letters gaue vs ſome little light thereof. Which was, ſince the *Romans* made it a tributary Prouince to their Empire. For before, as it lay ſecluded out of the way, ſo it ſeemed out of the knowledge of the world. For *Iulius Cæſar*, being but on the other ſide in *Gaul*, could not attaine to any particular information of the ſtate of *Brittaine*, by any meanes he could vſe, but by certaine Merchants (of whom he got together as many as he could) who told him ſomething of the coaſt-townes, but of the ſtate, and condition of the in-dwellers, they could ſay nothing: either ſo incurious were they of further knowledg then what concerned their trade, or the people heere ſo wary to keepe their ſtate reſerued and vnknowne to ſtrangers. And yet *Cæſar* gaue out, that they ſub-ayded the *Gaules* againſt him, and made it the occaſion of his quarrell, and inuaſion of the Land, whereof he onely ſubdued the South parts, and rather ſhewed it, then won it to the *Roman* Empire.

Of the forme of Gouernment among the *Brittaines*.

But now, what was the ſtate, and forme of gouernment among the *Brittaines*, before this ſubiection, the firſt certaine notice we haue (is alſo by the ſame *Cæſar*) who tells vs how they were diuided into many ſeuerall ſtates: nominates ſower Princes of *Kent* by the title of Kings: how *Caſſeuellaunus*, by the Common Councell was elected, in this their publique danger, to haue the principall adminiſtration of the State, with the buſineſſe of warre: and afterward, how the Cities ſent their hoſtages vnto him. Whereby wee perceiue it was no Monarchy, as it is reported to haue beene, but like to the *Gaules*, with whom it was then one in religion (and much alike in faſhion and language) deuided into a multitude of petty regiments, without any entire rule or combination. As now, wee ſee all the weſt world (lately diſcouered) to bee, and generally all other countries are in their firſt, and naturall free nakednes, before they come to bee taken in; either by ſome predominant power from abroad, or grow to head within themſelues, of ſtrength, and vnderſtanding to ouer-maiſter, and diſpoſe of all about them; introducing ſuch formes of rule, as ambition, or their other neceſſities ſhall beget. And ſuch was then the ſtate of *Brittaine*, *Gaule*, *Spaine*, *Germany*, and all the weſt parts of *Europe*, before the *Romans* (ouer-growing firſt the people of *Italy* in like manner diuided) did by ſtrength, and cunning, vnlocke thoſe liberties of theirs. And ſuch as were then tearmed Kings, were but as their Generalls in warre, without any other great iuriſdiction, within thoſe ſmall limits they held. So that to tell vs of the ſtate of a Monarchie in this Land before that time (as if alone vnlike, or more in State then all other nations) is to giue entertainement to thoſe narrow conceits, as apprehend not the progreſſes in the affaires of mankinde; and onely the inuention of ſuch, as take all their reaſon, from the example, and *Idea* of the preſent Cuſtomes they ſee in vſe. For had there beene an abſolute Monarch in theſe parts, which might haue affronted the *Romans* with the power of a well-vnited ſtate, it had beene impoſſible for them (hauing oftentimes much to do, euen with ſome poore Prince of a ſmall territory) to haue circumuented, or confounded (with all their ſtratagems, and iniuſtice) the peace, and liberty of the world in ſuch ſort as they did. And though the *Brittaines* were then ſimple, and had not the fire-brand of letters, yet ſeemed they more iuſt, and honeſt, and brought forth on the ſtage of action men as magnanimous (and touched with as true a ſence of honour, and worthineſſe) as themſelues.

Complures ſunt apud eos dominationes. Strabo *lib.* 4.

But hauing no firme combinements to chayne them together in their publique dangers, they lay looſe to the aduantage of the common enemy; working vpon the factions, and emulations, vſuall to ſuch diuiſions, and were made the inſtruments of their owne ſubiection: for whileſt euery one defended them apart, the whole was ouercome.

So that with what credit, the accompt of aboue a thouſand yeares from *Brute* to *Caſſeuellaunus* (in a line of abſolute Kings) can be cleared, I doe not ſee; and therefore will leaue it on the booke to ſuch as will bee creditors, according to the ſubſtance of their vnderſtanding. And yet, let me craue pardon, leaſt being but to report, I might ſeeme

ſeeme to contend, if I make this inquirie: how the memorie of thoſe former times, came to be preſerued and deliuered to poſteritie, if they had not the vſe of letters in this Land (as it ſeemes by all probability they had not) before they were introduced by the *Romans*; who (ſure would haue giuen vs notice thereof) had they found them here at their comming, and eſpecially of ſchooles and the Greeke tongue, reported to haue beene planted here for many ages before: but they tell vs of no ſuch thing: they informe vs how the *Druydes*, who were the miniſters of Religion and Iuſtice, the eſpeciall men of knowledge) committed not their myſteries to writing, but deliuered them by tradition, whereby the memorie of them after their ſuppreſſion (firſt by *Auguſtus*, and after by *Claudius*) came wholly to periſh with them. Which, had they had letters and bookes, could neuer by all the power and authoritie of the *Roman* State, beene ſo vtterly extinct, but that we ſhould haue heard ſomething more of them.

Beſides it is ſtrange how the Greeke tongue, and the knowledge of Philoſophie, ſhould be brought hither ſo farre off, and ſo ſoone; ſeeing it was late (as *Liuy* ſaith) before it came into *Italie*, being ſo neere at hand. Moreouer, it is conſiderable, how it made that tranſmigration, whether by Sea or Land? By Sea, *Hercules* had ſet Pillars that ſhut vp the world many ages after, for paſſing that way. If by Land *Germany*, and other Countries on that ſide, would haue taken ſome part in the paſſing: but *Germany* then, we finde had no letters at all; only *Merſeilles*, a *Colonie* of the Greekes being in the midway, might be a gate, to let it into *Gaule*, and ſo hither: but they ſay the *Merſeillans* vſed onely Greeke Characters at firſt, but for their priuate accompts and contracts in traffique, and no otherwiſe. So that it ſeemes then, the *Brittaines* receiued firſt letters (with their ſubiection) from the *Romanes*, and *Agricola*, Præfect of the Prouince vnder *Domitian*, cauſed them heere to be taught, (as *Cornelius Tacitus*, his ſonne in law) reports vpon this occaſion. *Aduice was taken*, ſayth he, *that the people diſperſed, rude and "ſo apt to rebellion, ſhould bee inured to eaſe and quiet by their pleaſures: and therefore they "exhorted priuatly, and ayded them publikely to the building of Temples, Bources, Pallaces: "commending whom they found forward, and correcting the vnwilling, ſo that the emulation "of honor was for neceſſity: then they cauſed the principall mens ſons to be taught the liberall "Sciences, extolling their wits for learning, aboue the* Gaules, *in ſo much as they who lately "ſcorned the* Roman *tong, now deſired eloquence. Herevpon grew our habits in honor, the "Gowne frequent, and by degrees, a generall collapſion into thoſe ſoftnings of vices, faire "houſes, bathes, and delicate banquets, and that, by the ignorant, was termed humanity, when "when it was a part of ſeruitude.* Thus farre he acquaints vs with the introduction, and cauſe of the *Romane* learning in this Land. Which (had it had the *Greeke* tong, ſo many hundred yeares before) would haue beene as forward in the liberall Sciences, as the *Romanes*, and not needed this emollition by learning. Philoſophy would haue prepared them to a ſufferance of ſubiection, that they could not haue beene ſo vniuerſally rude, and barbarous as they are reported to haue beene. So that I feare me, of all that lies beyond this time, we can haue no other intelligence, but by tradition. Which how we may credit for ſo long paſt (when letters, for all the aſſurance they can make, breake faith with vs in the information of things euen preſent) let it be iudged.

And now for the time ſince, (which ſeemes to be all that amounts to our knowledge of the State of *Brittaine*) we finde it, during the Domination of the *Romans*, gouerned by their Præfects: and if they had Kings of the Brittiſh Nation, they were tributary, and had their whole authority depending on that Empire; which, as the ſame *Tacitus* ſaith, made it now their cuſtome to haue Kings the inſtruments of ſeruitude: ſpeaking of *Cogidunus* to whom *Claudius* gaue certain Cities in *Brittaine*, with title of King. For now after *Cæſar* had opened the paſſage, and made tributary ſo much as he ſubduced, the reſt could not long hold out, againſt that all-incompaſſing State of *Rome*: although during the time of their ciuill warres, and change of gouernment, from a Republique to a Monarchie, this Country lay neglected, the ſpace of twenty yeares: yet, after *Auguſtus* had ſetled the ſoueraignty, and poſſeſt all the wide obedience of that Empire, the Princes and Cities of *Brittaine* (fearing to be enforced) came in of their own accord, with their gifts and tributes, and the rather; for that as yet, they had found no other weight of

Cic. in Ep. ad Atticum, vbi Belli Britannici exitum expectari ſcribit, nullus ex ea ſpem praeda, niſi ex mancipijs, ait, ex quibus nullos puto te, literis, aut muſicis eruditos expectare. Et lib. de Nat. Deorum, paris eos cum Scithis barbarie inſimulat.

Ingenio Galli partim ſimiles ſunt, partim ſimpliciores, & magis barbari, Strabo lib. 4.

And it was after the ſubiection of *Gaule* that they intertayned Philoſophers, and Phiſitions for publique Readings, and became a Schoole for thoſe parts as we may perceiue by *Strabo libro 2.*

Noſtra aetate, inquit Strabo, *lib. 4. Regulorū quidem Britannicorum, legationibus & officijs amicitiam Aug. ſui Cæſ. conſecuti, donaria in Capitolio dedicarunt: familiaremq;* Ro-

man is *totam penè insulam redegerunt.* And at that time it seemes by *Strabo*, held it not worth the garding for that it would not quit the charge.

subiection, then a tollerable tribute, which, it seemed, they were content to endure with the rest of their neighbours. But after *Augustus* time, when the corruptions of that State, had bred miserable inflamations, in all parts of the world, the *Brittanes*, what with their owne factions, and those of their *Roman* commanders, remained in an vncertaine obedience, till the time of *Claudius* the Emperour, who hauing much of the fume of glory, and little fire to raise it otherwhere: casts an especial eye on this Prouince, to make it the pompous matter of his triumph. And, to prepare the way, without aduenture of himselfe, fore-sends *Publius Ostorius Scapula*, a great warrier, *Pro-prator* into *Brittaine*, where he met with many turbulencies, and a people hardly to be driuen, howsoeuer they might be led: yet as one who well knew his maister; and how the first euents are those which incusse a daughtingnesse, or daring, imployd all meanes to make his expeditions sudaine, and his executions cruel. Notwithstanding did *Caradocus* (one of the Brittish Kings) hold these great *Romans* worke for nine yeares together, and could not bee surprised, till betrayed by his owne Nation, he was diliuered into their hands, and brought to *Rome* captiue, with his wife and children, to be the subiect of their triumph: whereof notwithstanding the glory was his.

But *Claudius* had the honour of taking in the whole Isle of *Brittaine*, to the *Romane* Empire, which though thus wone, was not, till a long time after, ouercome. For now the *Brittaines* (vnderstanding the misery of their dissociation: how their submission brought but the more oppression) colleague themselues against the *Romanes*, taking their occasion vpon the outrages, committed on the person, and State of Queene *Voadicia*, widdow of *Prasutagus* King of the *Icens*, a great, and rich Prince who (at his death) had left *Nero* his heire, and two daughters, hoping thereby to free his house from iniury: but it fell out contrary, for no sooner was he dead, but his kingdom was spoyled by the *Centurions*, his house ransack't by slaues, his wife beaten, and his daughters rauished. Besides, the chiefe men of the *Icens* (as if all the religion had beene giuen in prey) were rest of their goods, and the Kings kinsmen esteemed as captiues: with which contumely, and feare of greater mischiefe, they conspire with the *Trinobantes* and others (not yet inured to seruitude (to resume their liberty. And first set vpon the Garrisons of the *Veteran* souldiers (whom they most hated) defeited the ninth legion, whereof they slew all the foote, forced *Cerialis* the Legat, and leader to flight, and put to the sword seauenty thousand *Romans* and associats, inhabiting their municipal Townes, *London*, *Virolame*, (*amolodunum*; before *Suetonius* Gouernour of the Prouince could assemble the rest of the dispersed forces, to make head against their Army (consisting of 12000 *Brittanes*) conducted by *Voadicia*, who (with her two daughters, brought into the field to mooue compassion and reuenge) incites them to that noble, and manely worke of liberty: which to recouer, she protests to hold her selfe there but as one of the vulgar (without weighing her great honour and birth) resolued either to winne or die. Many of their wiues were likewise there, to be spectators and incouragers of their husbands valour; but in the end *Suetonius* got the victory with the slaughter of foure score thousand *Brittanes*, whereupon *Voadicia* poysons her selfe, and the miserable Countrie with their heauie losse, had also more weights layde vpon their seruitude. And yet after this made they many other defections, and brauely strugled with the *Romans*, vppon all aduantages they could apprehend, but the continuall supplies, euer ready from all parts of that mighty Empire, were such, as the *Brittaines* (hauing no meanes, but their owne swords, in an vncomposed State, layde all open to inuasion) spent their bloud in vaine. And in the end, growing base with their fortune (as losing their vertue with their liberty) became vtterly quailed, and miserably held downe to subiection, by the powerfull hand of foureteene Garrisons, disposed in seuerall limmits of the Land, with their companies, consisting of sundry strange nations, computated in all to bee 52. thousand foote, and 300. horse; besides 37. companies containing 23. thousand foote, and 1300. horse; which continually guarded the North parts, where that which is now *Scotland*, and obeyed not the *Romaine* Empire, was excluded from the rest with a wall or trench, first rayed by *Agricola*, after re-edified by *Adrian*, *Seuerus* and others.

Camolodunum, now *Maldon*.

Denoticia vtr. Imper. Panciroul.

And

And in this ſort continued the ſtate of *Britaine* whilſt the *Romans* held it; enduring all the calamities that a deiected nation could doe vnder the domination of ſtrangers proude, greedy, and cruell: Who not onely content by all tyrannicall meanes to extort their ſubſtance, but alſo conſtrained their bodies to ſerue vnder their enſignes, when or whereſoeuer their quarrellous ambition would expoſe them. And beſides, they being at the will of their rulers in their obedience, they were forced to follow them alſo in their rebellions. For after the election of the Emperours grew to bee commonly made by the Armies many prſſeſſing thoſe mightie *Roman* forces here, were proclaimed *Caſars*, and put for the whole Empire. As firſt *Carauſius*, and after him *Alectus*, whom *Conſtantius* (the aſſociate of *Maximianus* in the Empire) at his firſt comming into *Britaine*, by *Aſclepiodorus* the Prætorian Præfect vanquiſhed, with all ſuch as tooke part with him. After that, the *Caledonians*, and *Picts* from the North parts made irruptions into the State, and much afflicted the *Britaines*, whom to repreſſe, *Conſtantius* (then ſole Emperour of the Weſt) came the ſecond time into this Land; and in an expedition made againſt them died at *Yorke*, whither his ſonne *Conſtantine* (a little before his death) repaired out of *Illyria*, eſcaping a traine laid for him by *Galerius* Emperour of the Eaſt, with whom hee was in the warres againſt the *Sarmatians*, when his father came firſt into *Britain* againſt *Alectus*. And here was he now firſt ſaluted Emperour, for which it ſeemes he much eſteemed the Country, as that which gaue birth to his dignity. And reordering the gouernment thereof (for a future ſecurity) deuides it into fiue Prouinces to be ruled by one Vice-gerent, fiue Rectors, two Conſulars, and three Preſidents. After whoſe time wee haue no certaine nor apparant marke to direct vs which way the State went, till the reigne of *Valentinian* the elder, who ſends *Theodoſius* (the father of him who was after Emperour of that name) into *Brittaine* againſt the irruption of the *Picts*, *Attacotti*, *Scoti*, *Saxones & Franci*, which of all ſides inuaded and ſpoiled the Country: and after *Theodoſius* had by the forces of the *Battani*, and *Heruli* cleered it, *Ciuilis* was ſent to gouerne the Prouince, and *Dulcitius* the Army: men of faire names for good offices.

The miſery of the *Brittaines* vnder the *Romans*.

De Notitia vtriuſq; Imper.

In theſe warres with *Theodoſius* was one *Maximus*, a man borne in *Spaine*, but of *Roman* education, who after, in the time of the yonger *Valentinian*, hauing the charge of the Army, was here proclaimed *Caſar*, and to ſubuert the preſent Emperour, tranſports the whole power of *Brittaine:* and firſt in his way ſubdues *Gaule*, and there furniſhes euery place of defence with *Britiſh* ſouldiers: and they ſay, peopled the whole Countrey of *Armorica* (now called *Brittaine* in *France*) with the ſame nation: which yet retaines their language, in ſome kinde to this day. And hauing ſpred one Arme to *Spaine*, the other to *Germany*, imbraced ſo great a part of the Empire, as he draue *Valentinian* to ſeeke ayde of *Theodoſius* Emperour of the Eaſt, after the vanquiſhment and death of his brother *Gratianus* at *Lyons*. And by this immoderate vent, both of the Garriſons, and the ableſt people of the Land hee diſ-furniſht and left it in that impotencie, as it neuer recouered like power againe. All thoſe great forces hee tooke with him, either were left in *Gaule*, or periſhed with him at *Aquileia*, where hee was ouerthrowne by *Valentinian*.

The people of *Brittaine* conſumed in the factions of the Emperours.

And yet againe in the time of *Honorius* the Emperour, the Colony of the *Veteran* ſouldiers fearing the inuaſion of the *Vandales*, made another defection, and tumultuarilie proclaimed Emperour one *Marcus*, whom ſhortly after they ſlue; then *Gratianus*, who likewiſe within foure monthes being murthered, they gaue the title to one *Conſtantine*, not ſo much for his merite, as the omination of his name. This *Conſtantine* taking the ſame courſe that *Maximus* did, whatſoeuer ſtrength was left, or lately in any ſort recouered, he emptyed it wholy, and made himſelfe of that power, as hee ſubdued many of the Weſterne Prouinces, gaue his ſonne *Conſtans* (a Monke) the title of *Auguſtus*, and after many fortunes, and incounters with the forces of *Honorius*, became vanquiſhed, and executed at *Arles*. Where alſo periſhed the whole power hee brought out of *Britain*. And ſo the State (hauing all the beſt ſtrength exhauſted, and none, or ſmall ſupplies from the *Romans*) lay open to the rapine, and ſpoyle of their Northerne enemies: who taking the aduantage of this diſ-furniſhment, neuer left til they

they had reduced them to extreme miſeries: which forced them to implore the aide of *Aetius*, Præfect of *Gaule* vnder *Valentinian* 3. and that in ſo lamentable manner (their Embaſſadors in torne garments, with ſand on their heads, to ſtirre compaſſion) as *Aetius* was moued to ſend forces to ſuccour them, and cauſed a wall to be raiſed vpon the trench (formerly made by *Adrian* from Sea to Sea) of eight foote thicke, and twelue high, inter-ſet with Bulwarkes, which the *Roman* ſouldiers, and an infinite number of *Brittains* (fitter for that worke then warre) with great labour effected. And ſo *Aetius* left them againe once more freed, and defended from their enemies: aduiſing them from thenceforth to inure and employ their owne forces without any more expectation of ſuccour from the *Romans*, who (ouerwrought with other buſineſſe) could not attend affaires that lay ſo farre off. No ſooner had the enemy intelligence of the departure of theſe ſuccours, but on they came (notwithſtanding this fortification) battered downe the wall, ouerthrew the defenders, and harrowed the Country worſe then before. Whereupon, againe this miſerable people ſend to *Aetius*, vſing theſe words: *To Aetius thrice Conſuli, the ſighes of the Brittaines*, and after thus complaine: *The barbarous enemy beates vs to the Sea, the Sea beates vs backe to the enemy: betweene theſe two kinds of deaths, we are either murdered, or drowned.* But their implorations preuailed not, for *Aetius* at that time had enough to do to keepe his owne head, and *Valentinian* the Empire: which now endured the laſt conuulſions of a dying State; hauing all the parts, and Prouinces thereof miſerably rent, and torne with the violences of ſtrange nations. So that this was alſo in the fate of *Brittaine* to be firſt made knowne to periſh by, and with the *Roman* State: Which neuer ſuffering the people of this Land to haue any vſe, or knowledge of Armes within their owne Countrey, left them (vpon their owne diſſolution) naked, and expoſed to all that would aſſaile them.

The end of the *Romaines* gouernment in *Brittaine*.

And ſo ended the *Roman* Gouernment in *Brittaine*, which (from their firſt inuaſion by *Iulius Caſar* to this *Valentinianus* the third) had continued the ſpace of fiue hundred yeares. In all which time we finde but theſe ſeuen *Britiſh* Kings nominated to haue reigned: *Theomantius*, *Cunobelinus*, *Guiderius*, *Aruiragius*, *Marius*, *Coelius*, and laſtly *Lucius*, who is crowned with immortall honour, for planting Chriſtian Religion within this Land. All other from *Lucius* to *Vortigern*, (who ſucceeds this relinquiſhment) were *Roman* gouernours.

Anno 443.

Gildas *de excidio* Britanniæ

This is briefly ſo much of eſpeciall note, as I can collect out of the *Roman* hiſtorie, concerning the State, and gouernment of *Brittain*: finding elſe-where little certaintie, and from henceforth (during their ſhort poſſeſſion of this Land) farre leſſe. Whereof *Gildas* the *Brittain* complaines, laying the cauſe on the barbariſm of their enemies, who had deſtroyed all their monuments, and memorials of times paſt. And though himſelfe wrote, about forty yeeres after the inuaſion of the *Saxons*, and was next theſe times, we come now to remember, yet hath hee left (in his enigmaticall paſſions) ſo ſmall light thereof, as we diſcerne very little thereby. Nor haue the *Brittaines* any honour by that antiquity of his, which ouer-blacks them with ſuch vgly deformities, as we can ſee no part cleere: accuſing them to be *neither ſtrong in peace, nor faithfull in war*: and vniuerſally caſts thoſe aſperſions on their manners, as if he laboured to inueigh, not to informe. And though no doubt there was (as euer is) in theſe periods of States a concurrencie of diſorder, and a generall looſeneſſe of diſpoſition that met with the fulneſſe of time; yet were there no doubt, ſome mixtures of worth, and other notions of that age, wherewith after-times would haue beene much pleaſed to haue had acquaintance. But it ſeemes his zeale and paſſion (in that reſpect) wider then his charity, tooke vp the whole roome of his vnderſtanding, to whom the reuerence of antiquity, and his title of *Sapiens* doth now giue Sanctuary, and we muſt not preſume to touch him.

Anno 450.

Vortigern calls in the *Saxons*.

Such was the State of *Britain* left without Armes, or order; when *Vortigern* (either by vſurpation, or faction) became King, and is ſayd to be the author of the firſt calling in (or imploying, being in) the *Saxons* to make good his owne eſtabliſhment, and the ſafety of his Kingdome againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*.

The *Saxons* at this time poſſeſt the third part of *Germany* holding all the Countrey betweene the Riuers *Rhene*, and *Elue*, bounded on the North by the *Baltique* Sea, and the

the *Ocean*. On the South by *Silua Hircinia*, and deuided by the riuer *Viſurgis* into *Oſtphalia*, and *Weſtphalia*: gouerned by an *Optimacie* of twelue Princes, with an election of a Soueraigne leader for the buſineſſe of warre. This beeing ſo ſpacious, populous, and neere a Country, well furniſht with ſhipping (which the *Brittaines* had not,) yeelded euer plentifull meanes to ſupply the vndertakers of this action (which were firſt two brothers *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*) with all neceſſarie prouiſions vpon euery fit occaſion. After they had been here a while as ſtipendaries, and finding the debility of Prince and people, their number ſoone increaſed. And firſt they had the Iſle of *Thanet* allowed them to inhabite, then the whole Countrie of *Kent* was made ouer to *Hengiſt* by tranſaction, vnder couenant, to defend the Land againſt the *Picts* and *Scots*. And vpon the mariage of *Vortigern* with the Daughter, or Neece of *Hengiſt*, an exceeding beautifull Lady, (brought ouer of purpoſe to worke on the dotage of a diſſolute Prince) larger priuiledges were granted: ſo that by this allyance, and the fertility of the Land, were drawne in ſo many of this populous, and military nation, that *Kent* in ſhort time grew too narrow for them, and *Hengiſt* (to diſtend their power into other parts) aduiſed *Vortigern* to plant a Colony of them in the North beyond *Humber*, to be a continuall guard againſt all inuaſions that way. Which being granted, he ſends for *Otha* his brother, and ſonne *Ebuſa*, with great ſupplies out of *Saxony* to furniſh that deſigne. And ſo came the *Saxons* to haue firſt domination in *Kent*, and *Northumberland*, which contained all the Countrie from *Humber* to *Scotland*.

A deſcription of the State of the *Saxons*.

Hengiſt and *Horſa* the Leaders of the *Saxons*.

Their firſt plantation.

And now became they of ſeruants maiſters, to contemne their entertainours, and commit many inſolencies. Whereupon the *Britiſh* Nobility combine themſelues, depoſe *Vortigern* (the Author of this improuident admiſſion) and elect *Vortimer* his ſonne a Prince of great worth, who (whileſt hee liued, which was not long) gaue them many fierce encounters: but all preuailed not, for the *Saxons* (being poſſeſt of the principall gate of the Land, lying open on their owne Countrie to receiue all ſupplies without reſiſtance) had the aduantage to weare them out of all in the end. And beſides force, they are ſayd to haue vſed treachery (in murthering three hundred of the *Britiſh* Nobility) at an aſſembly of peace at *Ameſbury*, where they tooke their King priſoner, and would not releaſe him, but vpon the grant of three Prouinces more. Alſo the long life of *Hengiſt* (a politique leader) of almoſt forty yeares continuance, made much for the ſetling here of their eſtate; which yet they could not effect, but with much trauaile, and effuſion of blood. For the *Brittaines* (now made martiall by long practiſe and often battels) grew in the end ſo inraged to ſee their Countrie ſurprized from vnder their feet, as they ſolde the inheritance thereof at a very deare rate. Wherein we muſt attribute much to the worthineſſe of their Leaders (whence the ſpirit of a people is raiſed) who in theſe their greateſt actions were, eſpecially *Ambroſius* the laſt of the *Romans*, and *Arthur* the nobleſt of *Brittaines*: A man in force and courage aboue man, and worthie to haue beene a ſubiect of truth to poſterity, and not of fiction (as Legendary writers haue made him:) for whilſt hee ſtood, hee bare vp the ſinking State of his Countrie, and is ſaid to haue encountred the *Saxons* in twelue ſet battailes: wherein he had either victory, or equall reuenge. In the end, himſelfe ouerthrowne by treaſon, the beſt men conſumed in the warres, and the reſt vnable to reſiſt, fled into the mountaines, and remote deſerts of the Weſt parts of the Iſle, and left all to the inuaders, daily growing more, and more vpon them.

Vortigern is depoſed. *Vortimer* elected King of *Brittaine*.

King *Arthur*.

For many principall men of *Saxony* (ſeeing the happy ſucceſſe, and plantation here of *Hengiſt*) entred likewiſe on diuerſe coaſts to get eſtates for themſelues, with ſuch multitudes of people, as the *Brittaines* making head in one place were aſſaulted in another, and euery where ouerwhelmed with new increaſing numbers.

For after *Hengiſt* had obtained the dominion of *Kent* (which from him became to be a kingdome) and *Otha*, and *Ebuſe* poſſeſt of all the North-countries from *Humber* to *Scotland*: *Ella*, and his ſonnes conquered the South-Eaſt parts, and beganne the kingdome of the South *Saxons*, containing *Suſſex*, and part of *Surrey*. Then *Cerdic*, and his ſonnes landed at *Portſmouth*, inuadeth the South, and Weſt parts, and began the kingdome of the Weſt *Saxons*, which after contained the Countries of *Hampſhire*, *Barke-*

The ſeuerall entries made by the *Saxons*.

Barkeſhire, Wiltſhire, Dorcetſhire, Sommerſetſhire, and *Deuonſhire*. And about the ſame time, *Vffa* inuaded the North-Eaſt parts, and began the Kingdome of the Eaſt Angles, containing *Northfolke, Suffolke, Cambridgeſhire*, and the Iſle of *Ely*; *Erkenwin* began the kingdome of the Eaſt *Saxons*, containing *Eſſex, Middleſex*, and a part of *Hartfordſhire*.

Hauing thus (in a manner) ſurrounded the beſt of the whole State of *Brittaine*; they after inuaded the inner, and middle part. And *Cridda* began the Kingdome of *Mercna-land*, or middle Angles, contayning *Lincolnſhire, North-hamptonſhire, Huntingdonſhire, Rutlandſhire, Bedford, Buckingham, Oxfordſhire, Cheſhire, Derbie, Nottingham*, and *Staffordſhire*, with parts of the ſhires of *Hereford*, and *Hartford: Warwicke, Shropſhire, Lancaſter* and *Gloceſterſhire*.

The *Brittaines* vtterly ſubdued by the *Saxons*.

And with all theſe Princes, and Leaders, before they could eſtabliſh their dominions, the *Brittaines* ſo deſperately grappled, as plant they could not, but vpon deſtruction and deſolation of the whole Country, whereof in the end they extinguiſhed both the Religion, Lawes, Language, and all, with the people and name of *Brittaine*. Which hauing beene ſo long a Prouince of great honour, and benefit to the *Roman* Empire, could not but partake of the magnificence of their goodly ſtructures, Thermes, Aquaducts, High-waies, and all other their ornaments of delight, eaſe, and greatneſſe: all which came to bee ſo vtterly razed, and confounded by the *Saxons*, as there is not left ſtanding ſo much as the ruines to point vs where they were: for they being a people of a rough breeding, that would not bee taken with theſe delicacies of life, ſeemed to care for no other monuments but of earth, and as borne in the field would build their fortunes onely there. Witneſſe ſo many Intrenchments, Mounts, and *Borroughs* raiſed for tombes, and defences vpon all the wide champions, and eminent Hills of this Iſle, remaining yet as characters of the deepe ſcratches made on the whole face of our Country, to ſhew the hard labour our Progenitors endured to get it for vs.

Which generall ſubuerſion of a State is very ſeldome ſeene: Inuaſion, and deuaſtation of Prouinces haue often beene made, but in ſuch ſort as they continued, or recouered, with ſome commixtion of their owne with the generation of the inuaders. But in this, by reaſon of the vicinage, and innumerous populacie of that Nation (tranſporting hither both ſexes) the incompatibility of Paganiſme, and Chriſtianity, with the immenſe bloud-ſhed on both ſides, wrought ſuch an implacable hatred, as but one Nation muſt poſſeſſe all. The conqueſt made by the *Romanes*, was not to extirpate the Natiues, but to maſter them. The *Danes*, which afterward inuaded the *Saxons*, made only at the firſt depredations on the coaſt, and therewith for a time contented themſelues. When they grew to haue further intereſt, they ſought not the ſubuerſion, but a community, and in the end a Soueraignty of the State, matching with the women they heere found, bringing few of their owne with them. The *Normans* dealt the like with the Prouince of *Nueſtria* in *France*, who alſo after they had the dominion, and what the victorie would yeeld them in *England*, were content to ſuffer the people heere to haue their being, intermatched with them, and ſo grew in ſhort ſpace into their body. But this was an abſolute ſubuerſion, and concurred with the vniuerſall mutation, which about that time happened in all theſe parts of the world; whereof, there was no one Countrey, or Prouince but changed bounds, inhabitants, cuſtomes, language, and in a manner, all their names.

The abſolute ſubuerſion of *Brittaine*, concurred with the generall mutation of other States of the world.

For vpon the breaking vp of the *Roman* Empire (firſt deuided into two, and then by faction diſioynted in each part) imploying the forces of many ſtrange Nations to fortifie their ſides, were made ſo wide ruptures in the North, and North-eaſt bounds of that Empire, as there burſt out infinite ſtreames of ſtrange people that ouer-ranne, and laid open the world againe to liberty, other formes, and limits of State: whereupon followed all theſe tranſmigrations, and ſhiftings of people from one Country to another. The *French* and *Burgognons* diſpoſſeſt the *Gaules*, and gaue the name of *France*, and *Burgogne* to their Prouince. The *Gaules* tranſplanted themſelues on ſome coaſts of *Spaine*, where they could finde, or make their habitation: and of them had

Gallicia

Gallicia and *Portugall* their name. The *Huns* and *Auari* ſubdued *Pannonia*, and thereto gaue the name of *Hungary*. The *Longbeards* a poople in *Germany*, bordered vpon the *Saxons*, entred *Italy*, got the greateſt part thereof, and left there their name to a principall prouince, remaining to this day. The *Gothes* and *Vandalles*, miſerably afflicted the reſt, ſackt *Rome*, and after ſubdued, peopled, and poſſeſt *Spaine*. So that it was not in the fate of *Brittaine* alone to be vndone, but to periſh, almoſt, with the generall diſſolution of other States, which happened about the ſame age.

Lombardie ſo called of the *Longbeards*.

Wherefore, we are now here to begin with a new Body of people, with a new State, and gouernment of this Land, which retained nothing of the former, nor held other memory but that of the diſſolution thereof: where ſcarce a Citie, Dwelling, Riuer, Hill, or Mountaine, but changed names. *Brittaine* it ſelfe was now no more *Brittaine*, but *New Saxony*, and ſhortly after, either of the *Angles* (the greateſt people of the inuadors) or of *Hengiſt*, called *Engiſt-Land*, or *England*. The diſtance made by the rage of warre, lay ſo wide betweene the conquering and the conquered people, that nothing either of Lawes, Rites and Cuſtomes, came to paſſe ouer vnto vs from the *Brittaines*: nor had our Anceſtors any thing from them, but their Countrey: which they firſt diuided into eight Kingdomes: all which, continued to the laſt extermination of the *Brittaines* vnder *Caretius* their King, with whom they were driuen ouer *Seuerne*, 136. yeares after the firſt entertainment of *Hengiſt*. And ſoone after, the *Saxons*, encroching vpon each other parts, or States (which neuer held certaine bounds) and the ſtronger vſurping vpon their weaker neighbours, reduced them to ſeauen Kingdomes; that of the *Northanimbrians*, being made one of two: and then to ſixe (the Weſt *Saxons* taking in the Kingdome of *Suſſex* to their dominion.) And ſo it continued about 250. yeares.

At the firſt, by the ſpace of 150 yeares, they were meerely gouerned by their owne Lawes, without mixture of any other. But after *Auguſtus* the Monke, ſent with forty others, by Pope *Gregory*, had conuerted *Æthelbert*, King of *Kent*, and ſome other, they all ſhortly after receiued the Chriſtian faith, and had their Lawes and Rites ordered according to Eccleſiaſticall conſtitutions. Many of their Kings, when their ſterne aſperity grew mollified by humility of the Religion, began to raiſe preſently ſo many and great monuments of their piety in all parts of the Land, as if they ſtriued who ſhould exceed therein, and had no other glory: Diuers of them renounced their temporall dignities for ſpirituall ſolitude, and became Monkes: as *Æthelred*, and *Kinred*, Kings of *Mercna-land*; *Offa* King of the Eaſt *Saxons*; *Kadwalla* and *Ina*, Kings of the Weſt *Saxons*; *Eadbert* King of *Northumbrians*, &c.

At length the Kingdomes of *Mercna-land*, and Weſt Saxe, ſo farre ouer-grew the others in power, as betweene them two it lay, who ſhould haue all. For *Ina*, a martiall, wiſe, and religious Prince, gouerning the Weſt *Saxons*, firſt aduanced that Kingdome to a preheminencie, and did much to haue ſubdued *Mercna-land*: but yet *Offa*, (afterwards King thereof) was in faire poſſibility to haue ſwallowed vp both the Weſt *Saxons*, and all the reſt of the Kingdoms. For whilſt he liued, which was in the time of *Carolus Magnus*, (with whom he held league and amity) he was eſteemed as the eſpeciall King of the Land. But the many wrongs he did, and the murther committed in his houſe vpon *Æthelbert* King of the Eaſt *Angles*, comming to him vnder publique faith, and a Suitor to his daughter, were iuſtly reuenged vpon his poſterity, which after him declining, in the end loſt all. For *Egbert* deſcended from *Inegild*, the brother of *Ina*, attaining the Kingdome of the Weſt *Saxons*, began the way to bring all the reſt into ſubiection. And being a Prince, who (from a priuate fortune, wherein he liued below, with, and not aboue other men) had learned ſufferance and moderation; and by the eſtate of an exile, experience; grew to haue great aduantages ouer the time, and others borne-fortunes, and roſe by theſe meanes.

Ina, his great Vncle, renouncing the world, with his Kingdome, and dying without iſſue, left the ſucceſſion imbroiled, and out of the direct royall lyne as hee found it. So that thoſe foure Kings of the Weſt *Saxons*, who ſeuerally ſucceeded him; *Ethelard*, *Sigibert*, *Kenulph*, and *Brittric*, were rather Kings by election, and their owne power, then

then by right of descent. And *Britric* knowing the weakenesse of his title, and the much promising forwardnesse of *Egbert*; with his propinquity in bloud, to the former Kings, practized to haue him made away; which he perceiuing, fled first to *Offa*, King of *Mercna-land*, where finding little security, in regard *Britric* had (to strengthen himselfe) married the daughter of the King, he escaped into *France*, and there remayned till the death of *Britric*, and then returning, obtaines that kingdome of the *West-Saxons*; subdues *Cornewall*, inhabited by the *Brittanes*; and after sets vpon *Bernulph*, newly inuested in the Kingdome of *Mercna-land*; a State (by the rupture of the Royall line) likewise growne tottering. For *Egferth*, the sonne of *Offa*, enioyed but foure moneths the inheritance of his fathers imminanity: whereby that Kingdome descended collaterally to *Kennulph*, who left it to *Kenelme* a childe, after murthered by his sister *Quinted*. *Ceolulph*, brother to *Kennulph*, succeeding, after his first yeares reigne, was expeld by *Bernulph*, and *Bernulph* by *Egbert*, who made that Kingdome tributarie to the West *Saxons*, as hee did after that of the South, and East *Saxons*, with the Kingdome of *Northumberland*. And by this meanes (in a manner) attained to a soueraignty of the whole country. But the *Danes* imbroiling his peace in the end of his reigne, held him back from enioying such a fulnesse of power, as that wee may account him the absolute Monarch of the Kingdome; nor yet any of his successors, so long as the *Danes* continued vnsubiected. For they hauing first made irruptions into the State, in the reigne of the late King *Britric* (his predecessor) euer after held a part thereof, and afflicted the whole, till they had attained the absolute soueraignty to themselues.

Egbert obtayned the kingdome, which by him was named *England*.

An. 802

The *Danes* were a people of *Germany*, next neighbours to the *Saxons*, and of language and manners little different: Possessing besides *Cimbrica Chersonesus* (now called *Denmarke*) all the Isles adiacent in the *Baltique* Sea, and sometimes the Kingdome of *Norway*. A mighty, rough, and martiall Nation; strong in shipping, through their exercise of piracy, and numerous in people for all suppliments. Who perceiuing here the happy successe, and plantation of the *Saxons*, were drawne with desire and emulation, likewise, to put in for a part; the coast lying open to inuasion, and the many diuisions of the Land, with the discord of Princes, making them an easie way thereto vnto. So that in a manner, as soone as the *Saxons* had ended their trauailes with the *Brittanes*, and drew to setling of a Monarchy; the *Danes*, as if ordained to reuenge their slaughters, began to assault them with the like afflictions. The long, the many, and horrible encounters betweene these two fierce Nations, with the bloudshed, and infinit spoiles committed in euery part of the Land, are of so disordered and troublous memory, that what with their asperous name, together with the confusion of place, times, and persons, intricately deliuered, is yet a warre to the reader to ouer-looke them. And therefore to fauour mine owne paines and his, who shall get little profit thereby, I passe them ouer.

The description of the *Danes*.

After the death of *Egbert*, *Æthelwolph* his sonne succeeded in the State, with the title of King of the West *Saxons* onely, and was a Prince more addicted to deuotion then action: as may be seene by his donation of the tenth part of his Kingdome (with exemption of all regall seruice) for the seruice of God: besides an annuity of three hundred markes to be bestowed in pious vses at *Rome*; whither he went twice in person, with his youngest sonne *Alfred*, whom he especially loued; and whom (Pope *Leo* the fourth) annoynted a King, at eleuen yeares of age, as if diuining of his future fortune.

Vpon his last iourney, and whole yeares stay at *Rome*, *Æthelbald* his eldest sonne, combin'd with the Nobility of the West *Saxons*, to keepe him out, and depriue him vtterly of his gouernment, and wrought so, as notwithstanding the great loue his people bare him, he was brought to yeeld vp the Kingdome of the West *Saxons* to *Æthelbald*, and retaine onely the Kingdome of the East Angles, (a State of farre lesse dignity) to himselfe. After which, reigning but two yeares, *Æthelbald* succeeded in the whole, and with great infamy, marrying his fathers widow, *Iudith*, daughter to *Charles le Chaune*, King of *France*, enioyed it but two yeeres and a halfe, when *Æthelred*, the second sonne of *Æthelulph*, entred to the gouernment, which hee held fiue yeares in continuall conflict with the *Danes*. After whom,

Alfred

ALfred, the mirrour of Princes (made a King before he had a Kingdome) at two and twenty yeares of his age (& in a yeare wherein eight seuerall battailes had been giuen to the *Danes* by the *Saxons*) beganne his troublous raigne, wherin he was perpetually in war, either against his enemies, or elſe against vices. Firſt, after a great danger to loſe all, he was forced to yeelde vp a part of the Kingdome (which was that of eaſt *Angles* and *Northumberland*) to *Guthrum*, ledder of the *Danes*, whom (vpon his baptization) he made his Confederate, and owner of that by right, which before he vſurped by violence. *Anno* 872. *Alfred.*

And notwithſtanding all the continuall, and intricate toyle hee endured amidſt the clattering and horror of armes, he performed all noble actions of peace, collecting firſt the Lawes of his predeceſſors, and other the Kings of the *Saxons* (as thoſe of *Offa*, King of *Mercna-land*, and *Ethelbert* the firſt Chriſtian Engliſh King) of which, by the graue aduice and conſent of his States aſſembled, hee makes choyce of the fitteſt, abrogates thoſe of no vſe, and addes other according to the neceſſity of the time. King *Alfred* firſt made collection of the *Saxon* Lawes.

And for that the wildneſſe of warre, by reaſon of theſe perpetuall conflicts with ſtrangers, had ſo let out the people of the Land to vnlawfull riots, and rapine, that no man could trauaile without conuoy: He ordayned the diuiſion of Shires, Hundreds, and Tithings, that euery Engliſh man (now the generall name for all the *Saxons*) liuing legally, might be of a certaine hundred, or Tything, out of which, he was not to remoue without ſecurity; and out of which, if he were accuſed of any crime, hee was likewiſe to produce ſureties for his behauiour; which if he could not finde, hee was to endure the puniſhment of the Law. If any malefactor before, or after hee had put in ſureties eſcaped, all the Tything or Hundred were fined to the King, by which meanes he ſecured Trauailers, and the peace of his Countrey. The firſt deuiſion of the Land into Shires, Hundreds and Tythings.

The opinion hee had of learning made him often complaine the want thereof, imputing it amongſt his greateſt miſfortunes to haue beene bred without it, and to haue his Kingdome ſo vtterly deſtitute of learned men, as it was, through the long continuance of this Barbarous Warre: which made him ſend out for ſuch, as were any way famous for letters, and hauing gotten them, hee both highly preferred them, and alſo (as they doe, who knowe not too much themſelues) helde them in great veneration: Setting a higher price on meaner parts, then after plenty did on more perfections. *Grimbald* and *Scotus*, hee drewe out of *France*: *Aſſer* (who wrote his life) out of *Wales*, other from other parts: hee was the firſt lettered Prince wee had in *England*, by whoſe meanes and encouragement publique Schooles had heere, eyther their reviuing or beginning. Publique Schooles firſt erected.

Thoſe wants of his owne, made him take a greater care for the education of his ſons, with whom were bred vnder moſt dilligent maſters almoſt all the children of the Nobility within his Kingdome.

All his owne time he could cleare from other buſineſſe, he beſtowed in ſtudy, and did himſelfe, and cauſed others to tranſlate many things into the vulgar tongue, which hee laboured (it ſeemes) much to adorne, and eſpecially affected the *Saxons* meeters, whereby to glorifie that of a King, he attayned the title of Poet. *Weſt. Flor.*

The naturall day conſiſting of 24. houres, he caſt into three parts: whereof eight hee ſpent in prayer, ſtudy and writing; eight in the ſeruice of his body; and eight in the affaires of his State. Which ſpaces (hauing then no other engine for it) hee meaſured by a great wax light, deuided into ſo many parts, receiuing notice by the keeper thereof, as the ſeuerall houres paſſed in the burning.

With as faire an order did he proportion his reuenues, equalling his liberalities to all his other expences, whereof to make the current run more certaine, he tooke a preciſe notice of them, and made a generall ſuruay of the Kingdome, and had all the particulars of his Eſtate regiſtred in a booke, which he kept in his Treaſury at *Winchester*. And within this circumference of order, he held him in that irregularity of Fortune, with a weake diſpoſition of body, and raigned 27. yeares, leauing his ſonne *Edward*, a worthy Succeſſor to mayntaine the line of Nobleneſſe thus begunne by him. The firſt ſuruey of the Kingdome.

Edward

Anno 900. *Edwardus Senior.*

EDward, though hee were farre inferiour to him in learning, went much beyond him in power: for he had all the Kindome of *Mercna-land* in possession, whereof *Alfred* had but the homage, and as some Write, held soueraignty ouer the east *Angles*, and *Northumbrians*: though we find (in the ioynt Lawes that he, and *Guthrum* made together) they held the same confederation fore-concluded by *Alfred*. He also subdued the *Brittains* in *Wales*; Fortified and furnished with garrisons diuerse Townes in *England* that lay fit to preuent the incursions of the *Danes*; and was all his raigne of 23. yeares in continuall action, and euer before hand with Fortune. And surely his father, he, and many that succeeded during this *Danica* Warre, though they lost their ease, won much glory and renowne. For this affliction held them so in, as hauing little out-lets, or leasure for ease and luxury; they were made the more pious, iust and carefull in their gouernment: otherwise it had beene impossible to haue held out against the *Danes*, as they did, being a people of that power and vndauntable stomacke, as no fortune could deterre, or make to giue ouer their hold. And the imbecility of some vnactiue Prince, at that time had beene enough to haue let them quite into the whole: which may be the cause, that in the succession of some of these Kings, were certaine ruptures made out of course, in respect of their ableneſſe. As first, after the death of this renowned King *Edward Senior*, his Sonne.

Anno 924. *Athelstan* a Bastard preferred before the lawfull sonne.

AThelstan of full yeares, and spirit, was (notwithstanding the bracke in his birth) preferred before his legitimate sonne *Edmond* vnder age: Nor did *Athelstan* disappoynt the Kingdome in this worke, but performed all noble parts of Religion, Iustice and Magnanimity, and after sixteene yeares raigne died without issue.

Anno 940. *Edmond.*

EDmond his brother succeeded him: A Prince likely to haue equalled the worth of his Predecessors, had he not vntimely perished by the hand of a base outlaw in his owne house, at a festiuall, amidst his people that dearely loued and honoured him. And though he left two sonnes, yet was

Anno *Edred or Eldred.*

EDred his brother preferred to the Kingdome before them: who (making no no variation from the line of Vertue continued by his Ancestors) was held perpetually in worke by the *Danes* during the whole time of his raigne, which was of ten yeares.

Edwin.

EDwin his Nephew, the eldest sonne of *Edmond*, succeeded him (an irregular youth) who interrupting the course of goodnesse liued dissolutely, and dyed wishedly. Otherwise had *Edgar* (the other sonne of *Edmond*) continued that rare succession of good Princes, without the interposition of any ill, which is not in the Fate of a Kingdome.

Anno 959. *Edgar.*

EDgar, though he were but sixteene yeares of age, yet capable of counsell, was by the graue aduice of his Bishops (who in that time of zeale held especially the raines on the hearts, and affections of men) put, and directed in the way of goodnesse, and became a most heroicall Prince. Amongst other his excellent actions of gouernment, hee prouided a mighty Nauy to secure his coasts from invasion, which now hee found (though late) was the only meane to keep out those miseries from within, that thus lamentably afflicted the Land euer before negligent, or not invred to Sea-affaires. For when the *Romans* first subdued the same, there was no shipping but a few small vessells made of wicker, and couered with hides: wherby they, and after the *Danes* (both mighty, as those time gaue, in shipping) found that easie footing they had. Yet *Egbert* is sayd to haue prouided a strong Nauy, about the yeare 840. And *Alfred* 30. or 40. yeares after did the like. But either now dis-vsed or consumed by the enemy, *Edgar* re-edifies, & sets forth a fleete consisting (as some write) of 1600. saile, others a farre greater number; and those he diuides into foure parts of the Realme, making his progresse yearely, with part of his mighty Nauy, round about the whole Isle, whereof he assumed the title of King.

Edgar prouides shipping.

A most vsefull progresse.

And to reduce it to one name and Monachie, hee was intituled King of all *Albion*,

as teſtifies his Charter granted to the Abbey of *Maldeſmesbury*, in theſe words: *Ego Edgarus totius Albionis Baſilius, nec non Maritimorum, ſeu inſulanorum Regum circum habitantium &c.* For hee hauing firſt of all other made peace with the *Danes*, and granted them quiet co-habitation through all his Dominions; had the Soueraignty ouer them: And *Kenneth*, King of *Scots* did him homage, whether for *Cumberland* and *Weſtmerland*, giuen to that Crowne by King *Edmond* his father; or for his whole kingdome; I cannot ſay. And fiue Kings of *Wales* did the like for their Country, and came all to his Court at *Cardiffe*.

So that hee ſeemes the firſt, and moſt abſolute Monarch of this Land, that hitherto wee finde: The generall peace that held all his time, honoured his name with the Title of *Pacificus*; and rendred his Kingdome (neuer before acquainted with the glory of quietneſſe) very flouriſhing. But as if the ſame had beene giuen to ſhewe, and not to vſe (like a ſhort calme betwixt ſtormes) it laſted but little beyond his raigne of ſixteene yeares: beeing too ſhort to cloſe the diſſeuered ioynts of a commixed kingdome; which was onely, to haue beene the worke of Time; and that none of theſe late Princes (who were beſt like to haue aduanced, and confirmed the State of a Monarchie) were ordayned to haue. But all (as if things would another way) were put off from their ends, by their vntimely deaths: as was this glorious young Prince, in the two and thirtieth yeare of his age: leauing his ſonne *Edward*, a childe, to vndergo the miſeries of non-age, to bee made a ſacrifice for ambition, and a Saint by perſecution, through the hand of a ſtep-mother; who to aduance her owne ſon *Ethelred*, brake in ouer the bounds of Nature and right, to make his way; and is ſayd, her ſelfe to haue murthered him, comming to her houſe, eſtrayed, in hunting, and diſcompanied, in the Iſle of *Purbecke*.

He raigned 16. yeares.

Saint *Edward*.

Anno 975.

Ethelred.

Anno 978.

BVT *Ethelred*, as if ill ſet, proſpered not on this ground, the entrance to whoſe raigne was blood, the middle, miſery; and the end, confuſion. They write, Saint *Dunſtan* Preaching at his Coronation, prophetically (fore-told him) of the calamities would follow this tranſgreſſion: Saying: *For that thou haſt aſpired to the Crowne, by the death of thy brother, murthered by thy mother: Thus ſayth the Lord: The ſword ſhall neuer depart from thy houſe, raging againſt thee all the dayes of thy life, ſlaying thoſe of thy ſeed, till the Kingdome be tranſferred to another, whoſe faſhion and language, the people ſhall not know. Nor ſhall thy ſinne, nor the ſinne of thy ignominious mother, with her Counſellors, be expiated, but by long auengement.* And this (whether ſo vttered or not) was ratified in the euent. For eyther this vniuſt diſordering the ſucceſſion, or the concurrency of hidden cauſes meeting with it, ſo wrought, as this late begunne Monarchy fell quite aſunder, and begat the occaſion of two Conqueſts, by Forraine Nations, within the ſpace of fifty yeares.

Two conqueſts of this kingdome in fifty yeares.

For the *Danes*, hauing now beene ſo long inmates with the Engliſh, diſ-ſpread ouer all parts by intermatching with them, and multiplying with the late peace and Confederations, had their party (though not their rule) greater then euer: ſo that this oportunitie of a young and vnſetled Prince, in a new and brangling State, drewe ouer ſuch multitudes of other of the ſame Nation, as euery Coaſt and Part of the Land, were miſerably made the open rodes of ſpoyle and ſackage: in ſuch ſort, as the State knew not where to make any certaine head againſt them: For if encountred in one place, they aſſailed another, and had ſo ſure intelligence what, and where all preparations were raiſed, as nothing could be effected auaylable to quaile them: Whereupon *Ethelred*, in the end, was faine, ſeeing he could not preuaile with the ſword, to aſſayle them with mony, and bought a peace for 10000. pounds: which God wot, proued after, a very deare peny-worth to the common-wealth, ſhewing the ſeller thereof, how much was in his power, and the buyer, at how had a rate his neceſſity was to be ſerued; & yet not ſure of his bargaine, longer then the Contractor would. Who hauing found the benifit of this

The ſpoyles made by the *Danes*.

this market, raiſed the price thereof almoſt euery yeare. And yet had not *Ethelred* what he paide for: the Land in one part or other, neuer free from ſpoyle and inuaſion; but rather the more now oppreſt, both by the warre, and this taxation. Which was the firſt we finde in our Annales, laide vpon the Kingdome (and with heauy grieuance rayſed in a poore diſtreſſed State) continuing many ages after the occaſion was extinct: And in the end (though in another name) became the vſuall ſupplyment, in the dangers of the Kingdome, and the occaſions of Princes.

The originall of *Dane* geld, the firſt impoſition layd vpon the Kingdome.

And hereby *Ethelred* both inlarged the meanes, and deſire of the enemy, ſo that at length, came *Swain*, King of *Denmarke*, and *Aulafe*, King of *Norway*, in perſon, as if likewiſe to receiue hire for committing outrage; and were both returned with great ſums, and *Aulafe* of a milder diſpoſition, with baptiſme. Theſe callamities from abroad, were made more, by the diſloyalties at home, faith and reſpect (beeing ſeldome found ſafe in loſt fortunes) held not in moſt of the principall men imployed in the defence. *Aelfricke*, Admirall of the Nauy, is ſayd to haue giuen intelligence of all Sea-preparations, and diſappoynted that worke. The Earles *Fran*, *Frithgiſt*, *Godwin*, and *Turkettle* diſcended of *Danike* progeny, and of greateſt commaund, deceiued the armies by Land, and were the authors of diſcouragement to the people they led. *Edric* Earle of *Mare-land*, after them made Generall of the Kings forces, is branded with euerlaſting ignominy, and the title of *Falſe*, for his barbarous diſloyalty, fruſtrating all attempts wherein he was imployed.

Wolnod a Nobleman, for his miſdemeanour outlawd, made depredations on the coaſts with twenty ſhips, and was the cauſe that foureſcore men ſent to take him in, were vtterly conſumed. This defection of his Nobility, howſoeuer it might bee by their owne diſcontent, emulation, corruption, or affection: is layde to the pride of *Ethelred*, whom yet we finde more vnfortunate then weake, howſoeuer they haue ſet his marke, and neglected no occaſion to make reſiſtance and preparations againſt all euents, bringing often his affaires to the very point of diſpatch, and yet put by, at an inſtant from all, as if nothing went with him, but his will to do worthely: which howſoeuer it were, (beſides the miſery to looſe) hee muſt haue (that which accompanies infelicity) *Blame*, and *Reproach*. Though the many and deſperate battailes he made and good conſtitutions for the gouernment; the prouiſions to ſupply all important occaſions, ſhew, that hee was not much behinde the beſt Princes, but onely in fortune.

By the example of *Edgar* his Father, hee procured a mighty Nauie; cauſing of euery three hundred and ten Hide, or Plough-land throughout the Kingdome, a Shippe to bee built, and of euery eight, a Corſlet to be found: Yet all this ſhipping ſtood him in little ſtead, but was either quaſht with tempeſt, conſumed with fire by the enemy, or otherwiſe made vnuſefull by neglect, or ignorance: where by the hope and infinite charge of the State were diſappoynted. Famine, and mortality, the attendants of warre, with ſtrange inundations, wrought likewiſe their part, as if conſpirators of deſtruction, all concurred to make a diſmall ſeaſon.

Many yeares it was not, ere *Swaine* King of *Danes*, returned to raiſe againe new ſummes, by new afflictions; and tormenting heere this poore turmoyled people, more then euer, receiues a fee for bloodſhed, to the ſumme of 48000. pounds, granted in the generall aſſembly of the States at *London*; and a peace, or rather paction of ſeruitude concluded; with quiet cohabitation, vſe of like liberties, and a perfect vnion betweene the two Nations, confirmed by oathes of either part, and hoſtages deliuered of ours.

But this as a breathing time, ſcarce held out the yeare: When the occaſion of greater miſchiefes was giuen by a vniuerſall maſſacre of the *Danes* ſuddenly heere contriued: and effected by the Kings commandement, vpon the ſuggeſtion of *Hume*, a great Commaunder, and a violent warrier of that time: Vrging the inſolencie of the *Danes*, that now growne haughty with this peace, committed many outrages, violating the Wiues and Daughters of Great men, with many other intollerable diſorders.

Such,

Such, and ſo ſuddaine was the generall execution of this act, throughout all parts of the kingdome at one inſtant, as ſhewed the concurrency of an inveterate rankor, and incompatibility of theſe two nations, impoſſible to be conioyned, So that neither Temples, Altars, Supplications, nor any band of aliance, were auaileable to ſaue them from ſlaughter. Wherein to inſence the more their King, *Gunild*, his ſiſter, a woman of maſculine courage, who had a little before receiued Chriſtendom, a mediator and pledge of the peace, hauing firſt her husband and ſon ſlaine in her ſight, rather with a threatning, then appaled countenance, met her death, making imprecation for reuenge, and foretelling her blood would, as it did, coſt *England* deere.

The maſſacre of the *Danes*.

Anno 1002.

Gunild ſlaine.

Soone was the notice of this enormious act, giuen to *Swaine*, and as ſoone armed with rage and power, re-entered hee the Kingdome, hauing now a fairer ſhew to doe fowlie, then euer: wrong had made him a right, who had none before: and the people of the Land, not ſo forward to maintaine their acts, as commit it, rather were content to giue him the poſſeſion of their country, then that he ſhould win it: the greateſt part of the Kingdome ſubmitting themſelues vnto him; onely the City of *London*, which *Ethelred* held fortified, made noble reſiſtance till he left them; and conueyed himſelfe firſt into the Iſle of *Wight*, and after into *Normandy*, whither he had ſent for *Emma* his Queene, with her two ſonnes, *Alfrid* and *Edward*, before, from the rage of this tempeſt. But within two moneths he was recalled home by the people of *England*, vpon the death of *Swaine*, who at the point to haue beene crowned King, and had generally taken hoſtages and oathes of fealty, died ſuddenly: leauing his ſonne *Knute* to ſucceed his fortunes, and accompliſh what he intended.

Swaine wins *England*.

Ethelred flies into *Normandy*

Swaines death.

Ethelred returning, was ſoone furniſht with an Army, ſets vppon *Knute* in *Lindſey*, where hee lay with his Fathers ſhipping, and Hoſtages and draue him to take the ſeas: wherewith inraged, making about to *Sandwich*, hee miſerably mangled, and diſmembred thoſe hoſtages, and ſo ſent them home: himſelfe, with the ſpoyles his Father and hee had gotten, returned to his country, to make greater preparations for the proſecution of his purpoſe. *Ethelred* in the meane time, to increaſe the ſumme of reuengement, with more wrath, at a generall aſſembly at *Oxford*, cauſed many of the *Danique*, Nobility to be murthered: Among which were *Sigifrith*, and *Morchar*, Earles of *Northumberland*, whom the falſe *Edric* (who had a hand one each ſide for miſchiefe) inuiting to his lodging, vnder pretence of feaſting, barberouſly cauſed to be ſlayne: their followers, after they had ſo long as they could deſperately defended themſelues and their maiſters, fled into a Church, where they were with the ſame burnt. *Knute*, armed with the greateſt of his owne and neighbours powers made his confederates, landed againe, within the yeare, at *Sandwich*, and without reſiſtance, had all the Weſt parts rendred vnto him, with pledges for their obedience, and furniſhment with horſe and armor. Here the falſe *Edric* leaues his Liege-lord, and yeelds vp forty ſhipps, and his periur'd Faith to *Knute*. *Ethelred*, languiſhing in minde and body, *Edmond* his ſon, ſurnamed *Ironſide* (to oppoſe youth to youth) was imployed againſt this rabious inuador. A Prince worthy of a better time, and had hee found Faith, had made it ſo, and deliuered his Country at that time, from the worſt of miſeries, the conqueſt by ſtrangers.

Ethelred returnes.

Knute returnes

Ethelreds death.

Knute. Edmond Ironſide.

BVT now vpon the death of *Ethelred* (whoſe 37. yeares reigne, ſhewes that infelicity ſhall haue time too much, and happineſſe too little.) *Knute* was by moſt of the Clergy & Noqility there about, made election of *Edmond*, and furniſhed him with that power, as thereby, with the courageous ardour of his youth (which commonly is moſt in the firſt attempts) he had the better in three imminent battels, within three moneths, and had likewiſe obtained the Fourth at *Eſſendon* (likely to haue beene the laſt with the *Danes*) but that the diſloyall *Edric* (late renouncing his new Lord, ſeeing *Edmonds* part in poſſibilitie to preuaile) againe betrayed his truth, and withdrew himſelfe,

Edmond Ironſide ſonne to *Ethelred*. by his firſt wife *Ethelgina*.

Anno 1016.

and the charge he had, to the enemy. This fatal battell loſt *England*: heere periſhed the beſt flower of honour it then had: Heere amongſt the reſt was ſlaine, *Vlkil*, an Earle of *Eſſex*, of euer memorable worth, who had long ſtood vp for the Kingdome, (and in the time of *Swaine*, was the firſt that ſhewed there was hope and poſſibility to quaile the enemy, had there bin an vnion in loyalty.

Edmonds ſingle combate with *Knute*.

From this bloudy worke, *Edmond* eſcapes to *Gloceſter*, to recollect new forces; nor was hee ſo forſoken with this Fortune, but that hee ſoone recouered another army, to re-aſſaile the enemy, that might bee idle vppon this victorie. But *Knute* as prouident in the proſecution of his buſineſſe, as fortunate therein, makes after: Heere when both Armies weere at the poynt to incounter, a motion of peace was propounded: Some ſay, the two Kings, by ſingle combat conſented to decide their fortunes, and the ouer-commer to take all: and that (in an Iſle of the Riuer *Seuern*, their Armies, on either ſhore, ſpectators of the act) they tried the maiſtery for the prize of a Kingdome. After long and equall fight, finding each others worth, they caſt away their weapons, imbraced, and concluded the peace. But howſoeuer; it ſeemes (both ſides tyred with the miſery of a conſuming warre, neuer like to be ended, but by the vtter extirpation of the one, and conſidering the danger of the either, and incertainty of the future) weere eaſily perſwaded to imbrace a preſent agreement which was made, by parting *England* betwixt them two, and confirmed by Oath and Sacrament: putting on each others Apparell, and Armes, as a ceremony to expreſſe the attonement of their mindes, as if they made tranſ-action of their perſons each to the other. *Knute* became *Edmond*, and *Edmond*, *Knute*. A fatall exchange, for ſo free and magnanimous a Prrince as *Edmond*: who indeed, was now no more himſelfe; and being but halfe a King, was in ſo few dayes after, none: as makes this peace ſhew fouler then warre: for that armed him for life, this expoſed him naked to death, which was ſhortly after treacherouſly giuen him at *Oxford*; ſome ſay, by the ſon of *Edric* (as if to ſhew hee would bee the heire of his father alſo in Treaſon) whereby both the hope, and the other halfe of *England* were vtterly loſt, as determinable with his reigne; which (with all we haue elſe of his magnanimous actions) tooke vp ſcarce the circuit of one whole yeare: And yet had that bene ſpace enough for glorie (whoſe meaſure is to be taken rather by the profundity, then the length, which ſeldome holds long and euen) could he haue had that cleere: And better for his renowne, to haue died at the battaile of *Eſſendon* with *England*, then condeſcended to haue made it halfe *Denmarke*, and liue.

Peace concluded.

England deuided betweene them.

The death of King *Edmond Ironſide* at Oxford.

Knute.

A. 1018. *Knute* the firſt *Denique* King.

BVT by this meanes, *Knute* attained the abſolute dominion of the whole Kingdome, which hee gouerned with better Iuſtice then hee got it, conforming his natiue roughneſſe, to a more ciuill, and regular faſhion of life: And to haue *England* ſee, that now he was hers; he ſends away his Nauie, and ſtipendary ſouldiers home to their countries, and puts himſelfe wholly vpon this people; taking the way of mildneſſe a better meanes for his eſtabliſhment, then force: but the Land paid for the remuneration of his people, and this euacuation of Strangers 83000 pounds of ſiluer; which it rather conſented to doe at once, then to haue them a daily burthen, to peſter the State for euer.

83000. pounds paide to King *Knute* for euacuation of Strangers.

At his firſt comming to the Crowne, he ſought to rid himſelfe, as well of his friends, as of thoſe might prooue his enemies. *Edric*, who came firſt to ſalute him ſole King of *England* (as if to tell, that he made him ſo) hee cauſed his head to be ſet on the higheſt part of the Tower of *London*; therein performing his promiſe, of aduancing him aboue any Lord of the Land, and thereby diſcharged himſelfe of ſuch a debt; which, though he ſhould haue paide, would neuer yet bee held fully cleered; giuing a generall ſatisfaction thereby to the people, that reioyced to ſee Treaſon ſo iuſtly rewarded. Like compenſation had ſhortly after, the Earles *Turkill*, and *Erick*, who being baniſhed the Land, were executed vpon their arriuall in *Denmarke*. But the loue, and high opinion of Iuſtice he got in theſe, were loſt againe in thoſe actions, wherein hee tooke counſell onely

onely of his feares, for the extirpation of all those of the Royall blood of *England*; As of *Edwin*, and *Edward* the sonnes of the late King *Edmond* (to whom appertayned the moietie of the Kingdome by contract) and of *Edwin* his brother, which three, he sent to be murthered abroad, to beguile the rumore at home: But which is strange; those times, though rough, affoorded not yet an instrument for the execution of his desire: and all these Princes were preserued, and conueyed out of danger by those, who should haue made them away. The two last were bred by *Salomon*, King of *Hungarie*, where *Edward* (suruiuing his brother) marryed *Agatha* sister to the Queene (and daughter to the Emperour *Henry* the second) by whom he had two sons, *Edmond*, and *Edgar*; daughters, *Margaret* and *Christian*.

Edward married to *Agatha* the Queene of *Hungaries* sister.

Alfred, and *Edward*, sonnes of King *Ethelred*, by *Emme*, were preserued by *Richard*, Duke of *Normandy* their Vncle, and so lay out of his way. This priuate iniustice (which often may be more in compassion, then hurt to the State) he sought to recompence with all publique satisfactions, repairing the naufrage of the common wealth (made by the rage of warre) both in ornament and order: erecting Churches and Monasteries with large pattents of prouisions; both for the expiation of his immanities fore-committed, and to memorize the places of his victories with his thankefulnesse to God. The Constitutions Ecclesiatticall and Ciuile, diuulged in the Language of that time, test fie his tender piety, and care of Iustice: and are so full of religious admonitions, as it seemes he held, the best meanes to haue lawes obserued, was, by hauing them first inacted in the consciences of men. Amongst others, hee inflicted exact punishment on all intemperances of his people, and offences committed against publique manners. Seuere hee was, but not cruell: few of his lawes sanguinary, as beeing not the custome of the time, which though rough, yet found meanes to maintaine publique manners, without that luctuall remedy of bloud. No punishments cappitall, vnlesse conspiracies; the rest were all pecuniary mulcts, banishments, bondage or imprisonment. To shew his clemency, this (amongst many) is one example: there was a law, that, *Whosoeuer had committed theft; and the goodes found in his house, all his familie were made bond, euen to the childe in the cradle:* This he abrogates as most vniust, and ordaines, *That onely the malefactor, and such as should aide him, should indure the punishment, and that the wife (vnlesse the things stolne were found vnder her locke) should not be guilty of her husbands offence.*

His erection of Churches, and of Church gouernment.

Thus was hee to his people, with whom, hee is saide to haue soe well cleared himselfe (howsoeuer he did with God) that he became King of their affections, as well as of their Countery. And to maintaine this opinion, he did many popular acts: as first of all Rites of Honour and reuerence to the memory of the late King *Edmond*, his consecrate: besides the executing of all such as could be found to haue had any hand in that murther. Then married he here at home, *Emme*, late wife to King *Ethelred* (though it were more for his honour then hers, to accept his bed, that had bin the persecutor of her husband and children) whereby hee held the Duke of *Normandy*, from attempting any thing for his Nephewes, in regard, his sister might haue other by him.

Hauing thus establisshed this mighty Kingdome, occasion prepares him another. The people of *Norway*, contemning the debilitie of their King, and conspiring to depose him, grew into faction: whereuppon hee fastens; and with the great forces hee brought out of *England*, the might of mony, and high estimation of his worthines, so preuailed, as he soone obtained that Kingdome; and was now the most renowned and potent Prince in all these parts of the world: intitled, King of *England*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*.

Knute King of *England*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*.

Here withall grew his magnificence, as wide as his power, and was especially extended to the Church, which hee laboured most to gratifie, either for the conscience of his deedes, or that his people, (generally addicted to deuotion) might be made the more his. And holding it not enough to poure out his immense bountie heere within the land, seekes to make *Rome* also feele the fulnesse thereof, whither hee went in person, and performed many workes of charitie and honour; both there, and in all his voyage. Hee freed the *Saxon* schoole, his predecessors of

England had founded, from all impoſition: as he did likewiſe all ſtraights and paſſages, where trauailers were with rigor conſtrayned to pay toll.

Of his entertaynment at *Rome* with the Pope, *Conrade* the Emperour, and diuerſe other Princes of the Chriſtian world, himſelfe writes to the Biſhops and Nobility of *England*, and withall exhorts them very powerfully to haue an eſpeciall regard to the due adminiſtration of Iuſtice, to all his ſubiects alike, without doing the leaſt wrong for his gaine, hauing no neede to aduance his reuenue by ſinne: And alſo charges them to ſee all *Churchſcot* and *Rameſcot* fully cleared before his returne.

Knute the moſt abſolute Monarch of this Kingdome, of any that was before him.

The actiue vertue of this Prince, beeing the mightieſt, and moſt abſolute Monarch that euer yet appeared in this Kingdome, the author of ſect, and firſt of a new Gouernement, is ſuch; as ſhewes he ſtriues by all worthy wayes, to lay the ground-worke of a State; which according to his frame, was liker to hold good to his poſterity, then not. And as likely was he, to haue beene the roote of a ſucceſſion, ſpreading into many deſcents, as was afterward the *Norman*; hauing as plentifull an iſſue maſculine, as he: beſides, he raigned neere as long; farre better beloued; of diſpoſition more bountifull, and of power, larger to do good. But it was not in his fate; his children miſcarried in the ſucceſſion, and all this great worke fell in a manner with himſelfe.

Harold.

Anno 1038.

Harold, the eldeſt ſonne of *Knute* (ſome write by his fathers ordinance, others by the election of the *Danique* Nobility, in an aſſembly at *Oxford*) was made King: whereas *Godwin* Earle of *Kent*, and the Nobility of *England*, would haue choſen *Hardiknute*, borne of Queene *Emme*, or elſe *Alfred*, the ſonne of *Ethelred*, who is ſayd to haue come out of *Normandy*, vpon the death of *Knute* to claime the Crowne; But *Harold*, being at hand carried it; The firſt act of whoſe reigne, was the baniſhment, and ſurprizing all the treaſure of his ſtep-mother Queene *Emme*: Then the putting out the eyes of *Alfred* her ſonne, his competitor: and committing him to a loathſome priſon, where hee died. For which deede, the Earle *Godwin* beares a foule marke, as betraying him. Queene *Emme* repaires to *Baldouin*, Earle of *Flanders*, her kinſman, where ſhe remained during the reigne of *Harold*, which was but of foure yeares, and then with her ſonne *Hardiknute* (who came out of *Denmarke*, as it ſeemes prepared for ſome thing elſe, then to viſit her at *Bridges*) returned into *England*.

Herolds cruelty

Hardiknute.

Anno 1041.

THis *Hardiknute* inueſted in the Gouernment, ſoone fruſtrated the hope and opinion fore-conceiued of him, and firſt in like ſort beganne with that degenerous act of reuenge (wherein none are ſayd ſo much to delight in, as women) cauſing the body of the late king to bee vntomb'd, the head cut off, and throwne into the Thames; Then makes inquiſition for ſuch as were guilty of the death of *Alfride*, his brother by the mother, whereof Earle *Godwin* and the Biſhop of *Worceſter* are accuſed; The Biſhop is diſpoſſeſt his Sea, and the Earle with a rich and rare deuiſed preſent, in forme of a Ship of gold, appeaſed that furie, making proteſtation of his innocency before the whole Nobilitie, with whom in reſpect his deepe roote had ſpread ſo many branches, he ſtood firme, and all the blame was layd to the violence and rankor of the late King.

Beſides the offending theſe great men, hee added a generall grieuance to the whole Kingdome, by a prodigall largeſſe, giuing to euery Marriner of his Nauy eight Markes, and to euery Maiſter tenne, which hee impoſed to bee payde by the State. But after hauing called home *Edward* his other halfe brother, out of *Normandy*, hee liued not long, for farther violences; Dying ſuddenly the ſecond yeare of his reigne, in the celebration of a marriage at *Lambeth* in his greateſt iolity, not without ſuſpition of poyſon.

And

And with him ended the Gouernment of the *Danes* in *England* (hauing onely continued 26. yeeres vnder theſe three laſt Kings) and that without any cracke or noyſe, by reaſon the nation had no predominate ſide, that might ſway the State, in reſpect of the remiſſion of their power home in the firſt yeere of *Knute*, and no great admiſſion of others after: and that ſuch, as were here before, were now ſo incorporated with the *Engliſh*, as they made one body: and moſt of them planted in the remote parts of the Kingdome, that lay ouer againſt *Denmarke*: whereby, that which with all the ſtrugling, no power or diligence of man could reſiſt, expired of it ſelfe: leauing *England* to a King of her owne, and *Denmarke* to ciuill diſcord about the ſucceſſion; *Norway* likewiſe returning obedience to a ſon of *Olaue*, recouered quietneſſe, and a home-borne King.

The reaſon of the extinction of the *Danes* in *England*.

Anno 1042.

Eaward the Confeſſor.

Edward the Confeſſor.

Anno 1042.

EDWARD (the ſon of *Ethelred*) is ſent for into *Normandy*, and by the whole State elected, and crowned King of *England*, at *Winchester*, by *Edſine* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Anno* 1042. being about forty yeares of age. *Godwin* Earle of *Kent*, was a principall agent in his preferment, but, for his owne ends. The Kingdome (as hauing deerely paide for the admiſſion of ſtrangers) ordained, that he ſhould not bring any *Normans* with him. The firſt Act he did, was the remiſſion of the *Danegilt*, impoſed by his Father, which amounted to forty thouſand pounds yearely, and had beene payd for forty yeeres paſt. Hee cauſed the Lawes to bee collected, out of thoſe of the *Mercians*, Weſt *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, and to be written in Latine. He was a Prince moſt highly renowmed for his piety; and fit for no other, then the calme time he had. For hauing beene ſo long brought vp with the Nunnes at *Iumieges* in *Normandy*, he ſcarce knew to be a man, when he came into *England*. And to ſhew how little he vnderſtood himſelfe; they note, how in a great anger, he ſayd to a baſe fellow, that diſturbed his game in hunting, *I would puniſh thee, were I able*. And as if he had vowed their continency, with whom hee was bred, hee was ſo far from knowing other women (either through conſcience or debility) as his owne wife after his death, proteſted her ſelfe free from any carnall act done by him, and yet liued he (for the moſt part) with her in all formall ſhew of marriage.

His continency.

The ſoft ſimplicity of this King, gaue way to the greatneſſe of the Earle *Godwin*, and his children, who for that hee would ſeeme the eſpeciall man in his preferment to the Crowne; and by matching his daughter *Edith* to him, ſwayed chiefly the wheele of that time: and yet not without oppoſition: For *Syward*, Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Leofrike*, Earle of *Hereford* (men of as great State and ſpirit) ſeeing him moſt for himſelfe, became more for the King, and had their turne in performing very noble actions. Nor did their emulation, but much conduce to the preſent benefit both of the King, and State; For the Earle *Syward* would not be behind hand, in effecting as braue deedes in the North, as *Harold*, Earle of *Weſtſexe*, the ſon of the Earle *Godwin* performed againſt the *Welch*, in the Weſt: For the firſt depriued of life and Crowne, *Macbeth*, an vſurper, and inueſted *Malcolin*, in the Kingdome of *Scotland*; the other deſeited *Ris*, and *Griffine*, two brothers, Kings of *Wales*, and ſubdued that Prouince to this Crowne.

Earle *Godwins* greatneſſe.

The Earles *Syward* and *Leofrike*, men of noble actions.

Beſides, the Earle *Godwin* had to ſtruggle with an Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Robert* a *Norman*, preferred from a Monke, firſt to *London*, and after to that Sea, by the King, inwardly affecting moſt that nation, as being part of their bloud, and bred amongſt them. Of whom it ſeemed (notwithſtanding the former order taken to the contrary) he had many about his perſon, whoſe neereneſſe, being ſtrangers, whatſoeuer they did, could not auoyd to be thought to doe all offices againſt the Earle, and the *Engliſh* in generall: whereby, what went not right in the line of mens deſires, was thought to be their cauſe. And in ſtomackes full charged, this occaſion gaue more fire. *Euſtace* Earle of *Bullogne*, who had married *Goda* the Kings ſiſter, hauing beene at the Court, and returning into *France*, his Harbenger in taking vp lodgings at *Douer*, vpon his peremptory behauiour, was by a Citizen ſlaine; The Earle arriuing with all his traine,

Euſtace Earle of *Bullogne* married *Goda* the Kings ſiſter.

purſues, and ſlue the homicide, with 18. other. The City ſeeing this, tooke armes, and in the bickering, the Earle loſt 22. of his men: whereupon, backe he haſtes to the King, aggrauates the inſolency of the Citizens ſo farre; that the Earle *Godwin* is ſent for, and commanded with a power of men, to make againſt the City of *Doner*, to chaſtice the people. The Earle (conſidering it was vpon the information of one ſide) aduiſed the King rather to ſend for the chiefe of the City, to vnderſtand what they could ſay for themſelues, and accordingly to proceed; which (being taken for a coldneſſe in the buſineſſe, and of fauour to his Countrymen) gaue the King and his enemies occaſion to ſuſpect his affection.

Earle *Godwins* inſurrection.

Shortly after, the Earle is ſummoned to an Aſſembly at *Gloceſter*, where neither hee, nor any of his ſons would appeare; and ſuſpecting ſome practiſe againſt him by his enemies, raiſes forces, pretending to ſuppreſſe the *Welch*, who were not found to offend; whereupon the Aſſembly remoues to *London*, ſummons him againe to make his appearance, to diſmiſſe his forces, and to come onely attended with twelue perſons. Hee ſends them word; to diſmiſſe his forces hee was content, or any thing elſe the King would command him, ſo it were with the ſafety of his life and honour; but to come diſaccompanied, was for neither. Then was hee commanded within fiue dayes to depart the Realme, which he did, and with *Touſtaine*, and *Swayne* his ſons, gets him into *Flanders*, where *Touſtaine* married the daughter of the Earle *Baldowin* the 5. *Harald* his eldeſt ſon, departs into *Ireland*: the King puts from him the Queene, to bee partaker of the diſgrace, and miſery of her houſe; who is deſcribed (by the writers of thoſe times) to haue beene a Lady of rare parts, excellently learned, beautifull, and as faire of minde as body. The Earle *Godwin* in this deſperate fortune (whilſt the *French* and his enemies poſſeſt the King) fell to Piracy, diſturbed the coaſts, approached *London*, by the Riuer; and being ſo popular, as no forces would oppoſe againſt him, made at length his own peace with power; in ſuch ſort, as the *French* fearing reuenge, forſooke both the Court, and Kingdome.

The *French* forſake the Court, and Kingdome of *England*.

Thus (as fore-pointing to a ſtorme that was gathering on that coaſt) began the firſt difference with the *French* nation: which, thus acquainted with the diſtraction of the Kingdome, and factions of great men, wrought on thoſe aduantages, and were inſtruments to draw on the fatall enterprize that followed.

The weakeneſſe of the King, and the diſproportionate greatneſſe of the Earle *Godwin*, being riſen vp from ſo great a fall (learning thereby, to looke better to his feete, and make his ſides ſtrong) increaſed theſe diſcontentments, and partialities in the State; wherein many acts of iniuſtice, by the ſway of power and paſſion were committed; which did much blacken that time of peace, and made a good man (not by doing, but enduring ill) held to be a bad King.

Queen *Emmes* affliction and triall.

And it is ſaid, that *Emme*, the Queene-mother, had her part of much affliction in his reigne, ſuffering both in her goods and fame: and now to purge her ſelfe of a ſcandall raiſed on her with *Alwyn* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, ſhe vnder-went the triall of *Fire-Ordeall* (which was to paſſe blind-fold, with bare feete, ouer certaine plough-ſhare, made red hote, and layd an vneuen diſtance one before the other) which ſhe ſafely performed. And the reaſon why, both her ſon and the State ſo little reſpected this great Lady, whoſe many yeares had made her an actor in diuers fortunes, was, for that ſhe neuer affected King *Ethelred*, nor the children ſhe had by him: and for her marriage with *Knute*, the great enemy and ſubduer of the Kingdome, whom ſhe euer much more loued liuing, and commended dead.

It ſeemed theſe priuate grudges, with mens particular ends, held theſe times ſo buſied, that the publike was neglected, and an iſſue-leſſe King, gaue matter for ambition and power, to build hopes and practiſes vpon; though for his owne part, he ſhewed to haue had a care for the ſucceſſion, in ſending for his Nephew *Edward*, intitled the Outlaw, with his children, out of *Hungary*. But *Edward*, ſhortly after his arriuall, died, and *Edgar* his ſon (ſurnamed *Atheling*) to ſay Prince *Edgar*) whom hee had by his wife *Agatha*, daughter to the Emperor *Henry* the 2. who (either by reaſon of his youth, which yet was no barre to his right, or being borne and bred a ſtranger, little know-

ing

ing, or knowne to the Kingdome) had his claime neglected vpon the death of this *Pious* King. Which was *Anno* 1065. when he had reigned 24. yeares. His corps was interred in the Church of *Weſtminſter*, which he had newly founded.

King *Edward* founder of *weſtminſter* Church.

Harald the ſecond.

AND *Harald*, ſon to Earle *Godwin* (the next day after) was preferred to the Crowne, whether by any title hee might pretend from the *Danique* Kings, as deſcended from that Nation (aild, as ſome report, ſon to *Githa*, ſiſter to *Swaine*,) or by meere election of the greater part of the Nobility, wee cannot ſay: but it ſeemes, the preſſing neceſſity of the time, that required a more man, to vndergo the burthen of warre, and that trouble, the world was like to fall into, by reaſon of the claimes now made, both by the *Dane*, and *Norman*, caſt it ſuddainly vpon him; as the moſt eminent man of the Kingdome, both by the experience of his owne deſeruings, and the ſtrength alſo of his owne, and the alliance of his wife *Algith* ſiſter of *Edwin* and *Morckar*, Earles of *Yorkeſhire* and *Cheſter*. Neither did hee faile (but in fortune) to make good this election; taking all the beſt courſes, both for the well ordering of the State, and all prouiſions for defence, that a politicke and actiue Prince could doe. But being to deale in a broken world, where the affections of men were all diſioynted, or daſht with the terror of an approaching miſchiefe, failing (as vſually is ſeene in theſe publique feares) both in their diligence, and courage to withſtand it, ſoone found more then enough to doe.

Harald the ſecond. *Anno* 1065.

And the firſt man, which began to diſturbe his new gouernment, was his owne yonger brother *Touſtaine*, who (in the time of the late King *Edward*, hauing the gouernment of *Northumberland*) was for his pride and immanities ſhewed in thoſe parts, baniſhed the Kingdome; and now by reaſon of his former conceiued hatred againſt his brother, eaſily ſet on by the Duke of *Normandy*, and *aldowin Baldowin*, Earle of *Flanders*, (whoſe two daughters the Duke and he had married) aſſailes firſt the Iſle of *Wight*, and after ſets vpon the coaſt of *Kent*, whence he was chaſed by the power of *Harald*, and forced to withdraw into the North parts; and there ſeeking to land, was likewiſe repulſed, by the Earles *Morchar* and *Edwin*. Then craues he aid of the *Scots*, and after of *Harald*, ſurnamed *Harfager*, King of *Norway*, being then taking in the Orcades, and exerciſing piracy in thoſe parts; whom he induced with all his forces to inuade *England*. And landing at *Tinmouth* (diſcomfeiting their firſt incounters) they marched into the heart of the Kingdome without reſiſtance. Neere *Stamford*, King *Harald* of *England* met them with a puiſſant Army; and after long and eager fight, ended the day with victory, and the death of his brother *Touſtaine*, and the King of *Norway*.

The Kings brother *Touſtaine* baniſhed.

His death with the King of *Norway*.

But from hence was hee called with his wearied and broken forces, to a more fatall buſineſſe in the South. For now *William* Duke of *Normandy* (pretending a right to the Crowne of England, by the Teſtament of the late King *Edward* his Kinſman; vpon the aduantage of a buſie time, and the diſfurniſhment of thoſe parts) landed at *Pemſey*, not farre from *Haſtings* in *Suſſex*: neere to which place, was tried by the great Aſſize of Gods iudgement in battell (the right of power) betweene the *Engliſh* and *Norman* Nation. A battell (the moſt memorable of all other,) and howſoeuer miſerably loſt, yet moſt nobly fought on the part of *England*; and the many wounds of *Harald* there ſlaine, with 60. thouſand 9. hundred 74. of *Engliſh*, ſhew, how much was wrought to haue ſaued their Country from the calamity of forraine ſeruitude.

The Battaile was fought in *Suſſex*, 7. miles from *Haſtings*, vpon Saterday the 14. of October, 1066.

The Kings valor and death.

And yet, how ſo great a Kingdome as *England* then was, could with one blow bee ſubdued by ſo ſmall a Prouince as *Normandy* (in ſuch ſort, as it could neuer after come to make any generall head againſt the Conquerour) might ſeeme ſtrange; did not the circumſtances aforenoted, and other concurrent cauſes, hereafter to bee declared, giue vs faire and probable reaſons thereof: Beſides, the indiſpoſition of a diſeaſed time, as it is deſcribed by ſuch as liued neereſt it, may giue vs great euidence in this examination. For they ſay, the people of this Kingdome, were (by their beeing ſecure from their former enemy the *Dane*, and their long peace; which had held, in a manner,

William Malmſbury.

from

William Malmſburie.

from the death of King *Edmond Ironſide*, almoſt fifty yeeres;) growne neglectiue of Armes, and generally debauſhed with luxurie and idleneſſe: the Clergie licentious, and onely content with a tumultuarie learning: The Nobility giuen to Gluttony, Venery, and Oppreſſion: The common ſort to Drunkenneſſe, and all diſorder: And they ſay, that in the laſt action of *Harald* at *Stamford*, the braueſt men periſhed, and himſelfe growing inſolent vpon the victory (retaining the ſpoyles, without diſtribution to his ſouldiers, not inured to be commanded by martiall diſcipline) made them diſcontent, and vnruly: and comming to this battell with many mercinary men, and a diſcontented Army, gaue great occaſion to the lamentable loſſe thereof.

Beſides, the *Normans* had a peculiar fight with long bowes, wherewith the *Engliſh* (then altogether vnacquainted) were eſpecially ouerthrowne. And yet their owne Writers report, how the maine Battalion of the *Engliſh* (conſiſting of Bils, their chiefe and ancient weapon) held in a body ſo cloſe lockt together, as no force could diſſolue them; till the *Normans* (faining to flie) drew them to a diſordered rout. And ſo they excuſe the fortune of the day.

King *Harold* buried at *Waltham.*

The body of King *Harold*, which at the ſute of his mother (who ſent two Monkes of the Abbey of *Waltham* to entreate the ſame of the Conqueror) was after much ſearch, amongſt the heapes of the dead found, and interred, in the ſame Abbey, which himſelfe had founded. Hee was a King, who ſhewes vs nothing but miſerie, reigned leaſt, and loſt moſt of any other. He left foure ſons, *Godwin*, *Edmond*, *Magnus*, and *Wolfe*: the two eldeſt fled away after this battaile into *Ireland*, and from thence made ſome attempts vpon the Weſterne coaſts of *England*, but to little effect. And here ended the line of the *Saxon* Kings, about fiue hundred yeeres after the firſt comming in of *Hengiſt*, and their plantation in this Kingdome.

His Iſſue.

And thus haue I in the ſtraighteſt courſe (wherein that vneuen compaſſe of Antiquity could direct me) got ouer the wide, and intricate paſſage of thoſe times that lay beyond the worke. I purpoſe more particularly to deliuer. And now,

The Life and Reigne of William the firſt.

W. C. *Anno* 1066.

I Come to write of a time, wherein the State of *England* receiued an alteration of Lawes, Cuſtomes, Faſhion, manner of liuing, Language, writing, with new formes of Fights, Fortifications, Buildings, and generally an innouation in moſt things, but Religion. So that from this mutation, which was the greateſt it euer had, wee are to begin with a new account of an *England*, more in dominion abroad, more in State, and ability at home, and of more honour and name in the world, then heretofore: which by beeing thus vndone, was made, as if it were, in the Fate thereof to get more by loſing, then otherwiſe. For as firſt, the Conqueſt of the *Danes*, brought it to the entireſt Gouernment it euer poſſeſt at home, and made it moſt redoubted of all the Kingdomes of the North: ſo did this of the *Norman* by comming in vpon it, make a way to let out, and ſtretch the mighty armes thereof ouer the Seas, into the goodly Prouinces of the South: For before theſe times, the *Engliſh* Nation, from the firſt eſtabliſhment in this Land, about the ſpace of 500. yeares, neuer made any ſally out of the Iſle, vpon any other part of the world, but buried at home in a diuided State, held a broken Gouernment with the *Danes*, and of no great regard, it ſeemes, with other Nations, till *Knute* led them forth into the Kingdome of *Norway*, where they firſt ſhewed effects of their valour, and what they would be, were they imployed.

Englands territories ouerſhootes the Ocean.

But the *Normans*, hauing more of the Sun, and ciuility (by their commixtion with the *Engliſh*) begat ſmoother faſhions, with quicker motions in them then before. And being a Nation free from that dull diſeaſe of drinke, wherewith their former Conquerors were naturally infected, induced a more comely temperance, with a neerer regard of reputation and honour. For where as before, the *Engliſh* liued looſe, in little homely Cottages, where they ſpent all their reuenues in good fare, caring for little other

other gaiety at all. Now after the *Norman* manner, they build them goodly Churches, and ſtately houſes of ſtone, prouide better furniſhments, erect Caſtles, and Towers in other ſort then before. They incloſe Parkes for their priuate pleaſure; being debard the generall liberty of hunting, which heeretofore they enioyed: whereupon all the termes of building, hunting, tooles of workemen, names of moſt handy-crafts appertaining to the defences and adornments of life, came all to bee in *French*. And withall, the *Norman* habits, and faſhion of liuing, became generally aſſumed, both in regard of noueltie, and to take away the note of difference, which could not be well lookt on in that change.

And though the body of our language remained in the *Saxon*, yet it came ſo altered in the habite of the *French* tongue, as now we hardly know it, in the ancient forme it had; and not ſo much as the Character wherein it was written, but was altred to that of the *Roman* and *French*, now vſed. But to the end we may the better know the man, and the Nation that thus ſubdued vs; we muſt take our courſe vp to the head of their originals. The *Normans*, we finde to haue iſſued out of *Norway* & *Denmarke*, and were of like maners, as the reſt of thoſe *Northerne* countries: which by reaſon of the apt mixture of their Phlegmatique and Sanguine complexions, with their promiſcuous ingendring, without any tye of marriage, yeelded that continuall ſurchargement of people, as they were forced to vnburthen themſelues on other Countries, whereſoeuer their violence could make them roome. And out of this redundancy, *Roul*, or *Rou*, a great Commander amongſt them, furniſhed a robuſtious power, in the time of King *Alfrid*, and firſt landed in *England* (that euer lay in the Roade to all theſe inuadors) where finding no roome empty, nor any imployment, was content (vpon ſome reliefe receiued) to vſe his forces other-where; which he did againſt *Rambalt*, Duke of *Frize*, and *Reignier* Duke of *Chaumont*, and *Hennalt*: with whom he had many violent incounters, and committed great ſpoyles in their Countries. Which done; he paſſed along the coaſt of *France*, entred the mouth of *Seine*, and ſackt all the Country vp to *Roan*: where the people hauing beene lately before miſerably afflicted by *Haſting* (another inuador of the ſame Nation) were ſo terrified by the approach of theſe new forces, that the Archbiſhop of *Roan*, by the conſent of the people, offered him the obedience of that City, and the Country about, on condition hee would defend them, and miniſter Iuſtice according to the Lawes of Chriſt, and the Cuſtomes of the Countrey. For *Charles* the *Simple*, then King of *France*, yeelding no preſent ſuccour (beeing otherwiſe imbroiled about the right of his Crowne) gaue him the opportunity to plant in that place, and to grow ſo powerfull, as ſhortly after he attempted the Conqueſt of *Paris*, and gaue many notable defeits to the *French* Leaders. So that in the end, *Charles* was faine to buy his peace with the price of an alliance, and the whole Countrey of *Nueſtria* (or *Weſtrich*) which of the *Normans*, was after called *Normandy*. And thereupon *Roul* became a Chriſtian, and baptized, had the name of *Robert*, giuen by *Robert*, brother to *Eudes* late King of *France*, who then ſtood in competition for that Crowne with *Charles* the *Simple*: and is ſaid to haue vnder-aided *Roul* ſecretly, of purpoſe to make him friend his deſignes; though after hee vrged it in an article againſt *Charles*, the giuing away his Country, and the fauouring of ſtrangers.

And thus came *Roul* to eſtabliſh a State to his poſterity, ordering the ſame with that iudgement and equity, as he left his name in a perpetuall reuerence, and his ſucceſſors a firme foundation to plant vpon. From him, in a direct line, deſcended ſixe Dukes of *Normandy*, in the ſpace of 120. yeares: *William*, 1. *Richard*, 1. *Richard*, 2. who had two ſons, *Richard* and *Robert*, that ſucceſſiuely inherited the Dukedome.

Robert, after he had gouerned eight yeares (either meerely for deuotion, which charity ought rather deeme) or expiation for ſome ſecret guilt, wherewith his conſcience might ſtand charged, about his brothers death (which becauſe it was vntimely, might be thought vnnaturall) reſolues to viſite the Holy Sepulchre. And acquainting his Nobility therewith, was by them much diſſwaded, in regard he had no iſſue: and for that (already they ſaid) *Alain* Earle of *Brittaine*, and the Earle of *Burgogne*, were in conteſtation, who ſhould ſucceede him in the Dutchie: ſo that vpon his death, and their

Malmsbury.
Mauricius, Biſhop of *London* *An. Dom.* 1087. new built the Church of S. *Paule* in *London*, of ſtone brought out of *Normandie*.
The Charter of *William* 1. granted to this Church.
Before this time the Churches were moſt of Timber.
William 1. built the white Tower, afterwards walled and incaſtelled vnderneath by *William* 2. and *Henry* 1.
The *Saxons* habit, and Characters firſt altered.
The Originall of the *Normans* *Roul*, or *Rou*, the firſt *Norman* that landed in *England*.
The Hiſtory of *Normand*.
Roul, the firſt Conqueror of *Normandy* frō the *French*, calling it *Norman*.

their ſtrife, the Country was like to become a prey to the ſouldier, from which, in conſcience he was bound, by his beſt meanes to ſecure it. The Duke willed them to be content: I haue (ſaid hee) a little Baſtard, of whoſe worthineſſe I haue great hope, and I doubt not but hee is of my begetting: him I will inueſt in the Dutchie as mine heire: And from henceforth I pray you take him for your Lord. The Earle of *Brittaine* (notwithſtanding his competition) to ſhew the affiance I haue in him, I will conſtitute his gouernour, and Seneſchall of *Normandie*; the King of *France* ſhall be his Guardian, and ſo I leaue him to God, and your loyalties.

Shortly after, the Biſhops and Barons did their homage to his baſe ſonne, named *William*, who was the ſixt Duke of *Normandie* after *Roule*, begotten on *Arlette*, a meane woman of *Falaiſe*. And Duke *Robert* taking his intended iourney, deliuers the Child with his owne hand, to *Henry* the firſt, King of *France*: whom before hee had mainely aided in preſeruing his Crowne (left him by his father King *Roberts* Teſtament) againſt his elder brother, and his mother *Conſtance*, which with a great ſide of Nobility, ſtood for the right of *Primogeniture*, according to the cuſtome of *France*: And therefore might the more preſume (if good turnes done to Princes could weigh ſo much, as their ſelfe-reſpects would not turne the skale) to haue had a faire diſcharge of his truſt: and him for a Protector, whoſe power was beſt able to bee ſo. And cauſing the Childe to doe homage for his Dutchie of *Normandy*, commits him to his Royall faith; departs his Court, and ſhortly after his life, in *Aſia*. Whereupon his ſucceſſor, but nine yeares of age, became obnoxious to all the miſeries that afflict Princes in their pupillage: beſides the reproach of his birth; which though his honor and vertue might get ouer, yet lay it euer a barre in his way, and hindred his ſtanding cleere, ſtood hee neuer ſo high.

The Nobles of *Normandy*, ſoone (after his fathers death, by much entreaty, got him out of the *French* Kings hands) thinking the hauing him amongſt them, would adde more to his Counſellors, and ſuch as were in office: and the State of a Court, awe his State the better. But ſoone they found, the hauing his perſon (without his power) was, but to put them out, into more diſcord, and faction.

For preſently followed the murthering, and poiſoning of Gouernors, diſplacing of Officers; intruſion, ſupplantation, ſurprizings, and recouerings of his perſon, by a Nobilitie, ſtubborne, haughty, and incompatible of each others precedency or neereneſſe. But this was the leaſt, as beeing done all for his perſon. Now followed more dangerous practiſes againſt him. His right was quarrelled by competitors, cleere in bloud, and great in meanes. Whereof the firſt (though farr eſt off in deſcent) was *Roger de Treſny*, bringing a faire line from *Roule*, and much proofe of his own worth, by hauing gotten great experience, in the *Saracine* warre in *Spaine*: whereby vpon his returne, entertaining and feaſting the great, and eſpeciall men of worth; hee was growne powerfull, well followed, and beloued of many: in ſo much that at length, meaſuring his owne height, hee vrges, *What wrong it was that a Baſtard, and a Childe, ſhould be preferred before him, in the ſucceſſion of the Dutchie, his Anceſtors had nobly gotten: and what a ſhame the* Normans *(a people of that worth) would endure to be ſo gouerned; ſeeing they had others of the renowned race of* Roule, William, *and* Richard, *Dukes of Normandy, of a lawfull and direct line, if they held him vnworthy to inherite the State.* And beeing impatient (as is ambition, that euer rides without raines) of any long delay, brings his claime to a ſtrong battaile in the field, which by the valiancie of *Roger de Beaumount*, was vtterly deſeited, and himſelfe with his two brethren ſlaine. Whereby all feare that way was extinguiſhed, and the reputation of the Duke and his, ſo much aduanced, as the King of *France* (notwithſtanding his tutelary charge) tooke from him the Caſtle of *Tellieres*, and demoliſht it, pretending the inſolencies committed there, by the Garriſons, vpon his ſubiects: and makes ſhew as yet, onely to keepe things euen. But long it was not, ere hee plainely bewrayed his minde; ayding in perſon *William* Earle of *Arques*, brother to Duke *Robert*, and ſon to *Richard* the Second, making his claime to the Dutchie, and brings a mighty Army to ſuccour *Arques*, beſieged by Conte *Guiſſard*, the Dukes Generall; who (by

(by a ſtratagem ſo trayned the *French* into an Ambuſh) as hee ouerthrew their whole power, and returnes the King to *Paris*, with great loſſe, and diſhonour: Leauing *Arques* (the firſt *Arch* of triumph) to this Conqueror, not yet arriued to ſeauenteene yeares of age; and the diſcomfeited competitor to ſeeke his Fortunes with *Euſtace* Earle of *Bologne*, finding vpon his returne little grace in Court; where fortune euer alters credit and few regard men ouerthrowne.

This ſtorme ouer-paſt, another ſucceeds more dangerous; there liued with Duke *William*, a young Lord of like yeares, named *Guy* ſonne to *Reynalt*, Earle of *Burgogne* and *Alix* daughter to *Richard* the ſecond; who comming to bee ſenſible of his intereſt, was aduiſed by ſome ſtirring ſpirits, to attempt for the Duchie, which they ſayd appertayned to him in right, and was wrongfully vſurped by the *Baſtard*: And to aduance his purpoſe, there happens deadly hoſtility betweene two of the greateſt Lords of *Normandy* (*Viconte Neele*, and the Earle of *Beſſin*) whoſe debate, Duke *William* did not, or could not pacifie. This *Guy* (lately made Earle of *Bryorn*, and *Vernon*, interpoſed himſelfe to compoſe this diſcord; and by the aduice of *Grimoult de Pleſſis* (a principall mouer in this worke) ſo wrought, that either of theſe Lords, turned the poynt of their malice vppon him, who in their quarrell fauouring neyther, made both to hate him; and eaſily conſpire with *Guy* to murther him at vnawares: Which they had done, had not a certaine Foole (whom, for beeing held a naturall, they ſuſpected not) noting their preparations, got away in the dead of the night to *Valogne*, knocking and crying at the Gate, till he was admitted to the Dukes preſence, whom he willed in haſt to flye, or hee would bee murthered. The Duke ſeeing the Foole in this affright, thought dangers were not to bee weighed by the worth of the Reporter, but by their likelyhood; and knowing his Fortune was liable vnto all ſuddaine aſſaſinations; inſtantly takes Horſe, and all alone poſtes to *Fallaiſe*, his eſpeciall place of ſtrength: on the way, his Horſe beeing tyred, about breake of day, he comes to a little village called *Rye*, where, by good Fortune, the Gentleman of the place, was ſtanding at his doore, ready to goe abroad; of whom the Duke requires the next way to *Fallaiſe*: The Gentleman perceiuing who hee was (though as then very vnwilling to bee knowne) humbly craues the cauſe of his ſo ſtrange and vntimely Riding alone; The Duke ſeeing himſelfe diſcouered, tells the occaſion: The Gentleman (whoſe name was *Robert de Rye*) furniſhes him with a freſh Horſe, and ſends two of ſonnes to conduct him the neereſt way to *Fallaiſe*: No ſooner was hee gone out of ſight, but after poſt the Conſpirators, enquiring of the ſame Gentleman, whether hee ſaw the Duke; who anſwered, that hee was gone a little before, ſuch a way (ſhewing them a diuers path) and rode on with them, offering his ſeruice to Conte *Beſſin*; where they made themſelues ſo powerfull, as the Duke withdrew him to *Roan*, and from thence to the King of *France*, to craue his ayde, putting him in minde of the faithfull ſeruice his Father had done him: how hee was his Homager, vnder his tutelary charge, and had no other Sanctuary of ſuccour to flye vnto, in this caſe of his mutinous and turbulent Nobility; the effect whereof was of dangerous conſequence to that Crowne. And ſo farre vrged the importancie of reliefe, as the King at length (who ſeemes was yet content to haue him bee, though not too ſtrong, and peradture rather him then his Competitor *Guy de Burgogne*) ayded him in Perſon with a puiſſant Army againſt theſe Competitors, whom they found in the vale of *Dunes* with as great power and reſolution to bid them battaile, as they to aſſaile them. Here one *Guilleſon*, Vncle to Vicónte *Neel* by the mother, forced his Horſe into the Battailion of the *French*, and made at the King, and ſtrake him downe with his Launce: Which Conte Saint *Paule* perceiuing, haſtes to encounter him with that Violence, as both fell to the Earth; but *Guilleſon* ſoone gets vp, and though his Horſe was ſlayne vnder him, by *Caſtillon*, he eſcapes out of the preſſe, and after fled into *Apulia* with others. The King recouered, and more inkindled with this affront, ſpared not his Perſon, to auenge his wrath. Duke *William* likewiſe (as it ſtood him moſt vppon) ſhewed effects of an all-daring and Magnanimous Prince. And yet had not *Ralph de Teſſon* beene falſe to his fellowes to recouer faith with him, he had not carried (as he did) the victory.

A Conſpiracy diſcouered ſtrangely.

After which, diuers of the Conſpirators (who had too great hearts to yeeld) paſſed the Mountaines into *Italy*, to *Robert Guiſcard* their Country-man (who of a priuate Gentleman, was now by his proweſſe, become Lord of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicile*, within the ſpace of twelue yeares:) to whom they were exceeding welcome, and eſpecially *Guilleſon*, for hauing incountred with a King in the middeſt of his Battaile; which made him of wider note. But the better to know, what ſtarre theſe *Norman* ſpirits had, as borne for the reuolutions of thoſe times, it ſhall not lye out off our way to ſhewe, how they firſt came into *Italy* vpon this occaſion.

There happened a debate betweene one *Oſmond Drengot*, and *William Repoſtell*, Gentlemen both valiant, and of great Parentage in *Normandy*, who as they hunted in the Forreſt of *Rouvery* (neere *Rouan*) with Duke *Robert*; *Drengot* ſlew *Repoſtell*, in his preſence; and fearing the fury of the Duke, and the Friends of the ſlayne, fled to *Rome*, and ſo to *Naples*, where hee, with his ſmall Company of *Normans* that followed him, was entertayned of the Duke *de Benevento*, to ſerue him againſt the *Saraſins*, and *Affricans*, which miſerably infeſted *Apulia* and *Calabria*, at that time. The bruite of which entertainment was no ſooner ſpred in *Normandy*, but diuers Valiant Gentlemen and Souldiers, allured with the hope of good Fortune, paſſed the Alpes, got to their Nation, and ſo wrought, as they grew formidable to theſe *Barbarians*, and in the end, vtterly chaced and extinguiſhed them. The *Calabrians* and *Apulians*, ſeeing themſelues ridde of their enemies, would haue beene glad likewiſe (their turne ſerued) to bee rid of their Friends, and eyther vſing them more vnkindely then of cuſtome, or they preſuming more of deſert, turned their Swords vppon their Intertayners. And firſt got a little place, which they fortified for the *Rendevous*, and receipt of booty: And ſo Augmenting ſtill their Winnings, obtayned Territories, Cities, and Fortreſſes. And after the Death of *Drengot*, ſucceeded other Gallant Leaders, and at length *Tancred*, *Signior de Hauteuille*, in Conſtantine, with his twelue ſons; came into *Apulia*, of whom his third ſon *Robert*, ſirnamed *Guiſcard*, attained the commaund, and was a man of faire ſtature, cleare iudgement, and indefatigable courage. Hee Conquered all *Apulia*, *Calabria* and *Sycile*, paſſed the Sea into *Greece*; relieued *Michael Diocriſius*, Emperour of *Conſtantinople*, defeited *Nicephorus* that vſurped the Empire; and ſhortly after *Alexius* attempting the like; and in one yeare vanquiſhed two Emperours, the one of *Greece*, the other of *Germany*: ſwayed the whole Eſtate of *Italy*, and was in a faire way to haue attayned the Empire of *Conſtantinople* for himſelfe, had hee not dyed in the expedition.

Beomond his eldeſt ſon, by his firſt wife, became after Prince of *Antioch*, and is much renowned in the holy Warres. *Roger* (of his ſecond marriage with the daughter of the Prince of *Salerno*) ſucceeded in the States of *Italy*, as more theirs by birth and blood. His daughters were all highly married; Thus from a priuate Gentleman, came this famous *Norman* to leaue a ſucceſſion of Kings and Princes after him, and dyed the ſame yeare as did this *William*, his concurrent in the loue and fauour of Fortune. And to this man fled all the diſcontented and deſperate *Normans* during theſe ciuill Wars the Duke had with ſo many Competitors; and euery ouerthrow hee gaue them, augmented *Guiſcards* forces in *Italy*; and eſpecially this battaile of *Danes*; which ended not the Dukes trauailes, for *Guy de Burgogne* eſcaping the fight, fortified the Caſtles of *Briorn* and *Vernenille*, but in the end was faine to render them both, and himſelfe, to the Dukes mercy, and became his pencioner, who was his Competitor; which act of clemency in the Duke, brought in many other to ſubmit themſelues; whereby they re-obtayned their Signiories, but had their Caſtles demoliſhed.

Hauing ended this worke, new occaſion to keepe him in action, was miniſtred by *Geoffry Martle* Earle of *Anion*, who warring vpon the *Poictouins*, incroached alſo vpon his neighbours States, and vſurped *Alenſon*, *Dampfront* and *Paſſais*, members of the Dutchy of *Normandy*: Which to recouer, the Duke leauies an Army, and firſt got *Alenſon*, where (for that he was opprobrioully ſcorned by the beſiedged, who, when they ſaw him, would cry *La Pel*, *La Pel*, in reproach of the baſeneſſe of his mother, and the Trade of the place of his birth) hee ſhewed extreame cruelty. Then layes hee ſiedge

to

to *Dampfront*; which to relieue, Count *Martell* comes with his greateſt forces: and the Duke to take notice of his ſtrength, ſends out *Roger de Mongomery*, with two other Knights to deliuer this meſſage to the Earle, *That if he came to victuall* Dampfront, *hee ſhould finde him there the Porter to keep him out:* Whereto the Earle returnes this anſwer, *Tell the Duke, to morrow by day breake, he ſhall haue me there on a white horſe, ready to giue him the Combat, and I will enter* Dampfront *if I can; And to the end he ſhall know me, I will weare a ſhield, without any deuice.*

Roger replies, *Sir you ſhall not needs to take that paines, for to morrow morning, you ſhall haue the Duke in this place, mounted on a bay horſe; And that you may know him, he ſhall weare on the poynt of his Launce, a ſtreamer of taffata, to wipe your face.* Herewith returning, each ſide prepares for the morning: When the Earle, buſie in ordering his battailes, was aduertiſed by two Horſe-men, that came croſſing the field, how *Dampfronte*, for certaine was rendered to the Duke; whereupon in great rage, hee preſently departs with his Army: whereof a part, was (in paſſing a ſtreight) cut off, by *Viconte Neel*, who for that ſeruice, redeemed his former offence, and was reſtored to the Dukes fauour, whom hee euer after faithfully ſerued. Thoſe of *Damfronte*, deſperate of ſuccour, preſently yeeld themſelues to the Duke, who with his engines and forces remooues from thence to *Hambrieres*, a frontire Towne of Count *Martels*, and by the way (had it not beene by himſelfe diſcouered) hee had beene vtterly ouerthrowne by an ambuſh, which gaue him much to doe, and loſt him very many braue men. Wherewith hee grew ſo inraged, that hee ruſhed into the troupes of his enemies; made at Count *Martell*, ſtrake him downe with his ſwoorde, claue his helmet, and cut off an eare: but yet hee eſcaped out of the preaſſe, though diuers were taken, and the *Anionins* vtterly deſeated.

Whilſt thus hee was traulled with an outward enemy, two more, were found at home, to conſpire againſt him: *William Conte*, Earle of *Mortagne*, deſcended from *Richard* the ſecond: And *William* Earle of *Eu*, and *Montreuil*, iſſuing from *William*, the brother of the ſame *Richard*, and of *Eſſelin*, Counteſſe of *Montreuil*: the firſt vpon ſuſpition, the other vpon proofe, of an intention, was baniſhed, and their eſtates ſeized: the Earledome of *Mortagne* hee gaue to *Robert*: that of *Eu* to *Odo* (after Biſhop of *Bayeux*) both his bretheren by the mother. Theſe aſſaults from abroad, theſe ſcornes, conſpiracies, and vnder-workings at home, he paſſed before hee was full 22. yeares of age: and thus his enemies made him, that ſought to vndoe him. But now, more to vnderſet and ſtrengthen his State, againſt future practiſes, hee convokes an aſſemblie of his Prelates, Barrons, and Gentlemen, cauſing them to receiue their oath of Fealtie, and raze their Caſtles; which done, hee married *Matilde*, the daughter of *Baldwin* the fift, Earle of *Flaunders*, but not without *contrift* and trouble: for his Vncle *Mauger*, Arch-biſhop of *Roan*, excommunicates him, for matching within the forbidden degrees of kindred, ſhe being daughter to *Elinor*, daughter to *Richard* the ſecond, and ſo his fathers ſiſters daughter. To expiate for which offence (vpon a diſpenſation from Pope *Victor*) they were inioyned the building of certaine hoſpitals for blinde people: and two abbyes, the one for men, the other for women; which were erected at *Caen*.

The Duke Marries *Matilde* daughter of *Baldwin* the fift, Earle of *Flaunders*.

This match, and the ouer-marching his enemies, ſet him ſo high a marke of enuey in the eye of *France*, which naturally loued not the *Normans* (whom in reproach they vſually called *Trewans*) as they eaſily incenſed their King (who of himſelfe was forward enough, to abate a power, growne ſo out of proportion with the reſt of the Princes of his Dominions), to finde a quarrell (which conſiners eaſily doe) to ſet vppon him: and (to make it looke the fairer) pretends to correct the inſolencies of the *Normans* committed vppon his Territories, and to releiue Count *Martel* oppreſt by the Duke; beſides alleadging, *It concerned him in honor and iuſtice, to haue that Prouince, which held of his Crowne, to bee gouerned by a Prince of lawful blood, according to Chriſtian order and Lawes Eccleſiaſticall:* And therefore reſolueth vtterly to exterminate the Duke, and eſtabliſh a legittimate Prince in the Duchie. For which effect, two armies are gathered from all parts of his Kingdome; the one ſent

The reaſons why the King of France warres with the *Normans*.

along the riuer *Sein*, the other into the Country of *Beſſin*, as meaning to encompaſſe him.

The Duke likewiſe deuides his forces into two parts, ſends his brother *Otho*; Earle of *Eu*, *Walter Gifford* Earle of *Longueuill*, and others with the one, to the Countrie of *Caux*; himſelfe with the other takes towards *Eureux* (to make head to the King that was at *Mante*) and withdrawes all cattle and prouiſions out of the flat Country, into Cities and Fortreſſes (for their owne ſtore, and diſfurniſhment of the enemie.) The Kings army marching from *Beauuois*, to *Mortimer* and finding there a fat Country, full of all prouiſions, betooke them to make good cheere, and reſts there all that night; thinking the *Norman* forces were yet with the Duke at *Eureux*; which the Army in *Caux* conducted by *Otho* vnderſtanding, marched all night, and by breake of day gaue them ſo hot an alarum, and ſo ſudaine, as put them all in a rout, leauing horſe, and armour, and all to the aſſaylants; who made ſuch a deſtruction of them, that of forty thouſand, not the fourth part eſcaped.

The defeiture of the Army of the King of *France* by the *Normans*.

With this defeiture, the King of *France* is againe returned home, with great rage and griefe, and the Duke, with the redemption of the priſoners, recouers his peace, and the Caſtle of *Thuiliers*, taken from him in his vnder-age. Count *Martell* though much diſmayed with the Kings ouerthrow, yet ceaſes not to make ſome attempts for the recouering his Townes; but with no ſucceſſe. The Duke hee ſaw was too well beloued and followed, for him to doe any good without a ſtronger armie. Wherefore the next Spring, he goes againe importune the King of *France*, to aide him againſt the Duke: who (he ſaid) *Was now growne ſo inſolent vpon this peace, and the victory he had ſtolne, and not wonne, that there was no liuing for his neighbours neere him.* Beſides, the *Normans* had the *French* in ſuch deriſion, and baſe eſteeme, as they made their act (at *Mortimer*) their onely ſport, and the ſubiect of their rimes: as if a King of *France*, vpon the loſſe of a few men, was retired, and durſt not breake a diſhonorable peace.

With which inſtigation, and being ſtung with the touch of reproach, hee raiſes another Army far mightier then before, wherein were three Dukes, and twelue Earles, and notwithſtanding the ſolemne peace made, and ſo lately ſworne with the Duke, hee enters *Normandy* in the harueſt time, ouer-runnes and ſpoiles all the Country, along the coaſt to *Beſſin*: from whence marchin to *Bayeux*, and *Caen*, with purpoſe to paſſe the riuer *Dine* at *Varneuille*, to deſtroy the Countries of *Auge*, *Loſeux*, and *Roumois*, euen to *Roan*, and finding the cauſe-way long, and the bridge narrow, cauſed his vant-gard to paſſe ouer firſt: and to ſecure his Arier-gard conducted by the Duke of *Berry*, himſelfe ſtayes behinde in *Caen*, till his people, and their carriages were paſſed. Duke *William* (who all this while, ſtores his fortreſſes with men and victual) makes himſelfe as ſtrong in the Towne of *Fallaiſe*, as he could; hath no Army in the field, but a running camp to be ready to take all aduantages: lets the fury of the ſtorme ſpend it ſelfe, and hauing aduertiſment of this paſſage, marched all night with ten thouſand men, and in the morning earely, ſets vpon the Arier-gard, with ſo ſudaine a cry and fury, as they who were before on the Cauſe-way hearing this noyſe behind, thruſt forward their fellowes, haſting to get ouer the bridge, with ſuch a crowd and preſſe, as they brake it, and many were drowned in the riuer. They who were got ouer, could not returne to ayde the reſt; nor the King (by reaſon of the Marſhes on both ſides) yeeld any ſuccor to his people; but ſtood a ſpectator of their ſlaughter, and the taking of ſixe of his Earles, of whom one was the exiled Earle of *Eu*, whom the King (fauouring his great worth) had made Count *De Soiſſons*.

The Army of the King of *France* ouerthrowne at *Varneuille* by the *Normans*.

The griefe of this ouerthrow, ſhortly after gaue the King of *France* his death, and the Duke of *Normandy* a ioyfull peace, which hee nobly imployed in the ordering and adorning his State: building, endowing, and decking Monaſteries and Churches: gathering reliques from all parts to furniſh his Abbyes at *Caen* (where he alſo erected a Tombe for himſelfe and his wife) feaſting and rewarding his Nobles and men of worth; whereby he ſo poſſeſt him of the hearts of his people generally, as they were intirely his, for what hee would.

The Duke comes to viſit his kinſman.

During this calme of his life, hee makes a iourny ouer into *England*, as if to viſite King *Edward* his kinſman: who, in regard of the preſeruation, and breeding hee had in

in *Normandy*, by Duke *Richard* the second (Grandfather to them both) gaue him most Royall entertainement: And here he shewed himselfe; and here (no doubt) hee found matter for his hopes to worke on. In this enterview he discouered *England*, being to be presupposed, he came not to gather cockle-shels, on the shore. Nor was it long after ere *Harold* (whether of purpose to ratifie some paction closely contriued betwixt them: or by casualty of weather driuen into *France*, (and so faine to make it seeme a iourney of purpose to the Duke, is not certainely deliuered) was gallantly entertained in *Normandy*, presented with all shewes of Armes, brought to *Paris*, and there likewise feasted in that Court.) And at his returne to *Rouen*, something was concluded, either in likelyhood to deuide the Kingdom betweene them, or that *Harold* being a coast-dweller, and had the strongest hand in the State, should let in the Duke, and do his best to help him to the Crowne, vpon conditions of his owne greatnesse, or whatsoeuer it was; promises were made and confirmed by oathes vpon the Euangelists, and all the sacred Reliques at *Rouen*, in the presence of diuers great persons. Besides for more assurance, *Harold* was fyanced to *Adaliza*, the Dukes daughter, and his brother *Wolnot*, left a pledge for the performance.

Harold goeth ouer into *Normandy*.

His entertainment.

His promises to the Duke.

This intercourse made the transaction of the fate of *England*, and so much was done, either by King *Edward* or *Harold* (though neithers act, if any such were, was of power to preiudice the State, or alter the course of a right succession) as gaue the Duke a colour to claime the Crowne, by a donation made by Testament, which being against the Law and Custome of the Kingdome, could be of no validity at all. For the Crowne of *England* being held, not as Patrimoniall, but in a succession by remotion (which is a succeeding to another place) it was not in the power of King *Edward* to collate the same by any dispositiue and testamentary will, the right descending to the next of blood, onely by the Custome and Law of the Kingdome: For the Successour is not sayd properly to be the heire of the King, but the Kingdome, which makes him so, and cannot bee put from it by any act of his Predecessour. But this was onely his claime; the right was of his owne making, and no otherwise. For as soone as hee had heard of the death of King *Edward*, with the Election, and Coronation of *Harold*, (for they came both together) hee assembles the States of *Normandy*, and acquaints them with the right he had to *England*, *Soliciting an extention of their vtmost meanes for his recouery thereof, and auengement of the periurd vsurper* Harold; *shewing them apparant probability of successe, by infallible intelligence hee had from the State, his strong party therein, with the debility and distraction of the people: What glory, wealth, and greatnesse, it would adde to their Nation, the obtayning of such a Kingdome, as was that opportunely layd open for them, if they apprehended the present occasion.* All which remonstrances notwithstanding, could induce but very few to like of this attempt, and those such who had long followed him in the warres, exhausted their estates, and content to runne vpon any aduenture that might promise likelyhood of aduancement. The rest were of diuers opinions: Some, that it was sufficient to hold and defend their owne Country; without hazarding themselues, to conquer others; and these were men of the best ability: others were content to contribute, but so sparingly, as would little aduance the businesse: and for the most part they were so tyred with the former warres, and so desirous to embrace the blessing of peace, as they were vnwilling to vndergoe a certaine trouble, for an vncertaine good. And with these oppositions, or faint offers, the Dukes purpose, at first, had so little way, as did much perplex him. At length, seeing this protraction, and difficulty in generall: hee deales with his neerest and most trusty friends in particular, being such as he knew affected the glory of action, and would aduenture their whole estates with him. As *William fitz Auber*, *Conte de Bretteuile*, *Gualter Gusford* Earle of *Longuesille*, *Roger de Beaumont*, with others, especially his owne brothers, *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and *Robert* Earle of *Mortaigne*: these in full assembly he wrought to make their offers: which they did in so large a proportion; and especially *William fitz Amber* (who made the first offer, to furnish forty Ships with men and munition; the Bishop of *Bayeux* forty, the Bishop of *Mans* thirty, and so others, according, or beyond their abilities) as the rest of the assemblie, doubting if the action succeeded without

The Dukes speech to the assembly of the States of *Normandy*.

The subtill proceeding of the Duke with his Nobles.

without their helpe (the Duke arryuing to that greatneſſe) would beare in minde, what little minde they ſhewed to aduance his deſires, beganne to contribute more largely. The Duke, finding them yeelding, though not in ſuch ſort as was requiſite for ſuch a worke, dealt with the Biſhops, and great men apart, ſo effectually, as at length hee got of them ſeuerally, which of altogether hee could neuer haue compaſſed; and cauſing each mans contribution to bee regiſtred, inkindled ſuch an emulation amongſt them, as they who lately would doe nothing, now ſtriued who ſhould doe moſt.

The French likewiſe ayde the Duke.

And not onely wan hee the people of his owne Prouinces, to vndertake this action, but drew by his faire perſwaſions and large promiſes, moſt of the greateſt Princes and Nobles of *France*, to aduenture their perſons, and much of their eſtate with him; as *Robert fitz Haruays*, Duke of *Orleance*, the Earles of *Brittaine*, *Ponthieu*, *Bologne*, *Poictou*, *Mayne*, *Neuers*, *Hieſms*, *Aumal*, *Le Signior de Tours*, and euen his mortall enemy *Martel*, Earle of *Anion*, became to bee as forward as any. All which, hee ſure could neuer haue induced, had not his vertues and greatneſſe gained a wide opinion and reputation amongſt them. Although in theſe aduancements and turnes of Princes, there is a concurrency of diſpoſitions, and a conſtitution of times prepared for it: yet is it ſtrange, that ſo many mighty men of the *French* Nation, would aduenture their liues and fortunes to adde *England* to *Normandy*, to make it more then *France*, and ſo great a Crowne to a Duke, who was too great for them already. But where mutations are deſtined, the counſels of men muſt bee corrupted, and there will fall out all aduantages to ſerue that buſineſſe.

The reaſon of the Dukes power.

The King of *France*, who ſhould haue ſtrangled this diſſeigne in the birth, was a child, and vnder the curature of *Baldowin*, Earle of *Flanders*, whoſe daughter the Duke had married, and was ſure to haue rather furtherance then any oppoſition that way: Beſides, to amuze that Court, and dazell a young Prince, he promiſed faithfully, if hee conquered this Kingdome; to hold it of that King, as he did the Dutchie of *Normandy*, and do him homage for the ſame; which would adde a great glory to that Crowne. Then was he before-hand with Pope *Alexander* (to make religion giue reputation and auowment to his pretended right) promiſing likewiſe to hold it of the Apoſtolique Sea, if he preuailed in his enterprize. Whereupon the Pope ſent him a Banner of the Church, with an *Agnus* of Gold, and one of the haires of Saint *Peter*. The Emperour *Henry* 4. ſent him a Prince of *Almaine* with forces, but of what name, or his number, is not remembred: ſo that we ſee it was not *Normandy* alone that ſubdued *England*, but a collected power out of all *France* and *Flanders* with the aydes of other Princes. And by theſe meanes, made he good his vndertaking; and within eight moneths was ready furniſhed with a powerfull Army at Saint *Valery* in *Normandy*, whence hee tranſported the ſame into *England* in 896 ſhips, as ſome write. And this was the man, and thus made to ſubdue *England*.

And now hauing gotten, the great and difficult battaile, before remembred, at *Haſtings*, the foureteenth of October 1066. hee marched without any oppoſition to *London*, where *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Earles of *Northumberland*, and *Mercland* (brothers of eminent dignity and reſpect in the Kingdome) had laboured with all their power to ſtirre the hearts of the people for the conſeruation of the State, and eſtabliſhing *Edgar Athelinge*, the next of the Royall iſſue, in his right of the Crowne: whereunto other of the Nobility had likewiſe conſented (had they not ſeene the Biſhops auerſe or wauering). For, as then, to the Clergie, any King (ſo a Chriſtian) was all one: they had their Prouince apart, deuided from ſecular domination: and of a Prince (though a ſtranger) who had taken vp ſo much of the world before hand, vppon credit and fame of his piety and bounty, they could not but preſume well for their eſtate: and ſo were content to giue way to the preſent Fortune.

1066. *Anno Reg.* 1.

Reaſon for the yealding of the Clergie.

The Nobility, conſidering they were ſo borne, and muſt haue a King: not to take him (that was of power to make himſelfe) would ſhew more of paſſion then prouidence: and to be now behind hand to receiue him, with more then ſubmiſſion, was as if to withſtand: which (with the diſtruſt of each others faith) made them ſtriue and run headlong,

What moued the Nobles to yeeld.

who

who ſhould be firſt to pre-occupate the grace of ſeruitude, and intrude them into forraine ſubiection.

The Commons (like a ſtrong veſſell that might haue beene for good vſe) were hereby left, without a ſterne, and could not moue irregularly. So that all eſtates in generall either corrupted with new hopes, or tranſported with feare, forſooke themſelues, and their diſtreſſed Country. Vppon his approach to *London*, the Gates were all ſet open: the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, *Stigand*, with other Biſhops, the Nobility, Magiſtrates, and People (rendring themſelues in all obedience vnto him: and hee returning plauſible proteſtation of his future Gouernment), was on *Chriſtmas* day, then next following, Crowned King of *England*, at *Weſtminſter*, by *Aldred*, Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, for that *Stigand* was not held Canonically inueſted in his Sea; and yet thought to haue beene a forward mouer of this alteration.

The Coronation and Oath of *William* 1.

Heere, according to the accuſtomed forme, at his Coronation, the Biſhops and Barons of the Realme, tooke their oaths, to be his true and loyall ſubiects, and he reciprocally (beeing required thereunto by the Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*) made his perſonall oath, before the Altar of Saint *Peter*, *To defend the Holy Church of God, and the Rectors of the ſame: To gouerne the Vniuerſall People, ſubiect vnto him, iuſtly: To eſtabliſh equall Lawes, and to ſee them duly executed.* Nor did hee euer claime any power by Conqueſt, but as a regular Prince, ſubmitted himſelfe to the orders of the Kingdome: deſirous rather to haue his Teſtamentary Title (howſoeuer weake) to make good his ſucceſſion, rather then his ſword. And though the ſtile of *Conqueror* by the flattery of the time, was after giuen him; hee ſhewed by all the courſe of his gouernment hee aſſumed it not; introducing none of all thoſe alterations (which followed) by violence, but a milde gathering vpon the diſpoſition of the State, and the occaſions offered, and that by way of reformation. And now taking Hoſtages for his more ſecurity, and order for the defence and gouernment of his Kingdome, at the opening of the Spring next, hee returnes into *Normandy*, (ſo to ſettle his affaires there, as they might not diſtract him from his buſineſſe in *England*, that required his whole powers.)

King *Williams* ſubmiſſion to the orders of the Kingdome of *England*.

And to leaue heere all behind him, hee commits the rule of the Kingdome, to his brother the Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and to his Coſin *Fitz* Auber*, whom hee had made Earle of *Hereford*; taking with him all the chiefe men of *England*, who were likeſt to be heads to a reuolt: As *Edgar Atheling*, the Archbiſhop *Stigand*, lately diſcontented: *Edwin*, and *Morchar*, with many other Biſhops and Noble-men: Beſides, to vnburthen his charge, and diſ-impeſter his Court; hee tooke backe with him all the *French* Aduenturers, and ſuch as were men (rewarding them as farre as his treaſure would extend, and the reſt he made vp in faire promiſes.

* Or *Os vne.*

King *William* returnes into *Normandy* with the chiefe Nobility of *England*.

In his abſence, which was all that whole Summer, nothing was here attempted againſt him, but onely that *Edric*, ſurnamed the *Forreſter*, in the County of *Hereford*, called in the Kings of the *Welſh*, to his ayde, and forraged only the remote borders of that Country: The reſt of the Kingdome ſtood quiet, expecting what would become of that new world, wherein as yet they found no great alteration, their Lawes and liberties remayning the ſame they were before, and might hope by this acceſſion of a new Prouince; the State of *England* would be but inlarged in dominion abroad, and not impayred in profit at home, by reaſon the Nation was but ſmall, and of a plentifull and not ouer-peopled Country, likely to impeſter them.

King *William* returnes into *England*.

Hauing diſpoſed his affayres of *Normandy*, he returnes towards winter into *England*, where he was to ſatisfie three ſorts of men; *Firſt, ſuch Aduenturers, with whom hee had not yet cleared: Secondly, thoſe of his owne people, whoſe merits or neerneſſe, looked for recompence, whereof the number being ſo great, many muſt haue their expectation fed, if not ſatiſfied: Thirdly, the people of this Kingdome, by whom hee muſt now ſubſiſt:* For beeing not able with his owne Nation ſo to impeople the ſame, as to hold and defend it (if hee ſhould proceed to an extirpation of the naturall Inhabitants) hee was likewiſe to giue them ſatisfaction.

Wherein, he had more to do, then in his battell at *Haſtings*; ſeeing all remunerations, with ſupplies of money, muſt be raiſed out of the ſtocke of this Kingdome, which could not

not but be irkesome to the State in generall, and all preferments and dignities conferred on his, to be either by vacancies, or displacing others, which must needs breed very feeling grieuances in particular. And yet wee finde no great men thrust out of their roomes, but such as put themselues out, by reuolting, after his establishment, and their fealty giuen; as appeares by the controuersie betweene *Warren* the *Norman*, and *Sherburn* of *Sherburn* Castle in *Norfolke*, which Castle, though the King had giuen to *Warren*, yet (when *Sherburne* alledged, *How he neuer bare Armes against him: that hee was his subiect as well as the other, and held his Lands by that law which he had established amongst all his subiects*, the King gaue iudgement against *Warren*, and commanded, that *Sherburn* should hold his Land in peace. So that it seemes, hee contented himselfe and his, for the time, onely with what he found heere ready, and with filling vp their places, who were slaine in the battaile; or fled, as many were, with the sonnes of *Harald* out of the Kingdome. Such Gentlemen as he could not presently preferre, and had a purpose to aduance, hee dispersed abroad into Abbeyes, there to liue till places fell out for them: and 24. he sent to the Abbey of *Ely*: whereby he not onely lessened the multitude of attendants and suitors at Court; eased that eye-sore of strangers, but also had them a watch ouer the Clergie, who then were of great and eminent power in the Kingdome; and might preuaile with the people.

Cambden Norf.

M.S.

1067. *Anno Reg.* 2.

But the English Nobility, incompatible of these new concurrences; found notwithstanding, such a disproportion of grace, and darkning of their dignities, by the interposition of so many, as must needes lessen their splendour; that many of the chiefest, doubting to be more impayred in honour and estate, conspired together, and fled some into *Scotland*, and some into *Denmarke*, to try if by ayde from abroad, they might recouer themselues, and their fortunes againe at home. Amongst which, the chiefe was *Edgar Atheling* (tearmed *Englands Dearling*, which shewed the peoples zeale to his blood,) who with his mother *Agatha*, and his two sisters, *Margaret* and *Christin*, intending to retyre into *Hungary* (their natiue Countrey) were driuen by tempest on the coast of *Scotland*, (where they were in all Hospitable manner entertained by *Malcolin* the third, whose former sufferings in his exile, had taught him to compassionate others like distresses) and whom it concerned now to looke to his owne, his neighbours house beeing thus on fire: and to foster a party against so dangerous an incommer, that was like to thrust them all out of doore. Which induced him not onely to entertaine this Prince, dispossest of his right, but to enter league with him for the publike safety; And to inchaine it the stronger, he takes to wife *Margaret*, the sister of *Edgar*, (a Lady indued with all blessed vertues) by whom the bloud of our ancient Kings was preserued, and conioyned with the *Norman* in *Henry* the second, and so became *English* againe. Vnto *Edgar* in *Scotland*, repayred the Earles *Edwin* and *Morchar*, *Hereward*, *Gospatric*, *Siward*, with others: and shortly after *Stigard* and *Aldred*, Arch-bishops, with diuers of the Clergie: who in the third yeare of this Kings reigne, raised very great commotions in the North, beyond *Humber*, and wrought most egarly to recouer their lost Country: but being now too late, and the occasion not taken before the setling of the gouernment, whilst it was new, and branling, they preuailed nothing, but gaue aduantage to the Conquerour, to make himselfe more then hee was: For all conspiracies of Subiects, if they succeed not, aduance the Soueraignetie: and nothing gaue roote to the *Norman* planting heere, more then the petty reuolts made by discattered troupes, in seuerall parts, begun without order, and followed without resolution; whereas nothing could be done for a generall recouery, but by a generall subleuation of the people, for which all wary preuention was vsed, and they had waites enough laid on, to hold them downe. And (these Lords imbroiled themselues and held him doing in the North,) yet hee hauing all the South parts setled vnder his dominion, with well practised and prepared Forces, there could bee little hope of Good, while all their great Estates furnisht the *Normans*, both in state and meanes to ruine them. The Earledome, and the Lands which *Edwin* held in *Yorkeshire*, were giuen to *Alan*, Earle of *Brittaine*, kinsman to the Conqueror; The Arch-bishopricke of *Canterbury*, confer'd on *Lanfranc*, Abbot of *Caen*: That of *Yorke*, on

The English Nobility forsake the Kingdome.

The King of *Scots* enters league with the *English* Nobility and married *Edgars* sister.

1068. *Anno Reg.* 3.

Reuolt.

on *Thomas* his Chaplain, and all the reſt both of the Clergy and others, which were out, had their places within, ſupplied by *Normans*.

And after King *William* had appeaſed a commotion in the Weſt, which the ſonnes of *Harold*, with forces out of *Ireland* had raiſed, and alſo repreſſed the rebellion of *Exceſter* and *Oxford*, he takes his iourney in perſon Northward with all expedition (leſt the enemy there, ſhould grow too high in heart and opinion, vppon the great ſlaughter of his people, made at *Yorke*; and the deſeiture of his brother and Lieutenant, *Robert* Earle of *Mortaine*, ſlaine with ſeauen hundred *Normans* at *Durham*:) where (at his firſt comming he ſo wrought), that hee eyther diſcomfeited, or corrupted the Generalls of the *Danicque* forces (newly arriued to ayde the Lords, ſent by *Swaine*, King of *Denmarke*, vnder the conduct of his two ſonnes, *Harold* and *Knute*, with a Nauy of three hundred ſayle:) and after ſets vpon the Army of the Lords, weakened both in ſtrength and hope, by this departure of their Confederates, and puts them to flight. Which done, hee vtterly waſted, and layd deſolate, all that goodly Country betweene *Yorke* and *Durham*, the ſpace of 60. miles, as it might be no more a ſuccour to the enemy; And the like courſe he vſed on all the Coaſts where any apt landings lay for inuaſions; and ſo returnes to *London*.

Moſt of the Lords after his deſeit, came in, vpon publique faith giuen them, and were conducted to *Berkhamſted*, by the Abbot *Fredericke*; where, vpon their ſubmiſſion and Oath of Allegeance re-taken, they had their pardon, and reſtitution of grace granted by the King, who it ſeemes was ſo willing to acquiet them, that againe hee takes his perſonall Oath before the Archbiſhop *Lanfranche*, and the Lords, *To obſerue the ancient Lawes of the Realme, eſtabliſhed by his Noble Predeceſſors, the Kings of England, and eſpecially thoſe of Edward the Confeſſor.* Whereupon theſe ſtormy diſpoſitions held calme a while.

But long it was not ere many of theſe Lords (whether vppon intelligence of new hopes, from Prince *Edgar* (who was ſtill in *Scotland*,) or growne deſperate of new diſpleaſure at home, finding ſmall performance of promiſes made, rupture of Oath, and all other reſpects), brake out againe. The Earle *Edwyn*, making towards *Scotland*, was murthered by his owne people. The Lords *Morchar* and *Hereward*, betooke them to the Iſle of *Elie*, meaning to make good that place for that Winter; whether alſo repaired the Earle *Syward*, and the Biſhop of *Durham* out of *Scotland*. But the King who was no time-giuer vnto growing dangers) beſets all the Iſle with flat boates on the Eaſt, and make a bridge of two miles long on the Weſt, and ſafely brought in his people vppon the enemy, who ſeeing themſelues ſurprized; yeelded all to the Kings mercy, except *Hereward*, who deſperately marched with his people through the Fens; and recouered *Scotland*: The reſt were ſent to diuers Priſons, where they died, or remayned during the Kings life. 1074. *Anno Reg.* 0:

Thoſe Lords who perſiſted loyall vpon this laſt ſubmiſſion, were all employed and well graced with the King, as *Edric* the Forreſter (and firſt that rebelled in his Reigne) was held in cleare truſt, and neere about him. *Goſpatrice* he made Earle of *Northumberland*, and ſent him againſt *Malcolin*, who in this time, ſubdues the Countries of *Tiſdall*, *Clenland*, and *Cumberland*: *Waltheof*, ſonne to the Earle *Syward*, beeheld ſo worthy to be made his, as hee married him to his Neece *Iudith*, though hee had beene a principall Actor in the Northerne commotion (and in defending the City of *Yorke* againſt him, is ſayd to haue ſtriken off the heads of diuers *Normans*, one by on, as they entred a breach, to the admiration of all about him) ſhewing therein that true touch of the nobleſt nature, to loue vertue euen in his enemies.

And now ſeeing *Scotland* to bee the eſpeciall retraite for all Conſpirators, and diſcontented in his Kingdome, yeelding them continuall ſuccour, and aſſiſtance, and where his competitor *Edgar* liued, to beget and nurſe perpetuall matter for their hopes, and at hand for all aduantages) hee enters that Kingdome with a puiſſant Army; which, encountring with more neceſſities then forces, ſoone grew tyred, and both Kings, conſidering of what difficulties the Victory would conſiſt, were willing to take the ſafeſt way to their ends, and vppon faire ouertues, to conclude a peace;

Articling

Articling for the bounds of each Kingdome, with the same title of Dominion, as in former times: All delinquents, and their partakers generally pardoned.

Scotland before this time generally spake a kind of Irish.

Heere with the vniuersall turne of alteration thus wrought in *England*, *Scotland* (being a part of the body of this Isle) is noted to haue likewise had a share; and as in the Court of *England*, the *French* tongue became generally spoken; so in that of *Scotland* did the English, by reason of the multitude of this Nation, attending both the Queene and her brother *Edgar*, and daily repayring thither for their safety, and conbination against the Common enemy; of whom diuers, abandoning their native distressed Countrey, were by the bounty of that King preferred; and there planted, spread their off-spring into many noble families, remayning to this day: The stiles for distinguishing degrees of honour; as of Duke, Earle, Baron, Rider or Knight, were then (as is thought) first introduced; and the nobler sort began to be called by the title of their *Seigneries* (according to the *French* manner) which before bare the name of their Father, with the addition of *Mac*, after the fashion of *Ireland*. Other innouations, no doubt, entred there likewise at the opening of this wide mutation of ours; fashion and immitation like weedes growing in euery soyle.

Titles of honour in Scotland.

m. g

V.

1175. Anno Reg. 9.

Shortly after this late made peace, Prince *Edgar* voluntarily came in, and submitted himselfe to the King, beeing then in *Normandy*, and was restored to grace, and a faire maintenance, which held him euer after quiet. And it made well at that time for the Fortune of the King, howsoeuer for his owne, (beeing thought to haue ill-timed his affayres (eyther through want of seasonable intelligence, or despayre of succesle) in making too soone that submission, which was later or neuer to be done. For in this absence of the King, *Roger Fits Auber*, the young Earle of *Hereford*, contrary to his expresse Commandement, gaue his sister in marriage to *Ralph Waher*, Earle of *Northfolke*, and *Suffolke*, and at the great Solemnization thereof, the two Earles conspired with *Eustace* Earle of *Boloigne* (who secretly came ouer to this Festiuall) and with the Earle *Waltheof*, and other *English* Lords, to call in the *Danes*, and by maine power to keepe out and dispossesse the King. Who having thus passed ouer so many gulfes of forraine dangers, might little imagine of any wracke so neere home: and that those, whom hee had most aduanced, should haue the especiall hand in his destruction: But no rewards are benefits (that are not held so,) nor can euer cleare the accounts with them that ouervalue their merits. And had not this conspiracy beene opportunely discouered (which some say, that by the Earle *Waltheof*, mooued with the vglinesse of so foule an ingratitude) they had put him againe to the winning of *England*. But now the fire bewrayed before it flamed, was soone quenched by the diligence of *Odon* the Kings Vice-gerent, the Bishop of *Worcester* and others, who kept the Conspirators from ioyning their Forces: So that they neuer came to make head, but were eyther surprized, or forced to flye. The Earle *Roger Fits Auber* was taken, and some say, executed; and so was shortly after the Earle *Waltheof*, whose dissent from the act, could not get him pardon for his former consent, though much compassion in respect of his great worthinesse. But the wide distemt of these tumors, fed from many secret veines, seemed to be of that danger, as required this extreamity of cure, especially in a part so apt for infection, vpon any the like humours.

1176. Anno Reg. 10.

1177. Anno Reg. 11.

1 Reward

For this Conspiracy seemes to take motion from a generall league of all the Neighbour Princes, here about, as may well be gathered by their seuerall actions. First in the King of *France* by defending *Dole* in *Brittaine* (a Castle of *Ralph de Waher*) against the King of *England*, and likelihood, imploying the Earle of *Bologne* towards the Conspirators: In *Swayne* King of *Denmarke*, by sending a Nauy of two hundred sayle, vnder the conduct of his sonne *Knute* and others. In *Drone* King of *Ireland*, by furnishing the sonnes of *Harold* with sixty fiue ships. In *Malcolme*, and the Kings of *Wales*, by their readinesse to assist. But the *Danes* being on the coast, and hearing how their Confederates had sped, with the great preparations the King had made, after some pillage taken vpon the coast of *England* and *Flanders*, returned home, and neuer after arriued to disturbe this Land. Though in *Anno Reg.* 15. *Knute*, then King of *Denmarke*, after the death of *Swayne* (intending to repayre the dishonour of his two last aduentures past)

and

and to put for the Crowne of *England*, his predeceſſours had holden, prepared a Nauy of a thouſand ſaile, and was aided with ſixe hundred more by *Robert le Friſon* Earle of *Flanders* (whoſe daughter he had married) But the windes held ſo contrary for two yeares together (as vtterly quaſht that enterprize) and freed the King, and his ſucceſſors for euer after, from future molleſtation that way.

But this buſineſſe put the State to an infinite charge, the King entertaining al that time (beſides his *Normans*) *Hugh*, brother to the King of *France*, with many companies of *French*. Finding the *Engliſh* (in reſpect of many great Families allied to the *Danes*) to incline rather to that Nation, then the *Norman*, and had experience of the great and neere intelligence continually paſſing betweene them.

1078. *Anno Reg.* 12.

And theſe were al the warres he had with n the Kingdome, ſauing in *An. Regni* 13. he ſubdued *Wales*, and brought the Kings there, to him homage. His warres abroad, were all about his Dominions in *France*, firſt raiſed by his owne ſon *Robert*, left Lieutenant gouernor of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and County of *Mayne*, (who in his Fathers abſence, taſting the glory of command, grew to aſſume the abſolute rule of the Prouince) cauſing the Barrons there, to do dim homage (as Duke) not as Lieuetenant, and leagues him with the King of *France* (who working vpon the eaſineſſe of his youth, & ambition) was glad to aprehend that occaſion to diſioynt his Eſtate, who was growne too great for him. And the profuſe largneſſe, and diſorderly expence, whereto *Robert* was addicted, is nouriſhed by all wayes poſſible as the meanes to imbarke him in thoſe difficulties, of ſtill getting mony, that could not but yeeld continuall occaſion to entertaine both his owne diſcontent and theirs from whom his ſupplies muſt be raiſed. And though thereby he purchaſed him the title of *Courtois*, yet he loſt the opinion of good gouernment, and conſtrained the Eſtates of *Normandy*, to complaine to his Father of the great concuſſion, and violent exactions he vſed amongſt them.

1079. *Anno Reg:* 13.

The Kings of *Wales* doe homage to King *William*.

Robert of Normandy titl'd *Courtois*.

The King vnderſtanding the fire thus kindled in his owne houſe, that had ſet others all in combuſtion, haſtes with his Forces into *Normandy*, to haue ſurprized his ſon, who aduertized of his cóming, furniſht with two thouſand men at armes, by the king of *France*, lay in ambuſh where he ſhould paſſe; ſets vpon him, defeited moſt of his people, and in the perſuite hapned to incounter with himſelfe, whom he vnhorſed, and wounded in the arme, with his Launce; but perceiuing by his voyce it was his Father, hee haſted to remount him, humbly craiuing pardon for his offence: which the Father (ſeeing in what a caſe he was) granted, howſoeuer he gaue; and vpon his ſubmiſſion tooke him with him to *Rouen*, whence, after cured of his hurt, returned with his ſon *William* (likewiſe wounded in the fight) into *England*.

1080. *Anno Reg.* 14.

Robert rebels againſt his Father.

Long was it not ere he was againe informed of his ſons remutining, and how hee exacted vppon the *Normans* (vſurpt the intire gouernment, and vrged his Fathers promiſe thereof, made him before the King of *France*, vpon his conqueſt of *England*: which cauſed his little ſtay heere, but to make preparations for his returne into thoſe parts: whether in in paſſing he was driuen on the coaſt of *Spaine*, but at length arriuing at *Burdeaux*, with his great preparations, his ſon *Robert* came in, and ſubmitted himſelfe the ſecond time: whom he now tooke with him into *England*, to frame him to a better obedience, (imploying him in the hard and neceſſitous warres of *Scotland*) (the late peace beeing betweene the two Kings againe broken) and after ſent him backe, and his young ſon *Henry*, with the aſſociation of charge and like power (but of more truſt) to the gouernment of *Normandy*.

1081. *Anno Reg.* 15.

1082. *Anno Reg.* 16.

Louis and *Henry* ſons of the kings of *France* and *England*.

After the two Princes had beene there a while, they went to viſite the King of *France* at *Conſtance* where feaſting certaine dayes, vpon an after dinner, *Henry*, wan ſo much at Cheſſe of *Louis*, the Kings eldeſt ſon, as hee growing into Choller called him the ſonne of a Baſtard, and threw the Cheſſe in his face. *Henry* takes vpp the Cheſſe-boord, and ſtrake *Louis*, with that force, as drew bloud, and had killed him, had not his brother *Robert* come in the meane time, and interpoſed himſelfe: whereuppon they ſuddenly tooke horſe, and with much adoe they recouered *Pontioiſe*, from the kings people that purſued them. This quarrell ariſing, vppon the inter-meeting of theſe princes (a thing that ſeldome breeds good blood amongſt them) re-enkindled a heate

1026. *Anno Reg.* 20.

a heate of more rancor in the Fathers, and beganne the first warre betweene the *English* and *French*. For presently the King of *France*, complots againe with *Robert* (impatient of a partner) enters *Normandy*, and takes the Citty of *Vernon*. The king of *England* inuades *France*, subdues the Country of *Xaintonge* and *Poitiou*, and returnes to *Rouen*, wh re the third time, his sonne *Robert* is reconciled vnto him, which much disapoynts and vexes the King of *France*, who thereuppon, summons the king of *England* to do him homage for the kingdome of *England*, which he refused to do, saying, *He had it of none but God, and his sword.* For the Dutchy of *Normandy* hee offers him homage: but that would not satisfie the king of *France*, whom nothing would, but what hee could not haue, the Maisterie: and seekes to make an occasion the motiue of his quarrell: and againe inuades his territories, but with more losse then profit. In the end, they conclude a certaine crazie peace, which held no longer then King *William* had recouered a sickneſſe, whereinto (through his late trauell, age; and corpulencie) he was falne; at which time, the King of *France*, then young and lusty, ieasting at his great belly, whereof he sayd hee lay in at *Rouen*, so irritated him, as being recouered, hee gathers all his best Forces, enters *France* in the chiefest time of their fruits, making spoyle of all in his way, till he came euen to *Paris*; where the King of *France* then was, to whom he sends, to shew him of his vp-sitting, and from thence marches to the Citty of *Mants*, which he vtterly sackt, and in the destruction thereof, gate his owne, by the strayne of his horse, among the breaches, and was then conueyed sicke to *Rouen*, and soe ended his warres.

King *William* denies to doe homage for *England*, to the King of *France*.

1089 *Anno Reg.* 21.

His gouernment in peace.

Now for his gouernment in peace, and the course hee held in establishing the Kingdome thus gotten; first after hee had repreſt the conspiracies in the North, and well quieted all other parts of the State (which now beeing absolutely his, hee would haue to bee ruled by his owne Law) hee beganne to gouerne all by the Customes of *Normandy*. Whereupon the agreeued Lords, and sadde people of *England*, tender their humble petition, *Beseeching him in regard of his oath made at his Coronation: And by the soule of Saint Edward, from whom he had the Crowne and Kingdom: vnder whose Lawes they were borne and bred; that he would not adde that misery, to deliuer them vp to be iudged by a strange Law they vnderstood not.* And so earnestly they wrought, that hee was pleased to confirme that by his Charter, which he had twice fore-promised by his Oath: And gaue commaundement vnto his Iusticaries to see those Lawes of Saint *Edward* (so called, not that hee made them but collected them out of *Mercken*-Law, *Dane*-Law, and *Westsex*-Law) *To bee inviolably obserued throughout the Kingdome.* And yet notwithstanding this confirmation, and the Charters afterward granted by *Henry* the first, *Henry* the second and King *John*, to the same effect; there followed a great innouation both in the Lawes and gouernment in *England*, So that this seemes rather to bee done to acquiet the people, with a shew of the Continuation of their ancient customes and liberties, then that they enioyed them in effect. For the little conformitie betweene them of former times, and these that followed vppon this change of State, shew from what head they sprang. And though there might bee some veynes issuing from former originalls, yet the maine streame of our Common law, with the practise thereof, flowed out of *Normandy*, notwithstanding all obiections can bee made to the contrary. For before these collections of the *Confessors*, there was no vniuersall Law of the Kingdome, but euery seuerall Prouince held their owne customes, all the inhabitants from *Humber* to *Scotland* vsed the *Danique* Law: *Merchland*: the middle part of the Country; and the State of the West *Saxons*, had their seuerall constitutions, as beeing seuerall Dominions, and though for some few yeares, there seemed to bee a reduction of the *Heptarchie*, into a *Monarchie*, yet held it not so long together (as wee may see in the succession of a broken gouernment) as to settle one forme of order currant ouer all: but that euery Prouince, according to their particular founders, had their customes apart, and held nothing in common (besides religion, and the constitutions thereof) but with the vniuersality of *Meum & Tuum*, ordered according to the rights of nations, and that *Ius innatum*, the common law of all the world, which wee see to bee as vniuersall, as are the cohabitations, and societies of men, and

What were the Lawes of *England*.

The original of the Common Law now vsed.

and ſerues the turne to hold them together in all Countries, howſoeuer they may differ in their formes. So that by theſe paſſages, wee ſee what way we came, when wee are, and the furtheſt ende wee can diſcouer of the originall of our Common law; and to ſtriue to looke beyond this, is to looke into an vncertaine Vaſtneſſe, beyond our diſcerning. Nor can it detract from the glory of good Cuſtomes, if they bring but a pedigree of 600 yeares to approue their gentility; ſeeing it is the equity, and not the Antiquity of lawes, that makes them venerable, and the integritie of the profeſſors thereof, the profeſſion honored. And it were well with mankinde, if dayes brought not their corruptions, and good orders were continued with that prouidence, as they were inſtituted. But this alteration of the Lawes of *England* bred moſt heauie doleances not onely in this Kings time, but long after: For whereas before, thoſe Lawes they had, were written in their owne tongue, intelligible to all; now are they tranſlated into *Latine* and *French*, and practized wholly in the *Norman* forme and Languages; thereby to draw the people of this Kingdome, to learne that ſpeach for their owne neede, which otherwiſe they would not doe; And ſeeing a difference in Tongue, would not continue a difference in affections; all meanes was wrought to reduce it to one *Idiom*, which yet was not in the power of the Conquerour to doe, without the extirpation, or ouerlaying the Land-bred people; who being ſo farre in number (as they were) aboue the Inuadors; both retaine the maine of the Language, and in few yeares, haue thoſe who ſubdued them, vndiſtinguiſhably theirs. For notwithſtanding the former Conqueſt by the *Danes*, and now this by the *Norman* (the ſolide bodie of the Kingdome, ſtill conſiſted of the *Engliſh*) and the acceſſion of ſtrange people, was but as riuers to the Ocean, that changed not it, but were changed into it. And though the King laboured that hee could to turne all to *French*, *By enioyning their Children heere to vſe no other Language with their* Grammer *in ſchooles, to haue the Lawes practized in* French, *all petitions and buſineſſe of Court in* French, *No man graced but hee that ſpake* French, yet ſoone after his dayes, all returnes naturall Engliſh againe (but Law) and that ſtill held forraine, and became in the ende wholly to be incloſed in that Language: nor haue we now, other marke of our ſubiection and invaſſalage from *Normandie*, but onely that, and that ſtill ſpeakes *French* to vs in *England*.

The Law of England put into a forraine language.

And herewithall, *New Termes, new Conſtitutions, new Formes of Pleas, new Offices, and Courts*, are now introduced by the *Normans*, a people more inured to litigation, and of ſpirits more impatient, and contentious, then were the *Engliſh*: who (by reaſon of their continuall warre, wherein Law is not borne, and labour to defend the publicke) were more at vnitie in their priuate: and that ſmall time of peace they had, Deuotion, and good fellowſhip entertained. For their Lawes and Conſtitutions before, wee ſee them plaine, briefe, and ſimple, without perplexities, hauing neither fold nor pleite, commanding; not diſputing: Their grants and tranſactions as briefe and ſimple, which ſhewed them a cleere-meaning people, retayning ſtill the nature of that plaine realneſſe they brought with them, vncompoſed of other faſhion then their owne, and vnaffecting imitation.

And for their tryals (in caſes Criminall) where manifeſt proofe failed, they continued their auncient Cuſtome, held from before their Chriſtianitie (vntill this great alteration) which trials they called *Ordeal*; Or (*ſignifying*) *Right*, Deale, *Part*, *whereof they had theſe kinds:* Ordeal *by fire, which was for the better ſort, & by water for the inferiour: That of Fire, was to goe blindfold ouer certaine plough-ſhares, made red hote, and laide an vneuen diſtance out from another. That of Water was either of hote, or cold: in the one to put their armes to the elbow, in the other to bee caſt headlong.* According to their eſcapes or hurts, they were adiudged: *Such as were caſt into the riuers, if they ſanke were held guiltleſſe, if not, culpable, as elected by that Element.* Theſe tryals they called *the iudgements of God, and they were performed with ſolemne Oraiſons.* In ſome caſes, *The accuſed was admitted to cleere himſelfe by receiuing the Euchariſt, or by his owne Oath, or the Oathes of two or three*; but this was for eſpeciall perſons, and ſuch, whoſe liuings were of a rate allowable thereunto, the vſuall opinion perſwading them, that men of ability held a more regard of honeſty.

The Engliſh trials in caſes Criminall.

Men of ability cleered by their Oathes.

With theſe, they had *the triall of Campe-fight, or ſingle combat* (which likewiſe the *Lumbards*, originally of the ſame *German* Nation, brought into *Italy*) *permitted by the Law, in caſes either of ſafety, and fame, or of poſſeſſions.* All which trials, drew them to be ignorant in any other forme of Law, or to neglect it; Nor would they bee induced to forgoe theſe Cuſtomes, and determine their affaires by Imperiall or Pontificiall Conſtitutions, no more then would the *Lumbards* forſake their duellary Lawes in *Italy*, which their Princes (againſt ſome of their wils) were conſtrayned to ratifie, as *Layprandus* their King, thus ingeniouſly confeſſes: *Wee are vncertaine of the iudgements of God, and we haue heard many by fight, to haue loſt their cauſe, without iuſt cauſe; yet in reſpect of the Cuſtome of our Nation, we cannot auoyde an impious Law.* But all theſe Formes of iudgments and trialls, had their ſeaſons: Thoſe of Fire and Water, in ſhort time after the Conqueſt, grew diſ-vſed, and in the end vtterly abrogated by the Pope; as deriued from Paganiſme: That of Combate continues longer-liued, but of no ordinary vſe: And all actions now, both criminall and reall, beganne to be wholly adiudged by the verdict of twelue men, according to the cuſtome of *Normandy*, where the like forme is vſed, and called by the name of *Enqueſt*, with the ſame cautions for the Iurors, as it is heere continued to this day. Although ſome holde opinion, that this forme of triall, was of vſe in this Kingdom from all Antiquity, and alledge an Ordinance of King *Ethelred (Father to the Confeſſer) willing in their Gemote or conuentions, monethly belaw euery Hundred, twelue graue men of free condition, ſhould with the* Greue, *the Chiefe Officer amongſt them, ſweare vpon the Euangeliſts, to iudge euery man: cauſe aright.* But here we ſee twelue men were to be aſſeſſors with the *Greue* to judge, and no Iurors, according to this manner of triall now vſed; Beſides, had there beene any ſuch forme, we ſhould aſwell haue heard thereof in their Lawes and practiſe, as of thoſe other kinds of *Ordeall*, onely, and vſually mentioned.

The Engliſh trials.

But whatſoeuer innouations were in all other things; the gouernment of the peace and ſecurity of the Kingdome (which moſt imported the King to locke vnto) ſeemes to bee continued as before, and for that buſineſſe hee found heere better Lawes eſtabliſhed, by the wary care of our former Kings, then any he could bring. Amongſt which eſpecially was *the Borough Law, whereby euery free man of the Commons ſtood as ſurety for each others behauiour, in this ſort.*

The continuation of the Law for the peace.

The Borough Law of the Saxons.

The Kingdome was deuided into Shieres or Shares, euery Shiere conſiſting of ſo many Hundreds, and euery Hundred of a number of Boroughs, Villages, or Tythings, containing ten houſholders, whereof; *If any one ſhould commit an vnlawfull act, the other nine were to attach and bring him to reaſon: If he fled, thirty one dayes were enioyned him to appeare: If in the meane time apprehended, he was made to reſtore the damage done; otherwiſe the Free-borough-head (to ſay the Tything-man) was to take with him two of the ſame Village, and out of three other Villages next adioyning as many (that is, the Tything-man, and two other of the principall men) and before the Officers of that Hundred, purge himſelfe and the Village of the fact, reſtoring the damage done with the goods of the malefactor; which, if they ſuffized not to ſatisfie, the Free-borough, or Tything, muſt make vp the reſt, and beſides take an oath to be no way acceſſary to the fact; and to produce the Offendor, if by any meanes they could recouer him, or know where he were. Beſides, euery Lord and Maiſter, ſtood* Borough, *for all his Family whereof if any ſeruant were called inqueſtion, the Maiſter was to ſee him anſwere it in the Hundred, where he was accuſed. If he fled, the Maiſter was to yeeld ſuch goods as he had to the King. If himſelfe were accuſed to be ayding or priuie to his ſeruants flight, he was to cleare himſelfe by fiue men, otherwiſe to forfeit all his goods to the King, and his man to be out-lawed.*

Saxon Lawes.

Lambert.

Theſe linckes thus intermutually faſtened, made ſo ſtrong a chayne to hold the whole Frame of the State together in peace and order, as, all the moſt pollitique regiments vppon Earth, all the inter-leagued Societies of men, cannot ſhew vs a ſtreighter Forme of combination. This might make the Conquerour, comming vpon a people (thus Law-bound hand and foote) to eſtabliſh him, ſo ſoone, and eaſily as hee did; This *Borough-law* (being as a Cittadell, built to guard the Common-wealth; comming to bee poſſeſt by a Conquering Maiſter) was made to turne all this Ordi-

nance

nance vpon the State, and batter her ſelfe with her owne weapon: and this Law may bee ſome cauſe, we finde no popular inſurrection before the Conqueſt. For had not this people bene bound with theſe Fetters, and an idle peace (but had liued looſe, and in action) it is like they would haue done as nobly, and giuen as many, and as deepe wounds ere they loſt their Country, as euer the *Brittains* did, either againſt the *Romans*, or the *Saxons*, their predeceſſours, or themſelues had done againſt the *Danes*; a people farre more powerfull, and numerous then theſe. The Conquerour, without this, had not made it the worke of one day, nor had *Normandy* euer bin able to haue yeelded thoſe multitudes for ſupplies, that many battailes muſt haue had.

No popular inſurrection before the Conqueſt.

But now. *First, the executing this Law. Secondly, diſ-weaponing the Commons. Thirdly, preuenting their night-meetings with a heauy penalty, that euery man at the day cloſing, ſhould couer his fire, and depart to his reſt. Fourthly, erecting diuers Fortreſſes in fit parts of the Kingdome. Fifthly collating al offices, both of command, and inheritance on thoſe who were his*; made his domination ſuch as he would haue it.

The meanes vſed by the *Norman*, to eſtabliſh his Conqueſt.

Alteration of the Gouernment.

And where before the Biſhop and the Alderman were the abſolute Iudges to determine all buſineſſe in euery Shiere, and the Biſhop in many caſes ſhared in the benifits of the Mulcts with the King, now he confined the Clergy, within the Prouince of their own Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction, to deale onely in buſines concerning rule of ſoules, according to the Cannons, and Lawes Epiſcopall.

And whereas the cauſes of the Kingdome were before determined in euery Shire, and by a Law of King *Edward* Senior, all matters in queſtion ſhould, vpon eſpeciall penalty, without further deferment, be finally decided in their *Gemote*, or conuentions held monthly in euery hundred: now he ordained. *That foure times in the yeare, for certaine dates, the ſame buſineſſes ſhould be determined in ſuch place as he would appoynt, where hee conſtituted Iudges to attend for that purpoſe, and others, from whom, as from the boſome of the Prince, al litigators ſhould haue Iuſtice, and from whom was no appeale.* Others he appointed for the puniſhment of malefactors, called *Iuſticiarij Pacis*.

The order of deciding controuerſies in the Saxons time.

New orders inſtituted by the *Normans*.

What alteration was then made in the tenure of mens poſſeſſions, or ſince introduced, wee may finde by taking note of their former vſances. *Our Anceſtours had onely two kindes of tenures*, Boke-land, *and* Folk-land, *the one a poſſeſſion by writing, the other without. That by writing was a free-hold, and by Charter, hereditary, with all immunities, and for the free and nobler ſort. That without writing, was to hold at the will of the Lord, bound to rents and ſeruices, and was for the rurall people. The inheritances deſcended not alone, but after the* German *manner, equally deuided amongſt al the children, which they called* Land-skiftan, *to ſay*, Part-land, *a cuſtome yet continued in ſome places of* Kent, *by the name of* Gauel-kin, *of* Gif eal kin : And hereupon ſome write how the people of that Country, retayned their ancient lawes and liberties, by eſpeciall graunt from the Conquerour, who after his battaile at *Haſtings*, comming to *Douer*, to make all ſure on that ſide, was incompaſſed by the whole people of that Prouince, carrying boughes of trees in their hands, and marching round about him like a mouing wood. With which ſtrange and ſodaine ſhew being much mooued, the Arch-biſhop *Stigand*, and the Abbot *Egelſin* who had raiſed this commotion by ſhewing the people in what daunger they were, vtterly to looſe their liberties, and to indure the perpetuall miſery of ſeruitude, vnder the domination of ſtrangers) preſent themſelues, and declared, *How they were the vniuerſall people of that Country, gathered together in that manner with boughes in their hands, either as Oliue branches of intercеſſion, for peace and liberty, or to intangle him in his paſſage, with reſolution rather to loaue their liues, then that which was deerer, their freedome.* Whereuppon they ſay the Conquerour granted them the continuation of their former Cuſtomes and Liberties : whereof, notwithſtanding they now retaine no other, then ſuch as are common with the reſt of the Kingdome.

The akeration of Tenures.

Lambert. Freehold.

The Tenure of *Gauel kin*.

The cuſtoms of *Kent* preſerued by the mediation of the Archbiſhop *Stigand*.

For ſuch as were Tenants at the will of their Lords (which now growne to a greater number, and more miſerable then before) vppon their petition and compaſſion of their oppreſſion hee releeued, their caſe was this. All ſuch as were diſcouered to haue had a hand in any rebellion, and were pardoned, onely to enioy the benefit of life, hauing all

Gerualius Tilburienſis. Dialog. Scace.

Villinage.

their liuely-hood taken from them, became vaſſals vnto thoſe Lords to whom the poſſeſſions were giuen, of all ſuch lands forfeited by attaindors. And if by their diligent ſeruice, they could attaine any portion of ground, they held it but onely ſo long as it pleaſed their Lords, without hauing any eſtate for themſelues, or their children, and were oftentimes violently caſt out vppon any ſmall diſpleaſure, contrary to all right: whereuppon it was ordained, that whatſoeuer they had obtained of their Lords, by their obſequious ſeruice, or agreed for by any lawfull pact, they ſhould hold by an inuiolable Law, during their owne liues.

A ſuruey made of the Kingdome.

Gerualius Tilburienſis. de Scacc.

Dome booke.

The next great worke after the ordering his Lawes, was the raiſing and diſpoſing of his reuennues, taking a courſe to make, and know the vtmoſt of his eſtate, by a generall ſuruey of his Kingdome, whereof hee had a preſident by the *Dome* booke of *Winchester*, taken before by King *Alfred*. But as one day informes another, ſo theſe actions of profit grew more exact in their after practiſe: and a larger Commiſſion is granted, a choyce of skilfuller men imployed, to take the particulars both of his owne poſſeſſions, and euery mans elſe in the Kingdome, the nature and the quality of their lands, their eſtates, and abilities; beſides the diſcriptions, bounds, and diuiſions of Shieres, and Hundreds, and this was drawne into one booke, and brought into his treaſury, then newly called the Exchequer (according to the ſoueraigne Court of that name of *Normandy*) before termed here *Talee*, and it was called the *Dome* booke (*Liber iudicarius*) for all occaſions concerning theſe particulars.

Ibid.

All the Forreſts and Chaſes of the Kingdome, hee ſeized into his owne poſſeſſion; and exempted them from being vnder any other Law then his owne pleaſure, to ſerue as *Penetralia Regnum*, the withdrawing Chambers of Kings, to recreate them after their ſerious labours in the State, where none other might preſume to haue to doe, and where all puniſhments and pardons of delinquents were to be diſpoſed by himſelfe, abſolutely, and all former cuſtomes abrogated. And to make his command the more, hee increaſed the number of them in all parts of the Land, and on the South coaſt diſpeopled the Country for aboue thirty miles ſpace, making of old inhabited poſſeſſions, a new Forreſt, inflicting moſt ſeuere puniſhments for hunting his Deere, and thereby much aduances his reuennues. An act of the greateſt concuſſion, and tyranny, he committed in his reigne, and which purchaſed him much hatred. And the ſame courſe held (almoſt euery King neere the Conqueſt) till this heauey grieuance was allayed by the Charter of Forreſts, granted by *Henry* the third.

The new Forreſt in *Hampſhire*.

He impoſed no new taxaons.

Beſides theſe, he impoſed no new taxations on the State, and vſed thoſe hee found very moderately, as *Danegelt*, an impoſition of two ſhillings vpon euery hide or plough-land (raiſed firſt by King *Ethelred*, to bribe the *Danes*, after to warre vpon them) he would not haue it made an annuall payment, but onely taken vppon vrgent occaſion, and it was ſeldome gathered in his time, or his ſucceſſors (ſaith *Gerualius*) yet wee finde in our Annals, a taxe of ſixe ſhillings vpon euery hide-land, leauied preſently after the generall ſuruey of the Kingdome.

The occaſion of paying *Eſcuage*.

Eſcuage (whether it were an impoſition formerly layd, though now newly named, I do not finde) was a ſumme of mony, taken of euery knights Fee: In after times, eſpecially raiſed for the ſeruice of *Scotland*; And this alſo, ſaith *Gerualius*, was ſeldome leauied but on great occaſion, for ſtipends, and donatiues to ſouldiers: yet was it at firſt a due, reſerued out of ſuch lands as were giuen by the Prince for ſeruice of warre; according to the Cuſtomes of other Nations. As in the *Romans* time we finde Lands were giuen in reward of ſeruice to the men of warre, for terme of their liues, as they are at this day in *Turkey*. After they became patrimonial, and hereditary to their Children.

The Cuſtome of Fifes.

Seuerus the Emperour was the firſt who permitted the children of men of warre, to inioy their Fifes, prouided that they followed armes. *Conſtantine* to reward his principall Captaines, granted them a perpetulty in the Lands aſſigned them. The eſtates which were but for life, were made perpetuall in *France*, vnder the laſt kings of the race of *Charlemaine*. Thoſe Lords who had the great Fifes of the king, ſub-diuided them to other perſons, of whom they were to haue ſeruice.

By what meanes hee increaſed his Reuenues.

Mulctuary profits, beſides, ſuch as might ariſe by the breach of his Forreſt-lawes, hee had, few or none new, vnleſſe that of Murther, which aroſe vppon this occaſion.

In

In the beginning of his reigne, the rankor of the Engliſh towards the new-come *Normans*, was ſuch, as finding them ſingle in woods, or remote places, they ſecretly murthered them; and the deed doers (for any the ſeuereſt courſes taken) could neuer bee diſcouered: Whereupon, it was ordained, that the Hundred, wherein a *Norman* was found ſlaine, and the murtherer not taken, ſhould be condemned to pay to the King, ſome 26. pounds, ſome 28. pounds, according to the quantity of the Hundred, that the puniſhment, being generally inflicted, might particularly deter them, and haſten the diſcouery of the Malefactor, by whom ſo many muſt (otherwiſe) be intereſſed.

The Law for Murther renued, firſt made by King *Knute*.

For his prouiſionary reuenues, he continued the former cuſtome held by his Predeceſſors, which was in this manner. The Kings Tenants, who held the Lands of the Crowne, payd no money at all; but onely Victualls, Wheate, Beifes, Muttons, Hay, Oates, &c: And a iuſt note of the quality and quantitie of euery mans ratement was taken throughout all the Shieres of the Kingdome, and leauied euer certaine, for the maintenance of the Kings Houſe. Other ordinary In-come of ready moneys was there none, but what was rayſed by mulcts, and out of Cities and Caſtles where Agriculture was not vſed. What the Church yeelded him, was by extent of a power that neuer reached ſo farre before; and the firſt hand, he laid vpon that ſide which weighed heauily, was his ſeazing vpon the Plate, Iewels, and Treaſure within all the Monaſteries of *England*, pretending the Rebels and their aſſiſtants, conueyed their riches into theſe religious houſes (as into places priviledged and free from ſeazure) to defraud him thereof.

Geruaſius Tilb.

King *William* ſeazed vppon, the Treaſure committed to Monaſteries.

Beſides this, he made all Biſhoprickes, and Abbeys that held Barronies (before that time free from all ſecular ſeruices) contributarie to his Warres, and his other occaſions. And this may be the cauſe why they, who then onely held the Pen (the Scepter, that rules ouer the memorie of Kings) haue laid ſuch an eternall impoſition vpon his name, of rigour, oppreſſion, and euen barbarous immanitie, as they haue done. When the nature and neceſſary diſpoſition of his affayres (being as he was) may aduocate for him, and in many things much excuſe his courſes. But this name of Conqueſt, which euer imports violence and miſerie, is of ſo harſh a ſound, and ſo odious in nature, as a people ſubdued, cannot giue a Conquerour his due (how euer worthie,) and eſpeciallie to a ſtranger, whom onely time muſt naturalize, and incorporate by degrees, into their liking and opinion. And yet therein this King was greatly aduantaged, by reaſon of his twenty yeares gouernment, which had much impaired the Memory of former Cuſtomes in the yonger ſort, and well inured the elder to the preſent vſances and forme of State, whereby the rule was made more eaſie to his ſons: who (though they were farre inferiour to him in worth) were ſomewhat better beloued, then he; and the rather, for that their occaſions made them, ſomewhat to vnwreſt the Soueraignty from that height, whereunto hee had ſtrayned it.

How hee was vnderſet with able Miniſters for the managing of theſe great affaires of his (though time hath ſhut vs out from the knowledge of ſome of them) it beeing in the Fortune of Kings, to haue their Miniſters like Riuers in the Ocean, buried in their glory) yet no doubt, being of a ſtrong conſtitution of Iudgement, he could not but be ſtrongly furniſhed in that kind; for weake Kings haue euer weake ſides, and the moſt renowned Princes are alwaies beſt ſtored with able Miniſters. The principall of higheſt imploiment, were *Odon*, Biſhop of *Bayeux*, and Earle of *Kent*: *Lanfranc* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and *William Fitz. Amber*, Earle of *Hereford*: *Odon* ſupplied the place of Viceroy in the Kings abſence, and had the management of the Treaſurie. A man of a wide and agile ſpirit, let out into as ſpacious a conceipt of greatneſſe, as the heighth of his place could ſhew him: And is rumored (by the infinite accumulation of money (which his auarice and length of office had made (either to buy the Popedome, or to purchaſe the people of *England* vpon the death of the King his brother: who (vnderſtanding hee had a purpoſe of going to *Rome*, and ſeeing a mighty confluence of Followers gathering vnto him) made a cloſe priſon ſtay his iourney: excuſing it to the Church, that hee impriſoned not a Biſhop of *Bayeux*, but an Earle of *Kent*, an Officer accomptant vnto him. Yet, vpon his death-bed ſhortly following (after many obſecrations, that hee would, in reſpect of blood and nature, be a kind mean for the future peace of his ſons) he releaſed him.

His Councellors.

The Biſhop of *Bayeux* as an Earle of *Kent*, committed to Priſon.

Reserued for greater mischiefe.

But the Bishop failed his request therein, and became the onely kindle-fire to set them all into more furious combustion. The motiue of his discontent (the engine wherewith all Ambition euermore turnes about her intentions) was the enuy hee bare to *Lanfranc*, whose counsell, in his greatest Affaires, the King especially vsed: and to oppose and ouer-beare him, he tooke all the contrary courses, and part with *Robert*, his Nephew, whom (after many fortunes) hee attended to the holy Warre, and dyed in the siedge of *Antioch*.

Lanfrans.

Lanfranc was a man of as vniuersall goodnesse, as learning, borne in *Lombardy*, and came happily a stranger, in these strange times to do good to *England*; vpon whose obseruance, though the King might (in regard he raised him) lay some tye, yet his affections could not but take part with his piety and place: in so much as he feared not to oppose against *Odon* the Kings brother, seeking to gripe from the State of his Church: and in all he could, stood so betweene the Kingdome and the Kings rigor, as strayed many precipitious violences, that he (whose power lay as wide as his will) might else haue fallen into. For the Conqueror (howsoeuer austere to others) was to him alwayes milde and yeelding, as if subdued with grauity and vertue.

The Reformation of the Clergy by *Lanfranc.*

Hee reformed the irregularity, and rudenesse of the Clergy, introducing a more Southerne formality and respect, according to his breeding, and the Custome of his Country: concurring herein likewise to bee an Actor of alteration (though in the best kinde) with this change of State. And to giue entertaynment to deuotion, he did all he could to furnish his Church with the most exquisite ornaments might bee procured: added a more State and conueniency to the structure of religious houses, and beganne the Founding of Hospitals. Hauing long struggled, with indefatigable labour, to hold things in an euen course, during the whole Reigne of this busie new State-building King) and after his Death, seeing his Successour in the Crowne (established especially by his meanes) to fayle his expectation; out of the experience of worldly causes, (diuining of future mischiefes by present courses) grew much to lament (with his Friends) the teadiousnesse of life, which shortly after hee mildly left, with such a sicknesse, as neither hindred his speech nor memory: a thing hee would often desire of God.

William Fitz Auber (as is deliuered) was a principall Counsellor and instrument in this action for *England*; wherein he furnished forty ships at his owne charge. A man of great meanes, yet of a heart greater, and a hand larger then any meanes would well suffice. His profuse liberalities to men of armes, gaue often sharpe offence to the King, who could not indure any such improuident expences) Amongst the Lawes hee made (which shewes the power these Earles then had in their Prouinces) hee ordayned, *That in the County of* Hereford, *no man of war (or souldier) should bee fined for any offence whatsoeuer aboue seauen shillings*; when in other Countries, vpon the least occasion of disobeying their Lords will, they were forced to pay 20. or 25. shil. But his estate seeming to beare no proportion with his minde, and enough it was not to be an eminent Earle, an especiall Counsellor in all the affaires of *England* and *Normandy*, a chiefe Fauorite to so great a Monarch, but that larger hopes drew him away; designing to marry *Richeld*, Countesse Dowager of *Flanders*, and to haue the gouernment of that County, during the non-age of *Arnulph* her son (of whom, with the King of *France*, hee had the tutelary charge committed by *Baldouin* the fifth Father to *Arnulph*; whose estate *Robert le Frison* his vnckle (called by the people to the gouernment, vpon the exactions inflicted on them by *Richeld*) had vsurped. And against him *Fitz-Auber* opposing, was with *Arnulph* surprized and slaine.

William Fitz Auber Earle of *Hereford*, made Lawes in his Prouince.

And this was in the Fate of the Conqueror, to see most of all these great men, who had beene the especiall Actors in all his Fortunes, spent and extinct before him; As *Beaumont, Monfort, Harcourt, Hugh de Gourney, Vicount Neele, Hugh de Mortimer, Conte de Vannes, &c.* And now himselfe, after his being brought sicke to *Rouan*, and there disposing his estate, ended also his act in the 74. yeare of his age, and the one and twenty of his Reigne.

The death of *William* the first.

Three dayes the Corpes of this great Monarch is sayd to haue laine neglected, while his

his ſeruants attending to imbeaſle his moueables: in the end, his yongeſt ſonne *Henry*, had it conueyed to the Abbey of *Cane*; where firſt at the entry into the Towne, they who carried the Corpes, left it alone, and ran all to quench a houſe on fire: Afterward brought to be intombed, a Gentleman ſtands forth, and in ſterne manner, forbids the interment in that place, claiming the ground to bee his Inheritance, deſcended from his Anceſtors, and taken from him at the building of that Abbey; appealing to *Rou*, their firſt Founder, for Iuſtice: Whereupon, they were faine to compound with him for an Annuall rent. Such adoe had the body of him after death (who had made ſo much in his life) to be brought to the earth; and of all he attayned, had not now a roome to contayne him, without being purchaſed at the hand of another: men eſteeming a liuing Dog more then a dead Lyon.

His Corpes lay vnburied three dayes.

His interment hindred.

He had a faire Iſſue by *Maude* his wife, foure ſons and ſix daughters. To *Robert* his eldeſt, he left the Dutchy of *Normandy*: to *William* the third ſon, the Kingdome of *England*: to *Henry* the yongeſt, his treaſure, with an annuall penſion to bee payd him by his Brother. *Richard* who was his ſecond ſon, and his darling, a Prince of great hope, was ſlaine by a Stagge hunting in the new Forreſt, and began the fatalneſſe that followed in that place, by the death of *William* the ſecond, there ſlaine with an arrow; and of *Richard* the ſon of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who brake his necke.

His Iſſue.

His eldeſt daughter *Cicile*, became a Nun; *Conſtance* married to the Earle of *Brittain*; *Adula* to *Stephen* Earle of *Bloys*, who likewiſe rendred her ſelfe a Nun in her age; ſuch was then their deuotion, and ſo much were theſe ſolitary retires, affected by the greateſt Ladies of thoſe times: *Gundred* married to *William de Warren*, the firſt Earle of *Surrey*, the other two, *Ela* or *Adeliza* and *Margaret* dyed before marriage.

Now, what hee was in the circle of himſelfe in his owne continent, wee finde him of an euen ſtature, comely perſonage, of good preſence, riding, ſitting or ſtanding, till his corpulency increaſing with age, made him ſomewhat vnweildy, of ſo ſtrong a conſtitution, as he was neuer ſickly till a few moneths before his death. His ſtrength ſuch, as few men could draw his Bow, and being about 50. of his age, when he ſubdued this Kingdome, it ſeemes by his continuall actions, hee felt not the weight of yeares vpon him till his laſt yeare.

The deſcription of *William* the firſt.

What was the compoſition of his mind; wee ſee it (the faireſt) drawne in his actions, and how his abilities of Nature, were anſwerable to his vndertakings of Fortune, as pre-ordayned for the great worke hee effected. And though hee might haue ſome aduantage of the time, wherein wee often ſee men preuaile more by the imbecility of others, then their owne worth; yet let the ſeaſon of that world be well examined, and a iuſt meaſure taken of his actiue vertues, they will appeare of an exceeding proportion. Nor wanted he thoſe incounters and concurrences of ſufficient able Princes, to put him to the triall thereof: Hauing on one ſide the *French* to grapple withall; on the other the *Danes*, farre mightier in people and ſhipping then himſelfe, ſtrongly ſided in this Kingdome, as eger to recouer their former footing here, as euer, and as well or better prepared.

For his deuotion and mercy, the brighteſt Starres in the Spheare of Maieſty, they appeare aboue all his other vertues, and the due obſeruation of the firſt, the Clergy (that loued him not) confeſſe: the other was ſeene (in the often pardoning, and receiuing into grace, thoſe (who rebelled againſt him) as if hee held ſubmiſſion ſatisfactory, for the greateſt offence, and ſought not to deſeit men, but their enterprizes. For wee finde but one Noble-man executed in all his Reigne, and that was the Earle *Waltheof*, who had twice ſalſified his Faith before: And thoſe he held Priſoners in *Normandy*, as the Earles *Morchar* and *Syward*, with *Wolnoth*, the brother of *Harold*, and others (vpon compaſſion of their indurance) he releaſed a little before his death.

His deuotion and mercy.

But one Noble man executed in all the time of this Kings Reigne.

Beſides, hee was as farre from ſuſpition, as cowardize, and of that confidence (an eſpeciall note of his Magnanimity) as hee gaue *Edgar* his Competitor in the Crowne, the liberty of his Court: And (vpon his ſuite) ſent him well furniſht to the holy Warre, where he nobly behaued himſelfe, and attayned to great eſtimation, with the Emperours of *Greece* and *Almaine*, which might haue beene held dangerous, in reſpect of his alliances

alliances that way, being grand-child to the Emperour *Henry* the third. But theſe may be as well vertues of the Time, as of Men, and ſo the age muſt haue part of this commendations.

His workes of Piety.

He was a Benefactor to nine Abbeyes of Monkes, and one of Nunnes, founded by his Predeceſſors in *Normandy*, and during his owne time were founded in the ſame Prouince, ſeauen Abbeyes of Monkes and ſixe of Nunnes; with which Fortreſſes (as he ſayd) he furniſht *Normandy*, to the end men might therein fight againſt the fleſh, and the Diuell. In *England* he Founded a goodly Abbey, where he fought his firſt Battell, whereof it had the Denomination, and two Nunneries, one at *Hinching-brooke* in *Huntingdon-ſhiere*, and the other at *Armthwat* in *Cumberland*, beſides his other publique workes.

Magnificent he was in his Feſtiuals, which (with great ſolemnity and Ceremony (the formall entertayners of reuerence and reſpect) he duly obſerued: Keeping his *Chriſtmas* at *Gloceſter*, his *Eaſter* at *Wincheſter*, and *Penteceſt at Weſtminſter*: whither he ſummoned his whole Nobility; that Embaſſadors and ſtrangers might ſee his State and largeneſſe. (Nor euer was he more milde and indulgent, then at ſuch times.) And theſe Ceremonies his firſt Succeſſor obſerued; but the ſecond omitted.

The end of the Life, and Reigne of William the firſt.

The Life and Reigne of William the ſecond.

1087. *Anno Reg.* I.

WIlliam the Second, Sonne to *William* the Firſt, not attending his Fathers Funerall, haſts into *England* to recouer the Crowne, where (by the eſpeciall meditation of the Arch-biſhop *Lanfranc*, his owne large bounty, and wide promiſes) he obtayned it, according to his Fathers will, (to whom by his obſequiouſneſſe hee had much indeared himſelfe,) eſpecially after the abdication of his elder brother *Robert*. Hee was a Prince more gallant then good, and hauing beene bred with the Sword, alwayes in action, and on the better ſide of Fortune, was of a Nature rough and haughty, whereunto, his youth and Soueraignty added a greater wildeneſſe. Comming to ſucceed in a Gouernment, fore-ruled by Mature and graue Councell, hee was ſo ouer-whelmed with his Fathers worth and greatneſſe, as made him appeare of a leſſer Orbe then otherwiſe he would haue done. And then the ſhortneſſe of his Reigne, being but of thirteene yeares; allowed him not time to ree ouer that opinion, which the errors of firſt gouernment had loſt, or his neceſſities cauſed him to commit. For the ſucceſſion in right of *Primogeniture*, being none of his, and the elder brother living: howſoeuer his Fathers will was, hee muſt now be put, and held in poſſeſſion of the Crowne of *England*, by the Will of the Kingdome; which to purchaſe (muſt be) by large conditions of releeuements in generall, and profuſe gifts in particular. Wherein he had the more to doe, beeing to deale with a State conſiſting of a two-fold body, and different temperaments (where any inflammation of diſcontent, was the more apt to take,) hauing a head whereto it might readily gather. Which made, that vnleſſe hee would lay more to their hopes then another, hee could not hope to haue them firmely his. And therefore (ſeeing the beſt way to win the *Normans*, was by money; and the *Engliſh*, with liberties, hee ſpared not at firſt, to beſtow on the one, and to promiſe the other, more then befitted his eſtate and dignity; which, when afterward failing, both in ſupplies (for great giuers muſt alwayes giue) and alſo in performances, got him farre more hatred then otherwiſe hee could euer haue had, being forced to all diſhonorable ſhifts for rayſing moneys that could bee deuiſed, and euen to reſume his owne former grants.

William the ſecond reſumes his owne Grants.

And to begin at firſt to take the courſe to be euer needy, preſently after his Coronation, he goes to *Wincheſter*, where his Fathers Treaſure lay, and (emptyes out all that; which, with great prouidence, was there amaſſed: whereby, though he wonne the loue of many, hee loſt more, beeing not able to content all.) And now although his brother *Robert* had not (this great engine) money, hee had to giue hopes; and there were heere of the *Normans*, as *Odon* his Vnckle, *Roger de Mongomery* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, with others,

others, who were mainely for him, and worke he doth all he can, to batter his brothers fortune, vpon their first foundation. And for this purpose borrowes great summes of his younger brother *Henry* (to whom the Father and the Mother had left much treasure) and for the same, ingages the Country of *Constantine*, and leauies an army for *England*. But *William* newly inuested in the Crowne, though well prepared for all assaults, had rather purchase a present peace (by mediation of the Nobles on both sides) till time had better setled him in his gouernment then to coraise spirits that could not easily bee allayed. And an agreement betweene them is wrought, that *William* should hold the Crowne of *England* during his life, paying to *Robert* three thousand Markes *Per annum*.

Robert of *Normandy* borrowes summes of his brother *Henry* to purchase the Kingdome of *England*.

Robert hauing closed this businesse, resumes by force the Country of *Constantine* out of his brother *Henries* hands, without discharge of those summes; for which hee had ingaged it. Whereupon King *William* vpbraydes *Henry* (with the great gaine hee had made by his vsury) in lending mony to depriue him of his Crowne. And so *Henry* got the hatred of both his brothers, and hauing no place safe from their danger where to liue; surprized the Castle of Mount Saint *Michel*, fortifies him therein, gets ayde of *Hugh* Earle of *Brittaine*, and for his mony was serued with *Brittaines*, who committed great spoyles, in the Countryes of *Constantine* and *Bessin*.

Odon for malice to *Lanfranc*, seekes to distract the Kings forces.

Odon, Bishop of *Bayeux*, returning into *England*, after his imprisonment in *Normandy*, and restored to his Earldome of *Kent*, finding himselfe so farre vnder what hee had beene, and *Lanfranc* his concurrent, now the onely man in counsell with the King, complots with as many *Norman* Lords as hee found, or made to affect change, and a new maister, and sets them on worke in diuers parts of the Realme, to distract the Kings Forces: as first *Geffery* Bishop of *Constans*: with his Nephew *Robert de Moubray* Earle of *Northumberland*, fortifie themselues in *Bristow*, and take in all the Country about: *Roger de Bigod*, made himselfe strong in *Northfolke*: *Hugh de Grandemenil* about *Leicester*: *Roger de Mongomery* Earle of *Shrewsbury* with a power of *Welshmen*, and other thereabout, sets out accompanied with *William* Bishop of *Durham*, *Bernard de Newmarch*, *Roger Lacie*, and *Ralph Mortimer* all *Normans*, and assaile the Citty of *Worcester*, making themselues strong in those parts. *Odon* himselfe fortifies the Castle of *Rochester*, makes good all the Coast of *Kent*, solicits *Robert* to vse what speede hee could to come with all his power out of *Normandy*; which had hee done in time, and not giuen his brother so large oppertunity of preuention, hee had carried the Kingdome; but his delay yeelds the King time to confirme his Friends, vnder-worke his enemies, and make himselfe strong with the *English*, which hee did by granting relaxation of tribute, with other releeuements of their doleances, and restoring them to their former freedom of hunting in all his woods and Forrests, a thing they much esteemed; whereby hee made them so strongly his, as soone hee brake the necke of all the *Norman* conspiracies (they being egar to reuenge them of that Nation) and heere they learned first to beate their Conquerors, hauing the faire aduantage of this action, which cut the throates of many of them.

The King vnderworkes his enemies, by releeuing the doleances, and graunting former freedomes to the English.

Mongomery, being won from his complices, and the seuerall conspirators in other parts represt, the King comes with an Army into *Kent*, where the head of the Faction lay, and first wonne the Castle of *Tunbridge*, and that of *Pemsey*, which *Odon* was forced to yeeld, and promise to cause those which defended that of *Rochester*, which were *Eustace* Earle of *Bologne*, and the Earle of *Mortaigne*, to render likewise the same. But beeing brought thither to effect the businesse, they within, receiuing him, detained him, as hee pretended, prisoner, and held out stoutly against the King vpon a false intelligence giuen of the arriuall of Duke *Robert* at *Southampton*; but in the end they were forced to quit the place, and retire into *France*, and *Odon* to abiure *England*.

1088. *Anno Reg.* 2.

And to keepe off the like danger from hence, he transports his Forces into *Normandy*, there to waste and weaken his brother at home. So, as hee might hold him from any further attempts abroad for euer after. Where first hee obtaines Saint *Valery*, and after *Albemarle* with the whole Country of *Eu*, *Fescampe*, the *Abathie* of mount Saint *Michel*, *Cherburge*, and other places. *Robert* seekes ayde of *Phillip* King of *France*, who

alliances that way, being grand-child to the Emperour *Henry* the third. But theſe may be as well vertues of the Time, as of Men, and ſo the age muſt haue part of this commendations.

His workes of Piety.

He was a Benefactor to nine Abbeyes of Monkes, and one of Nunnes, founded by his Predeceſſors in *Normandy*, and during his owne time were founded in the ſame Prouince, ſeauen Abbeyes of Monkes and ſixe of Nunnes; with which Fortreſſes (as he ſayd) he furniſht *Normandy*; to the end men might therein fight againſt the fleſh, and the Diuell. In *England* he Founded a goodly Abbey, where he fought his firſt Battell, whereof it had the Denomination, and two Nunneries, one at *Hineching-brooke* in *Huntingdon-ſhiere*, and the other at *Armthwat* in *Cumberland*, beſides his other publique workes.

Magnificent he was in his Feſtiuals, which (with great ſolemnity and Ceremony (the formall entertayners of reuerence and reſpect) he duly obſerued: Keeping his *Chriſtmas* at *Gloceſter*, his *Eaſter* at *Wincheſter*, and *Pentecoſt at Weſtminſter*: whither he ſummoned his whole Nobility; that Embaſſadors and ſtrangers might ſee his State and largeneſſe. (Nor euer was he more milde and indulgent, then at ſuch times.) And theſe Ceremonies his firſt Succeſſor obſerued; but the ſecond omitted.

The end of the Life, and Reigne of William the firſt.

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who comes downe with an army, into *Normandy*; but ouercome with the power of mony wherewith King *William* aſſayled him, did him little good, and ſo retired.

Duke *Robert* driuen to peace.

Whe eupon Duke *Robert*, in the end, was driuen to a diſhonorable peace, concluded at *Caen*, with theſe Articles. *Firſt, that King* William *ſhould hold the country of* Eu, Feſcampe, *and all other places which hee had bought; and were deliuered vnto him, by* William *Earle of* Eu, *and* Stephen *Earle of* Aumal, *ſiſters ſon to* William *the firſt. Secondly, he ſhould aide the Duke to recouer al other peeces which belonged to his Father, and were vſurped from the Dutchy. Thirdly, that ſuch* Normans, *as had loſt their eſtates in* England, *by taking part with the Duke, ſhould be reſtored thereunto. Fourthly, that the ſuruiuer of ether of them ſhould ſucceed in the Dominions both of* England *&* Normandy. After this peace made by the mediation of the King of *France*, whilſt *William* had a ſtrong Army in the field, Duke *Robert* requeſted his ayde againſt their brother *Henry*; who ſtill kept him in the Fort of mount *Michel*, vpon his guard, holding it beſt for his ſafety: For (being a Prince that could not ſubſiſt of himſelfe (as an earthen veſſell ſet amongſt iron pots) he was euery way in danger to be cruſht) and ſeeing he had loſt both his brothers by doing the one a kindneſſe, if he ſhould haue tooke to either (their turne being ſerued) his owne might bee in hazard; and ſo betooke him to this defence. Forty dayes the two Princes layde ſiedge to this Caſtle; And one day, as the King was alone on the ſhore, there ſallies out of the Fort, a Company of horſe; whereof three ran at him ſo violently, and all ſtrooke his horſe together with their Launces; as they brake pectorall, girſes, and all, that the horſe ſlips away, and leaues the King, and the ſaddle on the ground: the King takes vp the ſaddle with both hands, and therewith defends himſelfe till reſcue came; and being blamed by ſome of his people for putting himſelfe thus in peril of his life to ſaue his ſaddle, anſwered: *It would haue angred him, the* Bretons *ſhould haue bragged, they had wonne the ſaddle from vnder him; and how great an indignity it was, for a King to ſuffer inferiors to force any thing from him.*

1089 *Anno Reg.* 3.

1091. *Anno Reg:* 4.

The Kings vndaunted valor.

The King and his two brethren agreed.

In the end *Henry* grew to extreame want of drinke and water; although he had all other prouiſion ſufficient within his Fort, and ſends to Duke *Robert* that he might haue his neceſſity ſupplyed. The Duke ſends him a Tun of wine, and grants him truce for a day to furniſh him with water. Wherewith *William* being diſpleaſed, Duke *Robert* told him: *It was hard to deny a brother meate and drinke which craued it, and that if hee periſht, they had not a brother.* Wherewith *William* likewiſe relenting, they ſent for *Henry*, and agrement is made: *That he ſhould hold in morgage the country of* Conſtantine, *till the mony was payd, and a day appoynted to receiue it at* Rouen.

1092. *Anno Reg.* 5.

Which accord King *William* the rather wrought, to draw as much from *Robert* as hee might, whom by this voyage he not onely had waſted, but poſſeſt himſelfe of a ſaſe and continuall landing place, with a part of his Dutchy: and cauſed him to put from him, and baniſh out of *Normandy*; *Edgar Atheling*, whom *Robert* held his Penſioner, and as a ſtone in his hand, vpon all occaſions to threaten *William* with anothers right, if his owne preuailed not: And beſides, he wrought ſo, as either through promiſe of mony, or ſome farther ratification to bee made here, hee brought his brother *Robert* with him ouer into *England*, and tooke him along in an expedition againſt *Malcolm*, who had incroched vpon his territories, during his abſence. Which buſineſſe being determined without battell, *Robert*, ſoone after returnes much diſcontented into *Normandy*, and as it ſeemes, without mony to ſatiſfie his brother *Henry*. Who repairing to *Rouen* at a day appoynted, in ſtead of receiuing it, was committed to priſon, and before hee could bee releaſed, forced to renounce the Country of *Conſtantine*, and ſware neuer to claime any thing in *Normandy*.

Duke *Robert* commits his brother *Henry* to priſon.

1093. *Anno Reg.* 6.

Henry complaines of this groſſe iniuſtice, to *Philip* King of *France*, who gaue him a faire entertainment in his Court. Where he remained not long, but that a Knight of *Normandy*, named *Hachard*, vndertaking to put him into a Fort (maugre his brother *Robert*) within the Dutchy; conueyed him diſguiſed out of the Court, and wrought ſo, as the Caſtle *Dampfront* was deliuered vnto him: whereby ſhortly after, he got all the Country of *Paſſays*, about it, and a good part of *Conſtantine*, by the ſecret ayde of King *William*, *Richard de Rimeres*, and *Roger de Mannemie*.

Duke

Duke *Robert* leuies Forces, and eagarly wrought to recouer *Dampfront*, but finding how *Henry* was vnderſet inueighs againſt the perfidie of his brother of *England*: in ſo much as the flame of rancor burſt out againe more then euer. And ouer paſſes, King *William* with a great army, but rather to terrifie, then to doe any great matter, as a Prince that did more contend then war: and would be great with the ſword, yet ſeldome deſired to vſe it; if he could get to his ends by any other meanes, ſeeking rather to buy his peace then win it.

Many skirmiſhes interpaſſed, with ſurprizements of Caſtles, but in the end a treaty of peace was propounded: wherein to make his conditions, what he would; King *William* ſeemes hard to bee wrought, and makes the more ſhew of Force; ſending ouer into *England* for an Army of thirty thouſand men, which being brought to the ſhoare, ready to bee ſhipped: an offer was made to bee proclaimed by his Lieuetenant, that giuing ten ſhillings a man, whoſoeuer would, might depart home to his dwelling; whereby was raiſed ſo much as diſcharged his expence, and ſerued to ſee the King of *France*, vnder-hand, for his forbearing ayde to Duke *Robert*, who ſeeing himſelfe left by the *French*, muſt needes make his peace as the other would haue it.

Now for his affaires at home, the vncertaine warres with *Wales* and *Scotland*, gaue him more buſineſſe then honour. Beeing driuen in the one to incounter with mountaines in ſtead of men, to the great loſſe and diſaduantage of his people, and in the other with as many neceſſities. *Wales* he ſought to ſubdue; *Scotland* to reſtraine, as it might not hurt him. For the laſt, after much broyle, both Kings, ſeeming more willing to haue peace then to ſeeke it, are brought to an enteruiew. *Malcolin* vpon publicke faith, and ſafe conduct, came to *Gloceſter*; where, vppon th'haughtineſſe of king *William*, looking to bee ſatisfied in all his demands, and the vny eeldingneſſe of King *Malcolin*, ſtanding vppon his regality within his owne, though content to bee ordered for the confines, according to the iudgment of the Primate of both Kingdomes; nothing was effected, but a greater diſdaine, and rankor in *Malcoline*, ſeeing himſelfe deſpiſed, and ſcarce looked on by the King of *England*. So that vpon his his returne armed with rage; hee raiſes an Army, enters *Northumberland*, which fouer times before he had depopulated; and now the fifth, ſeeking vtterly to deſtroy it, and to haue gone farther, was with his eldeſt ſonne *Edward* ſlaine, rather by fraude then power of *Robert Mombray* Earle of that Country: The griefe of whoſe deaths, gaue *Margaret*, that bleſſed Queene hers. After whom, the State elected *Dufnald*, brother to *Malcolin*, and chaſed out all the *Engliſh*, which attended the Queene, and were harbored, or preferred by *Malcolin*. King *William* to ſet the line right, and to haue a King there which ſhould bee beholding to his power, aides *Edgar*, the ſecond ſon to *Malcolin* (who had ſerued him in his wars) to obtaine the Crowne due vnto him in right of ſucceſſion: by whoſe meanes *Dufnald* was expeld, and the State receiued *Edgar*, but killed all the ayde hee brought with him out of *England*, and capitulated that hee ſhould neuer more entertaine *Engliſh* or *Norman* in his ſeruice.

1048. *Anno Reg.* 7.

The King of *Scots* & his ſon *Edware* ſlaine, cauſes Queene *Margaret* to dy with griefe *Roger Houeden*

This buſineſſe ſetled; *Wales* ſtrugling for liberty, and reuenge, gaue new occaſion of worke: whether hee went in perſon, with purpoſe to depopulate the Countrie: but they (retiring into the Mountaines and the Iſle of *Angleſey*) auoyded the preſent fury. But afterward, *Hugh* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſter*, ſurprizing the Iſle (their chiefeſt retreit) committing there barbarous examples of cruelty, by excecations, and miſerable diſmembring the people; which immanity, was there ſuddenly auenged on the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, with a double death, firſt ſhot into the eye, and then tumbling ouer boord into the ſea, to the ſport and ſcorne of his enemy the King of *Norway*, who either by chance, or of purpoſe, comming vppon that coaſt from taking in the Orcades, encountred with him and that Force he had at ſea.

1085. *Anno Reg.* 7.

Theſe were the remote buſineſſes, when a conſpiracie breake out within the body of the Kingdome, complotted by *Robert Mombray* Earle of *Northumberland*, *William d'Ou* and many others, which are ſayd *to haue ſought the deſtruction of the King and the aduancement of* Stephen *Earle of* Albemare, *his Aunts ſonne to the Crowne*; (which gaue the King more trouble then danger:) For by the ſpeedy and maine proſecution of the

buſineſſe

buſineſſe (wherein he vſed the beſt ſtrength of *England*) it was ſoone ended, with the confuſion of the vndertakers. But it wrought an ill effect in his Nature, by hardening the ſame to an extreame rigor: for after the feare was paſt, his wrath, and cruelty were not; but which is hideous in a Prince) they grew to bee numbred amongſt incurable diſeaſes.

The Earle was committed to the Caſtle of *Windſor*, *William d'Ou*, at a Councell at *Salisbury* being ouercome in Duell (the courſe of triall) had his eyes put out, and his priuy members cut off. *William de Alueric*, his Sewer, a man of goodly perſonage, and allyed vnto him, was condemned to be hanged: though *both in his confeſſion to* Oſmond *the Biſhop there, and to all the people as he paſſed to his Execution*, he left a cleare opinion of his innocency, and the wrong he had by the King.

But now; whilſt theſe fractures heere at home, the vnrepayrable breached abroad (were ſuch) as could giue the King no longer aſſuredneſſe of quiet, then the attempters would: and that all the Chriſtian World was out, eyther at diſcord amongſt themſelues, or in faction, by the ſchiſme of the Church: Pope *Vrban*, aſſembling a generall Councell at *Cleirmont* in *Auergne*, to compoſe the affayres of Chriſtendome, exhorted all the Princes thereof to joyne themſelues in Action, for the recouery of the Holy Land, out of the hands of Infidels. Which motion, by the zealous negotiation of *Peter* the Hermit of *Amiens*; tooke ſo generally (meeting with the diſpoſition of an actiue, and religious world) as turned all that flame, which had elſe conſumed each other at home, vpon vnknowne Nations that vndid them abroad.

Such, and ſo great grew the heat of this action, made by the perſwaſion of the Iuſtice thereof, with the State and glory it would bring on earth, and the aſſuredneſſe of Heauen to all the pious vndertakers, that none were eſteemed to containe any thing of worth, which would ſtay behind. Each giues hand to other to leade them along, and example addes number. The forwardneſſe of ſo many great Princes, paſſing away their whole eſtates, and leauing all what the deareneſſe of their Countrey contayned, drew to this warre 300000. men; all which, though in Armes, paſſed from diuers Countries and Ports, with that quietneſſe, as they ſeemed rather Pilgrimes, than Souldiers.

Peter the Hermits gets 300000. men to recouer the Holy Land.

Godfrey of *Bouillon*, Nephew and Heire to the Duke of *Lorraine*, a Generous Prince, bred in the Warres of the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth, was the firſt that offered vp himſelfe to this Famous Voyage; and with him his two Brothers, *Euſtace* and *Baudoum*, by whoſe examples were drawne *Hugh le Grand*, Count *de Vermondois*, brother to *Phillip* King of *France*; *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, *Robert le Friſon* Earle of *Flanders*: *Stephen* Earle of *Blois* and *Charters*; *Aimar* Biſhop of *Puy*; *William* Biſhop of *Orange*: *Raimond* Earle of *Tholouſe*: *Baudouin* Earle of *Hainaut*: *Baudouin* Earle of *Rethel*, and *Garnier* Earle of *Gretz*: *Harpin* Earle of *Bourges*: *Yſoard* Earle of *Die*: *Rambaud* Earle of *Orange*: *Guillaum* Conte *de Forreſts*: *Stephen* Conte *d'Aumaul*: *Hugh* Earle of S^t. *Pol*: *Rotron* Earle of *Perche*, and others. Theſe were for *France*, *Germany* and the Countries adjoyning. *Italy* had *Bohemond* Duke of *Apulia*; and *England*, *Beauchampe* with others, whoſe names are loſt: *Spaine* onely had none; beeing afflicted at that time with the *Sarazins*.

1097. *Anno Reg.* 10. Moſt of all theſe Princes and great Perſonages to furniſh themſelues for this expedition, ſold, or ingaged their poſſeſſions. *Godfrey* ſold the Dutchy of *Bologne* to *Hubert* Biſhop of *Luege*; and *Metz* to the Citizens: Beſides, he ſold the Caſtle of *Sarteny*, and *Monſa*, to *Richard* Biſhop of *Verdun*; and to the ſame Biſhop, *Baudouin* his other ſold the Earledome of *Verdun*. *Euſtace* likewiſe ſold all his liuely-hood to the Church: *Herpin* Earle of *Bourges*, his Earledome to *Phillip* King of *France*; and *Robert* morgaged his Dutchy of *Normandy*, the Earledome of *Maine*, and all hee had, to his brother King *William* of *England*. Whereby the Pope not onely weakned the Empire, with whome the Church had (to the great affliction of Chriſtendome) held a long and bloody buſineſſe, about the invectiues of Biſhops; tooke away and infeebled his partiſans, abated, as if by *Oſtracaiſme*, the power of any Prince that might oppoſe him, but alſo aduanced the State Eccleſiaſticall, by purchaſing theſe great Temporalities,

(more honorable for the ſellers then the buyers) vnto a greater meanes then euer. For by aduiſing the vndertaken, ſeeing their action was for CHRIST and his Church, rather to make ouer their eſtates to the Clergy, of whom they might againe redeeme the ſame, and be ſure to haue the faireſt dealing; then vnto Lay-men; hee effected this worke. VVhereby the third part of the beſt Fiefs in *France* came to be poſſeſt by the Clergy; and afterwards vpon the ſame occaſion, many things more vnto them in *England*, eſpecially when *Richard* the firſt vndertooke the voyage, who paſſed ouer diuers Mannors to *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham* (and alſo, for his money) created him Earle of *Durham*, as appeares in his life.

This humour was kept vp, and in motion almoſt 300. yeares, notwithſtanding all the diſcouragement, by the difficulties paſſing, the diſaſters there through contagion ariſing from a diſagreeing clime; and the multitudes of indigent people, caſt oftentimes into a miſerable wants. It conſumed infinite Treaſure, and moſt of the braueſt men of all our VVeſt world, and eſpecially *France*. For *Germany* and *Italy*, thoſe who were the Popes friends, and would haue gone, were ſtayed at home by diſpenſation to make good his partie againſt the Emperour, who notwithſtanding ſtill ſtrugled with him; but in the end, by this meanes the Pope preuailed. Yet theſe were not all the effects this voyage wrought: The Chriſtians who went out to ſeeke an enemy in *Aſia*, brought one thence: to the daunger of all Chriſtendome, and the loſſe of the faireſt part thereof. For this long keeping it in a Warre, that had many intermiſſions with fits of heates and coldneſſes (as made by a league, conſiſting of ſeuerall Nations, emulous and vnconcurrent in their courſes) taught ſuch as were of an entire body, their weakneſſes, and the way to Conquer them. This was the great effect, this voyage wrought.

An Emperour of *Germany*, two Kings of *France* with their wiues, a King of *Norway* went all thither in perſon.

And by this meanes King *William* here was now ridde of an elder brother, and a Competitor; had the poſſeſſion of *Normandy* during his reigne and more abſolutenеſſe, and irregularity in *England*. Where now, in making vp this great ſumme to pay *Robert*, he vſed all the extreame meanes could be deuiſed: As hee had done in all like buſineſſes before. Whereby he incurred the hatred of his people in generall, and eſpecially of the Clergy, being the firſt King which ſhewed his ſucceſſors an euill precedent of keeping their Liuing vacant, and receiuing the profits of them himſelfe, as he did that of *Canterbury*, foure yeares after the death of *Lanfranc*; and had holden it longer, but that being dangerouſly ſicke at *Gloceſter*, the ſixt yeare of his Reigne, his Clergie, in the weakneſſe of his body, tooke to worke vpon his minde, ſo as he vowed, vpon his recouery to ſee all vacancies furniſhed; which he did, but with ſo great adoe, as ſhewed that hauing eſcaped the daunger hee would willingly haue deceiued the Saint: An *Anſelme*, an *Italian* borne, though bred in *Normandy*, is in the end preferred to that Sea. But, what with his owne ſtiffeneſſe, and the Kings ſtanding on his regalitie, he neuer enioyed it quietly vnder him. For betweene them two, began the firſt conteſtation about the inueſtitures of Biſhops, and other priuiledges of the Church, which gaue much to doe, to many of his ſucceſſors. *Anſelme* not yeelding to the King will, forſooke the Land; whereuppon his Biſhopricke was re-aſſumed; and the King helde in his hands at one time, beſides that of *Canterbury*, the Biſhoprickes of *Wincheſter*, *Sarum*, and eleuen Abbeyes, whereof he tooke all the profits.

1099. *Anno Reg.* 12

Hee vſually ſold all ſpirituall preferments to thoſe would giue moſt, and tooke fines of Prieſts for Fornication: he vexed *Robert Bluet* Biſhop of *Lincolne* in ſuite, till he paid him 1000. pound. And now the Clergy, vpon this taxe, complayning their wants, we anſwered, *That they had Shrines of gold in their Churches, and for ſo holy a worke as this warre againſt infidels, they ſhould not ſpare them.* Hee alſo tooke money of Iewes, to cauſe ſuch of them as were conuerted, to renounce Chriſtianity, as making more benefit by their vnbeleefe, then their conuerſion. Wherein hee diſcouered the worſt peece of his nature, *Irreligion*.

The Kings ſhew of religion.

Beſides his great taxations layd on the Laytie, he ſets informers vpon them, and for ſmall tranſgreſſions made great penalties. Theſe were his courſes for rayſing moneys

The antiquity of Informers.

This *Ranulph* gaue a thousand pounds for his Bishopricke, and was the Kings Chancellor. Profusion euer in want.

wherein he fayled not of fit Ministers to execute his Will, among whom was chiefe, *Ranulph* Bishop of *Durham*, whom he had corrupted with other bishops, to counterpoise the Clergy; awe the Layety, and countenance his proceedings. All which meanes, he exhausted, eyther in his buildings (which were the new Castle vppon *Tine*, the City of *Carleil*, *Westminster-Hall*, and the walles of the Tower of *London*) or else in his prodigall gifts to strangers. Twice he appeased the King of *France* with money, and his Profusion was such, as put him euermore into extreame wants.

This one Act, shewes both his violence and magnanimity: As he was one day hunting, a Messenger comes in all haste out of *Normandy*, and tells him how the City of *Mans* was surprised by *Hely* Conte *de la Fleesche* who by his (wife pretended right there vnto, and was ayded by *Fouques d' Angiers*, the ancient enemy to the Dukes of *Normandy*) and that the Castle which held out valiantly for him, was, without present succour, to be rendered. He sends backe the Messenger instantly, wills him to make all the speed he could, to signifie to his people in the Castle, that hee would be there within eight dayes, if Fortune hindred him not. And sudainely he askes of his people about him, which way *Mans* lay, and a *Norman* being by shewed him: Presently he turnes his Horse towards that Coast, and in great haste rides on: when some aduised him to stay for fit prouisions, and people for his iourney, hee sayd; *They who loue me, will follow me.* And comming to imbarke at *Dartmouth*, the Maister told him the weather was rough, and there was no passing without eminent danger; *Tush*, sayd he, *set forward, I neuer yet heard of King that was drowned.*

By breake of day he arriued at *Harflew*, sends for his Captaines and men of Warre to attend him all at *Mans*, whither hee came at the day appointed. Conte *de la Fleesche*, hauing more right than power, after many skirmishes, was taken by a stratagem, and brought prisoner to *Rouen*; where (more inraged, then dismayde with his fortune) he let fall these words; That had hee not beene taken with a wile, hee would haue left the King but little Land on that side the sea; and were hee againe at liberty, they should not so easily take him. Which being reported; the King sent for him, *Set him at liberty, gaue him a farre Horse, bad him goe his way, and doe his worst.* Which act ouercame the Conte more then his taking, and a quiet end was made betweene them. That he affected things of cost, euen in the smallest matters (as shewed) in the report of his finding fault with his seruants, which brought him a new payre of hose, whereof he demanding the price, was told how they cost three shillings: wherewith being angry, hee asked his seruant if that were a fit price of a payre of hose for a King, and willed him to goe presently and to buy those of a marke; which being brought him, though they were farre worse, yet he liked them much better in regard they were sayd to haue cost more. An example of the Weare of time, the humour of the Prince, and the deceipt of the seruant.

The King returnes into *England* with great iollity, as euer bringing home better fortune out of *Normandy*, then from any his Northerne expeditions: Feasts his Nobility with all Magnificence, in his new Hall, lately finished at Westminster, wherewith he found much fault for being built too little; saying, *It was fitter for a Chamber, then a Hall for a King of England*, and takes a plot for one farre more spacious to be added vnto it. And in this gayetie of State; when hee had got about all his businesse, betakes him wholly to the pleasure of peace, and being hunting with his brother *Henry* in the New Forrest, *Walter Tirell*, a Norman, and his kinsman, shooting at a Deere (whether mistaking his marke, or not, is vncertaine) strake him to the heart. And so fell this fierce King, in the 43. yeare of his age, when he had reigned nigh 12. yeares. A Prince, who for the first two yeares of his reigne (whilst held in, by the graue Councell of *Lanfranc*, and his owne feares) bare himselfe most worthily, and had beene absolute for State; had he not after sought to bee absolute in power, which (meeting with an exorbitant will) makes both Prince and People miserable.

The end of the Life and Reigne of William the Second.

THE

The Life, and Reigne, of Henry the first.

HENRY the yongeſt ſonne of *William* the firſt, beeing at hand, and borne in *England* (which made much for him) was elected and crowned within foure dayes after his Brothers death; it being giuen out, that *Robert*, who ſhould haue ſucceeded *William*, was choſen King of *Ieruſalem*, and not like to giue ouer that Kingdome for this. Wherefore to ſettle *Henry* in the poſſeſſion of the Crowne, all expedition poſſible was vſed, leſt the report of *Roberts* returning from the Holy warres (beeing now in *Apulia*, comming home) might be noyſed abroad to ſtagger the State, which ſeemed generally willing to accept of *Henry*. The firſt actions of his gouernement tended all, to baite the people, and ſugar their ſubiection (as his predeceſſor) vpon the like interpoſition had done, but with more moderation and aduiſedneſſe: This beeing a Prince better rectified in iudgement, and of a Nature more alayed, both by his ſufferings, hauing ſighed with other men vnder the hand of oppreſſion, that taught him patience) and alſo, by hauing ſomewhat of the Booke, which got him opinion, and the Title of *Beauclearke*.

1100. *Anno Reg.* 1.

First, to faſten the Clergy, *Hee furniſhes with fit men, all thoſe Vacancies which his Brother had kept empty, recalls* Anſelme *home to his Biſhopricke of* Canterbury, *and reſtores them to all whatſoeuer Priuiledges had beene infringed by his Predeceſſour.* And for the Layety, *Hee not onely pleaſed them in their releeuements, but in their paſſion, by puniſhing the chiefe Miniſters of their exactions*, which euermore eaſes the ſpleene of the people, glad to diſcharge their Princes of the euills done them (knowing how they cannot worke without hands) and lay them on their Officers, who haue the actiue power, where themſelues haue but the paſſiue, and commonly turne as they are mooued.

The ministers of exactions punished.

Ralph Biſhop of *Durham*, chiefe Counſellor to the late King, a man riſen by ſubtlety, of his tongue (from infimous condition, to the higheſt employments) was committed to a ſtreight and loathſome priſon, beeing famed to haue put his Maiſter into all theſe courſes of exaction and irregularities, and remaines amongſt the examples of perpetuall ignominy. All diſſolute perſons are expelled the Court: the people eaſed of their impoſitions, and reſtored to their lights in the night, which after the *Couerfeu* Bell were forbidden them vppon great penalty, ſince the beginning of *William* the firſt. Many other good orders for the gouernment of the Kingdome are ordayned, and beſides to make him the more popular and beloued, he matches in the Royall blood of *England*, taking to wife *Maude*, daughter of *Margueret*, late Queene of *Scots*, and Neece to *Edward Atheling*, deſcended from *Edmond Ironſide*. A Lady that brought with her the inheritance of goodneſſe ſhe had from a bleſſed mother, and with much adoe was won from her Cloyſter, and her vow to God, to deſcend to the world, and be a wife to a King.

Ralph Biſhop of Durham committed to priſon.

Diſſolute perſons expelled the Court.

Thus ſtood he entrenched in the State of *England*, when his brother *Robert* returning from the Holy warres, and receiued with great applauſe into his Dutchy of *Normandie*, ſhake the ground of all this buſineſſe; the firſt yeare threatning, the ſecond, arriuing with a ſtrong Army at *Portſmouth*, to recouer the Crowne, appertayning vnto him by the courſe of ſucceſſion, hauing a mighty party in *England* of the *Norman* Nobility; who eyther mooued with Conſcience of their diſcontent (a ſickeneſſe riſing of falſe opinion, and ouer expectation) made any light occaſion the motiue of reuolt. The Armies on both ſides meete, and are ready to encounter, when, for auoyding Chriſtian blood, a treaty of peace was mooued, and in the end concluded with theſe Articles: 1. *That ſeeing* Henry *was borne ſince his father was King of* England, *which made him the eldeſt ſon of a King, though the laſt of a Duke and now inueſted in the Crowne by the act of the Kingdome, he ſhould enioy the ſame during his life, paying to* Robert 2000. *markes* per annum. 2. *And* Robert *ſurmuing, to ſucceed him.* 3. *That all, who had taken part with* Robert *ſhould haue their pardon, and receiued no detriment.*

Robert Duke of Normandy returnes from the Holy warre.

1101. *Anno Reg.* 8.

The agreement betweene *Henry* and his brother.

This buſineſſe thus fairely paſſed ouer, *Robert* of a Generous and Free Nature, ſtayes and Feaſt, with his brother here in *England*, from the beginning of Auguſt till Michaelmas

1101. *Anno Reg.* 3.

Henry claymes the inueſtitures of Biſhop.

Anſelme oppugnes the King's prerogatiue.

The King ſends to the Pope.

1103. *Anno Reg.* 4.

Anſelme ſolones.

Michaelmas, and then returnes into *Normandie*. When *Henry*, ridde of this feare, takes to a higher ſtraine of Regality, and now ſtands vpon his Prerogatiue, for the inueſtitures of Biſhops, and collation of other Eccleſiaſticall eſtates, within his Kingdome, oppugned by *Anſelme*, who refuſed to conſecrate ſuch as he preferred, alledging it to be a violation of the ſacred Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, lately decreed concerning this buſineſſe: in ſo much as the King diſpatches an Ambaſſage to Pope *Paſchal*, with declaration of the right hee had to ſuch inueſtitures, from his Predeceſſours the Kings of *England*, who euermore conferred the ſame without interruption, till now of late.

Anſelme followes after theſe Ambaſſadours, goes likewiſe to *Rome*, to make good the oppoſition. The King baniſhes him the Kingdome, and takes into his hands his Biſhopricke. The Pope ſtands ſtifly to the power aſſumed by the Church, but in the end, ſeeing the King faſt ſtrong and lay too farre off out of his way to bee conſtrained (and hauing much to doe at that time with the Emperour and other Princes, about the ſame buſineſſe) takes the way of perſwaſion to draw him to his will, ſoliciting him with kind Letters, full of proteſtations, to further any deſignes of his that might concerne his State, if he would deſiſt from this proceeding.

The King preſt with ſome other occaſions, that held him in, and hauing purpoſes of that Nature, as by forbearance of the Church, might be the better effected, conſents to ſatisfie the Popes will; and becomes an example to other Princes, of yeelding in this caſe. *Anſelme* is re-called, after a yeares baniſhment, and the Ambaſſadours returne with large remunerations.

The King and *Anſelme* accorded.

Whileſt theſe things were managing at *Rome*, there burſt out heere a flame, which conſumed the parties that rayſed it, and brought the King more eaſily to his ends, then otherwiſe hee could euer haue expected. *Robert de Beleſme*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, ſonne to *Roger de Mongomery* (a very fierce youth) preſuming of his great eſtate, and his Friends, fortifies his Caſtles of *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgewrth*, *Tickhill* and *Arundell*; with ſome other peeces in *Wales* belonging to him; and combines with the Welch, to oppoſe againſt the preſent State (out of a deſire to ſet all in combuſtion, for his owne ends, that were altogether vneertayne) which put the King to much trauell and charge; but within thirty dayes, by employing great forces, and terrors mixt with promiſes, hee ſcattered his complices, and tooke all his Caſtles; except that of *Arundell*, which rendred vpon condition, that the Maiſter might bee permitted to retire ſafe into *Normandie*; which the King eaſily granted, (ſeeing now hee was but the body of a ſilly naked Creature, that had loſt both Feathers and Wings.) And it made well for the King, his going thither. For, from the loſing of his owne eſtate in *England*, and thereby aduancing the Kings renenues, hee goes to loſe *Normandy* alſo, and brings it to this Crowne. For, as ſoone as he came thither, hee faſtens amity with one of like condition and Fortunes as himſelfe (an exiled man,) whoſe inſolency had likewiſe ſtript him out of all his eſtate in *England*, and much waſted that in *Normandy*, which was *William* Earle of *Mortaigne*, ſonne to *Robert*, halfe brother to King *William* the firſt. Who being alſo Earle of *Cornewall*, made ſure likewiſe, to haue that of *Kent*: which his Vncle *Odon* lately held; but being denied it, and alſo euicted by Law, of certayne other parcels of Land, which hee claymed, retires with great indignation into *Normandy*, where not only he aſſaults the Kings Caſtles, but alſo vſurpes vpon the State of *Richard*, the young Earle of *Cheſter*, then the Kings Ward. Theſe two Earles combine themſelues, and with their Adherents committed many out-ragious actions, to the great ſpoyle and diſpleaſure of the Countrey, whereof, though they complayned to Duke *Robert*, they found little remedy. For, he being now growne poore by his out-lauiſhing humour, began it ſeemes, to be little reſpected: or elſe (alne from action, and thoſe greatneſſes his expectation had ſhewed him, was (as commonly great minds daſht with ill Fortunes are) falne likewiſe in ſpirit, and giuen ouer to his eaſe.) Whereupon the people of *Normandy* make their exclamations to the King of *England*, who ſends for his brother *Robert*, *Reprehends him for the ſufference of theſe diſorders; aduiſes him to act the Part of a Prince, and not a Monke:* and in concluſion, whether by detention of his Penſion, or drawing him, beeing of a facile

T e Earle of Shewsburies comonation.

1104. *Anno Reg.* 5.

facile Nature, to some act of releasing it: sends him home so much discontented, as hee ioynes with these mutinous Earles, and by their instigation, was set into that flame, as he rayſed all his vtmoſt forces to be reuenged on his brother. 1105. *Anno Reg.* 6.

The King (touched in Conſcience with the fowleneſſe of a fraternall warre (which the world would take, he being the mightier, to proceed out of his deſignes) ſtood doubtfull what to doe, when Pope *Paſchall*, by his Letters written with that eloquence (ſayeth *Malmesbury*) wherein hee was quicke, perſwaded him, *That herein hee ſhould not make a ciuill Warre, but doe a Noble and memorable beneſite vnto his Countrey*: Whereby (paide for remitting the Inueſtitures) he held himſelfe countenanced in this buſineſſe; whereon, now he ſets with more alacrity and reſolution. And after many difficulties, and loſſe of diuers worthy men, in a mighty battaile, neere the Caſtle of *Tenchebray*, his enemies with much adoe were all defeated. Whereby *England* won *Normandy*, and on the ſame day, by Computation (wherein fortie yeares before) *Normandy* ouer-came *England*; ſuch are the turnings in the affaires of men. England wins Normandy.

And here *Robert*, who ſtood in a faire poſſibility of two Crownes, came to be depriued of his Dutchy and all hee had, brought priſoner into *England*, and committed to the Caſtle of *Cardiffe*. Where, to adde to his miſery, he had the misfortune of a long life (ſurviuing after he loſt himſelfe 26. yeares) whereof the moſt part he ſaw not, hauing his eyes put out, whereby he was onely left to his thoughts, a puniſhment barbarouſly inflicted on him, for attempting an eſcape. *Robert* Duke of Normandy is impriſoned by King *Hen.*

Hee was a Prince, that gaue out to the world, very few notes of his ill, but many of his Nobleneſſe and valour, eſpecially in his great voyage, wherein hee had the ſecond command, and was in election to haue beene the firſt preferred to the Crowne of *Ieruſalem*, and miſſed it hardly. Onely (the diſobedience in his youth ſhewed to his Father (which yet might proceede from a rough hand borne ouer him, and the animation of others, rather then his owne Nature) ſets a ſtaine vppon him) and then, his profuſion (which ſome would haue liberality) ſhewed his impotency, and put him into thoſe courſes that ouerthrew him. All the Reuenues of his Dutchy, which ſhould ſerue for his maintenance, hee ſold or engaged, and was vppon paſſing the Cittie of *Roan* vnto the Citizens, which made him held vnfit for the gouernment, and gaue occaſion to his Brother to quarrell with him. 1106. *Anno Reg.* 7.

And thus came *Henry* freed from this feare, an abſolute Duke of *Normandy*: had many yeares of quiet, gathered great Treaſure, and entertained good intelligence with the Neighbour Princes. *Scotland*, by his Match, and doing their Princes good, hee held from doing him hurt; clearing them from vſurpations. (*Wales*, though vnder his Title, yet not ſubiection, gaue him ſome exerciſe of action) which hee ordered with great wiſedome. Firſt hee planted within the bodie of that Countrey, a Coleny of Flemings, who at that time much peſtred this Kingdome: being admitted here in the reigne of King *William* the firſt, marrying their Countrie-woman, and vſing their helpe in the action of *England*; where they dayly encreaſed, in ſuch ſort, as gaue great diſpleaſure to the people. By this meanes, both that grieuance was eaſed, and the vſe of them made profitable to the State for being ſo great a number, and a ſtrong people, they made roome for themſelues, and held it in that ſort, as they kept the *Welsh*, all about them, in very good awe. Beſides, the King tooke for hoſtages the chiefe mens ſonnes of the Countrey, and hereby quieted it. For *France* he ſtood ſecure, ſo long as *Philip* the firſt liued: who, wholly giuen ouer to his eaſe and luxury, was not for other attempts, out of that courſe: but his ſonne hee was to looke vnto, whenſoeuer he came to that Crowne. King *Henry* Duke of Normandy.

With the Earle of *Flanders* hee had ſome debate, but it was onely in words, and vpon this occaſion. King *William* the firſt, in retribution of the good his father in law, *Baldwin* the fift had done, by ayding him in the action of *England*, gaue him yearely three hundred markes, and likewiſe continued it to his ſonne after him. Now, *Robert* Earle of *Flanders*, of a collaterall line, returning emptie from the Holie warres, and finding this ſumme paide out of *England* to his Predeceſſors, demaunds the like of King *Henrie*, as his due; who not eaſie to part with money, ſends him word; That it was not the cuſtome of the Kings of *England* to pay tribute: If they gaue penſions, they were 1107. *Anno Reg.* 8.

temporary, and according to desert. Which answere so much displeased the Earle, that though himselfe liued not to shew his hatred, yet his Sonne did, and ayded afterward *William*, the sonne of *Robert Curtoys*, in his attempts, for recouery of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, against King *Henry*.

Thus stood this King in the first part of his reigne: in the other, hee had more to doe abroad then at home, where hee had by his excellent wisedome so setled the gouernment, as it held a steady course without interruption, all his time. But now *Lewis le Grosse*, succeeding his father *Philip* the first, gaue him warning to looke to his State of *Normandy*: and for that hee would not attend a quarrell, hee makes, taking occasion about the City of *Gisors*, scituate on the Riuer *Epre*, in the confines of *Normandy*, whilst *Louys* was troubled with a stubborne Nobility, presuming vppon their Franchises, within their owne Signiories; whereof there were many, at that time about *Paris*, as the Contes of *Crecy*, *Pissaux*, *Dammartins*, *Champaigne* and others, who by example, and emulation, would bee absolute Lords, without awe of a Maister, putting themselues vnder the protection of *Henry*, who being neere to assist them, fostred those humors, which in sicke bodies most shew themselues. But after *Louys*, by yeares gathering strength, dissolued that compact, and made his meanes the more, by their confiscations.

King *Henry* quarrells with the king of *France*.

Now to entertaine these two great Princes in worke, the quarrell betweene the Pope and the Emperour, ministred fresh occasion. The Emperour *Henry* the fift, hauing (by the Popes instigation) banded against his Father, *Henry* the fourth who associated him in the Empire, and held him prisoner in that distresse, as hee dyed; toucht afterwards with remorse of this act, and reproach of the State, for abandoning the rights of the Empire, leuies sixty thousand foote, and thirty thousand horse, for *Italy*; constraines the Pope and his Colledge to acknowledge the right of the Empire in that forme as *Leo* the fourth had done to *Otho* the second, and before that, *Adrian* to *Charlemaigne*, according to the Decree of the Councell of *Rome*, and made him take his Oathe of fidelity betweene his hands, as to the true and lawfull Emperour. The Pope, so soone as *Henry* was departed home, assembles a Councell, nullifies this acknowledgement, as done by force, and shortly after deceased. The Emperour, to make himselfe the stronger against his successours, enters into alliance with the King of *England*, takes to wife his daughter *Maude*, beeing but fiue yeares of age. After this, *Calixte* son of the Conte *de Burgogne*, comming to be Pope, and being French (vnto their great applause) assembles a Councell at *Reimes*; where, by Ecclesiasticall sentence, *Henry* the fift is declared enemy of the Church, and degraded of his Emperiall Dignity. The King of *England* seeing this Councell was held in *France*, and composed chiefely of the *Gallicane* Church, desirous to ouer-maister *Louys*, incenses his sonne in law the Emperour (stung with this disgrace) to set vppon him (as the Popes chiefe pillar) on one side, and he would assayle him on the other. The Emperor easily wrought to such a businesse, prepares all his best forces: the King of *England* doth the like. The King of *France* seeing this storme comming so impetuously vppon him, wrought so with the Princes of *Germany*, as they, weighing the future mischiefe of a warre vndertaken in a heate, with the importance of a kinde Neighbour-hood, aduise the Emperour not to enter there-into, till hee had signifyed to the King of *France*, the causes of his discontent. Whereupon an Embassage is dispatched: The King of *France* answeres, *That hee grieued much to see the two greatest Pillars of the Church, thus shaken with these dissentions, whereby might be feared, the whole frame would be ruined: that he was a friend to them both, and would gladly bee an inter-dealer for concord, rather then to carry wood to a fire too fierce already, which he desired to extinguish, for the good and quiet of Christendome.* This Embassage wrought so, as it dis-armed the Emperour, glad to haue *Louys* a mediator of the accord betweene the Pope and him: to the great displeasure of the King of *England*, who expected greater matters to haue risen by this businesse. The accord is concluded at *Wormes*, to the Popes aduantage, to whom th Emperor yeelds vp the right of inuestitures of Bishops and other Benefices. But this was onely to appease, not cure the malady.

1108. *Anno Reg* 6.

The Popes Oath to the Emperour.

The Emperor *Hen.* 5. marries *Maude*.

History of *France*.

The king of *France* accords the Pope and Emperour.

The

The King of *England* disappoynted thus of the Emperours assistance proceedes notwithstanding in his intention against *Louys*. And seeing he fayled of outward Forces; he sets vp a party in his Kingdome, to confront him: ayding *Theobald Conte de Champaigne*, with so great power, as he stood to doe him much displeasure: besides, hee obtayned a strong side in that kingdome, by his alliances: for *Stephen* Earle of *Bloys*, had married his sister *Adela*, to whom this *Theobald* was brother, and had won *Foulke*, Earle of *Anion* (an important neighbour, and euer an enemy to *Normandie*) to bee his, by matching his sonne *William* to his daughter.

King *Henry* aydes Conte *Theobald* against the king of *France*.

Louys on the other side, fayles not to practise all meanes to vnder-worke *Henries* estate in *Normandie*, and combines with *William* Earle of *Flanders*, for the restoring of *William*, the sonne of *Robert Curtoys*, to whom the same appertayned by right of inheritance; and had the fayrer shewe of his actions, by taking hold on the side of Iustice.

The King of *France* combines with the Earle of *Flanders*, against King *Henry*.

Great and many were the conflicts betweene these two Princes, with the expence of much blood and charge. But in the end, beeing both tyred, a peace was concluded, by the mediation of the Earle of *Anion*. And *William* son to King *Henry*, did homage to *Louys* for the Dutchy of *Normandy*; And *William* the sonne of *Robert Curtoys*, is left to himselfe, and desists from his clayme.

1116. *Anno Reg.* 17.

Vpon the faire cloze of all these troubles, there followed presently an accident, which seasoned it with that sowernesse of griefe, as ouer-came all the joy of the successe. *William* the young Prince, the onely hope of all the *Norman* race, at seuenteene yeares of age, returning into *England*, in a ship by himselfe, accompanied with *Richard* his base brother, *Mary* Countesse of *Perch*, their sister, *Richard* Earle of *Chester*, with his wife, the Kings Neece, and many other personages of honour, and their attendants, to the number of 140. besides 50. Marriners, setting out from *Barbfleet*, were all cast away aboard, onely a Butcher escaped. The Prince had recouered a Cock-boat, and in possibility to haue beene saued, had not the compassion of his sisters cryes, drawne him backe to the sinking ship to take her in, and perish with his Company.

Queene *Maud* liued not to see this disaster.

Which sudden clap of Gods iudgement, comming in a calme of glory, when all these bustling seemed past ouer, might make a conscience shrinke with terror, to see oppression and supplantation repayd with the extinction of that, for which so much had been wrought, and the line Masculine of *Normandy* expired in the third inheritor (as if to begin the fate, layd on all the future succession hitherunto; wherein the third Heire in a right descent, seldome or neuer enioyed the Crowne of *England*, but that eyther by vsurpation or extinction of the male blood, it receiued an alteration) which may teach Princes to obserue the wayes of Righteousnesse, and let men alone with their rights, and God with his prouidence.

Robert de Mellents conspiracie.

1123. *Anno Reg.* 25.

After this heauy disaster, this King is sayd neuer to haue beene seene to laugh, though within fiue moneths after, in hope to restore his issue, he married *Adalicia*, a beautifull young Lady, daughter to the Duke of *Louaine*, and of the house of *Loraine*, but neuer had child by her, nor long rest from his troubles abroad. For this rent at home, cracke all the chayne of his courses in *France*. *Normandy* it selfe became wauering, and many adhered to *William* the Nephew: his great confederates are most regayned to the King of *France*: *Foulke* Earle of *Anion* quarrels for his daughters Dower: *Robert de Mollent* his chiefe Friend and Counsellor, a man of great imployment, fell from him, conspired with *Hugh* Earle of *Monfort* and wrought him great trouble.

Maud the Empresse married to *Geffery Plantagenet*.

1126. *Anno Reg.* 27.

But such was his diligence and working spirit, that hee soone made whole all those ruptures againe. The two Earles himselfe surprizes; and *Anion*, death: which beeing so important a neighbour, as we may see, by matching a Prince of *England* there, the King fastens vpon it with another alliance, and descends to marry his daughter (and now onely child, which had beene wife to an Emperour, and defired by the Princes of *Lombardy* and *Loraine*) to the now Earle *Geffery Plantagenet*, the sonne of *Foulke*.

The King of *France* to Fortifie his opposition, entertaynes *William* the Nephew, where now all the danger lay; and aydes him in person, with great power to obtayne the Earledome of *Flanders*, whereunto he had a fayre Title, by the defaillance of issue in the late Earle *Baldoun*, slayne in a battell in *France* against King *Henry*. But *William*

as heire also of his fathers fortunes, admitted to the Earledome, miscarried in the rule was depriued, and slaine in battaile; and in him all of *Robert Curtoys* perished.

1133. Anno Reg. 34.

And now the whole care of King *Henrie*, was the setling of the succession vppon *Maude* (of whome hee liued to see two sonnes borne) for which he conuokes a Parliament in *England*, wherein an Oath is ministred to the Lords of this Land, to bee true to her and her heires, and acknowledge them as the right inheritor of the Crowne. This Oath was first taken by *David*, King of *Scots*, vncle to *Maude*, and by *Stephen*, Earle of *Bollogne* and *Mortaine*, Nephew to the King, on whom hee had bestowed great possessions in *England*, and aduanced his brother to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. And to make all more fast, this Oath was afterward ministred againe at *Northampton* in another Parliament.

So that now all seemes safe and quiet, but his owne sleepes, which are saide to haue beene very tumultuous, and full of affrightments, wherein hee would often rise, take his sword, and be in act, as if he defended himselfe against assaults of his person; which shewed, all was not well within.

His gouernment in peace.

His gouernment in peace, was such as rankes him in the list amongst our Kings of the fairest marke: holding the Kingdome so well ordered, as during all his reigne, which was long, he had euer the least to doe at home. At the first, the competition with his brother, after, the care to establish his succession, held him in, to obserue all the best courses, that might make for the good and quiet of the State; hauing an especiall regarde to the due administration of Iustice, that no corruption or oppression might disease his people, whereby thinges were carried with an euenesse, betweene the Great men and the Commons, as gaue all satisfaction. Hee made diuers Progresses, into remote parts of the Land, to see how the State was ordered. And for that purpose, whensoeuer he was in *England*, hee kept no certaine residence, but solemnized the great Festiuals in seuerall, and farre distant places of the Kingdome, that all might partake of him.

The first vse of Progresses.

The beginning of Parliaments. He assembles the first Parliament after the Conquest. His reformation.

And for that hee would not wrest any thing by an Imperiall power from the Kingdome (which might breed vlcers of dangerous nature) he tooke a course to obtaine their free consents to serue his occasions, in their generall assemblies of the three Estates of the Land, which hee first conuoked at *Salisburie*, *Anno Reg.* 15. and which had from his time the name of Parliament, according to the manner of *Normandie*, and other States, where Princes keepe within their circles to the good of their people, their owne glorie, and security of their posterity.

Parliament A impliamus

Hee was a Prince that liued formally himselfe, and represt those excesses in his subiects which those times entertained, as the wearing of long haire, which though it were a gayetie of no charge (like those sumptuous braueries, that waste Kingdomes in peace) yet for the vndecencie thereof, hee reformed it, and all other dissoluteneesse. His great businesses, and his wants taught him frugality, and wearinesse of expence; and his warres beeing seldome inuasiue, and so not getting, put him often to vse hard courses for his supplyments of treasure. Towards the marriage of his daughter with the Emperour, and the charge of his warre, hee obtained (as it might seeme at his first Parliament at *Salisbury*) *Anno Reg.* 15. three shillings vppon euerie hide-land, but hee had no more in all his reigne, except one supply for his warres afterward in *France*. Hee kept Bishoprickes and Abbeyes voyde in his hands; as that of *Canterbury*, fiue yeares together. By an Act of Parliament at *London*, *Anno Reg.* 30. hee had permission to punish Marriage, and incontinency of Priestes, whome (for fines notwithstanding) he suffered to enioy their wiues: but heereby he displeased the Clergie, and disappointed that reformation.

His meanes to raise monies.

Tilburiensis de Scaccario.

Punishments which were Mutilation of member, hee made pecuniary. And by reason of his often and long beeing in *Normandie*, those prouisions for his house, which were vsed to bee paide in kinde, were rated at certaine prizes and receiued in money, by the consent of the State, and to the great content of the Subiect; who by reason that many dwelling farre off throughout all Shires of *England*, were much molested with satisfying the same otherwyse. He resumed the liberties of hunting in his Forrests

which

which tooke vp much fayre ground of the Kingdome, and beſides renuing for penalties, made an Edict, *That if any man in his owne priuate woods, killed the Kings Deere, hee ſhould forfeit his woods to the King.* But he permitted them incloſures for Parkes, which vnder him ſeemes to haue had their Originall, by the example of that of his at *Woodſtocke*, the multitude whereof grew to be afterwards a diſeaſe in the Kingdome.

His expences were chiefly in his Warres, and his many and great Fortifications in *Normandy*. His buildings were the Abbey of *Reading*, the Mannor of *Woodſtocke*, and the great incloſure of that Parke, with a ſtone wall ſeuen miles about. His expences.

The moſt eminent men of his Councell were, *Roger* Biſhop of *Sarum*, and the Earle of *Mellent*, both men of great experience in the affayres of the World. *Roger* was euer as Vice-Roy, had the whole management of the Kingdome in his abſence: which was ſometimes three and foure yeares together. Hee had managed the Kings money and other affayres of his houſe, when hee was a poore Prince, and a priuate man; whereby hee gayned an eſpeciall truſt with him euer after, and diſcharged his part with great policy and vnderſtanding; had the title of *Iuſticiarius totius Angeliæ*. Of whoſe magnificence and ſpacious minde, wee haue more memorialls left in ſtones of ſtone, then of any one Man, Prince, or other of this Kingdome. The ruines yet remayning of his ſtately ſtructures, eſpecially that of the *Deuiſes* in *Wiltſhire*, ſhewes vs the carkaſſe of a moſt *Roman*-like Fabricke. Beſides, hee built the Caſtles of *Marlebury* and *Shorburne*, two ſtrong and ſumptuous peeces: new walled and repayred the Caſtle of *Salubury*, and all theſe hee liued to ſee rent from him, and ſeaſed into the next Kings hands, as beeing things done out of his part, and ye now deformed heapes of rubbiſh. Beſides, hee walled old *Salubury* and repayred the Church there. His Counſellors. The magnificent buildings of *Roger* Biſhop of *Sarum*

Robert Earle of *Mellent*, was ſon of *Roger Beaumont*, who of all the great men which followed *William* the firſt in his ciuill Warres of *Normandy*, refuſed to attend him in his expedition for *England*, though with large promiſes inuited thereunto, ſaying, *The inheritance left him by his predeceſſors, was ſufficient to maintaine his eſtate at home, and he deſired not to thruſt himſelfe into other mens poſſeſſions abroad.* But his Son *Robert* was of another minde, and had a mighty eſtate both in *England* and *Normandy*. Was a man of great direction in Counſell, and euer vſed in all the weighty affayres of the State. His frugality both in apparell and dyet, was of ſuch example beeing a man of eminent note, as did much good to the Kingdome in thoſe dayes. But in the end hee fell into diſgrace, (the fate of Court, and eminency) oppoſed againſt the King, and dyed bereft of his eſtate. *Robert Mellent* an eſpeciall Counſellor to *Hen.* 1. The example of frugality in great man doth much good in a Kingdome.

Beſides theſe, this King was ſerued with a potent and martiall Nobility, whom his ſpirit led to affect thoſe great deſignes of his in *France*, for the preſeruation of his State in *Normandy*. Whither in the 32 yeare of his reigne, hee makes his laſt voyage to dye there, and in his paſſage thither, happened an exceeding great Eccliſpe of the Sun, which was taken to fore-ſignifie his death; for that it followed ſhortly after, in the thirty fiue yeare of his reigne. King *Henries* death.

He was of a gracefull perſonage, quicke-eyed, browne hayre (a different complexion from his brothers) and of a cloſe compacted temperament, wherein dwelt a minde of a more ſollide conſtitution, with better ordered affections. Hee had, in his youth, ſome taſte of learning; but onely, as if to ſet his ſtomacke, not to ouer-charge it therewith. But this put many of his ſubiects into the faſhion of the booke, and diuers learned men flouriſhed in his time. His perſonage.

He had by *Maude* his wife the daughter of *Malcolm* the third, King of *Scotland*, none other children but *Maude* and *William*, of whom any certayne mention is made: but hee is ſayd to haue had of children illegitimate ſeuen ſonnes, and as many daughters, which ſhewes vs his incontinency: two of which ſonnes of moſt eſpeciall note, *Robert* and *Raynold* were Earles, the one of *Glocester* (a great Champion and defender of his ſiſter *Maud* the Empreſſe) the other Earle of *Cornwall*, and Baron of *Caſtle-combe*. His daughters were all married to Princes and Noble men of *England* and *France*, from whom deſcended many worthy Families, as diuers Writers report. His iſſue.

The end of the Life, and Reigne of Henry the firſt.

THE

The Life, and Reigne, of King Stephen.

THE Line *Maſculine* of the *Norman* extinct, and onely a daughter left, and ſhe married a *French-man*, *Stephen* Earle of *Bologne* and *Mortagne* ſonne of *Stephen* Earle of *Blois*, and of *Adela* daughter to *William* the firſt, was (notwithſtanding the former oath taken for *Maud*) elected by the State and inueſted in the Crowne of *England*, within thirty dayes after the death of *Henry*. Vpon what reaſons of Councell, wee muſt gather out of the circumſtances of the courſes held in that time.

1135. *Anno Reg.* 1.

Some imagine, *The States refuſed* Maude, *for not beeing then the cuſtome of any other Kingdom Chriſtian (whoſe Kings are annoynted) to admit women to inherit the Crowne*; and therefore they might pretend to be freed from their oath, as being vnlawfull. But *Roger*, Biſhop of *Salisbury*, one of the principall men then in Counſell, yeelded another reaſon for the diſcharge of this oath, which was, *That ſeeing the late King had married his daughter out of the Realme, without the conſent thereof, they might lawfully refuſe her.* And ſo was *Stephen*, hauing no title at all, but as one of the blood, by meere election, aduanced to the Crowne. For if he could clayme any right in the Succeſſion, as beeing the ſonne of *Adela*, then muſt *Theobald*, Earle of *Blois*, his elder brother, haue beene preferred before him; and *Henry Fitz Empreſſe* (if they refuſed the Mother (was neerer in blood to the right Stem, then eyther. But they had other reaſons that ruled that time. Stephen *was a man, and of great poſſeſſions, both in* England *and* France, *had one brother Earle of* Blois, *a Peiner of great eſtate; another, Biſhop of* Wincheſter *(the Popes Legat in* England, *of power eminent) was populat for his affabilitie, goodly perſonage, and actiuneſſe*: and therefore acceptable to the Nobility, who, at that time, were altogether guided by the Clergy; and they (by the working of the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, induced to make choyce of him) hauing an opinion, that by preferring one, whoſe Title was leaſt, would make hiue bligation the more to them; and ſo, they might ſtand better (ſecured of their liberties) then vnder ſuch a one, as might preſume of an hereditary ſucceſſion. And to be the more ſure there, before his admittance to the Crowne he takes a priuate oath before the Biſhop of *Canterbury*, *to confirme the ancient liberties of the Church*; and had his brother to vndertake, betwixt God and him, for the performance thereof.

Reaſons why *Maude* was not crowned.

Reaſons why *Stephen* Earle of Bullogne was crowned King.

But being now in the poſſeſſion of the Kingdome, and all the Treaſure his Vncle had in many yeares gathered, which amounted to *one hundred thouſand pounds of exquiſite ſiluer, beſides plate and veſſells, of meſtimable value*: After the Funerals performed at *Reading*, hee aſſembles a Parliament at *Oxford*, wherein, *Hee reſtored to the Clergy, all their former liberties and freed the Laity from their tributes, exactions, or whatſoeuer grieuances oppreſt them*, confirming the ſame by his Charter, which faythfully to obſerue, hee tooke a publique oath before all the Aſſembly: Where, likewiſe the Biſhops ſwore fealty vnto him, but with this condition; *So long as hee obſerued the Tenour of this Charter.*

King *Stephen* poſſeſſes the Treaſure of *Henry*.
His firſt Parliament at *Oxford*.

And now as one that was to make good the hold that he had gotten, with power, and his ſword, prepares for all aſſaults, which he was ſure to haue come vpon him. And firſt grants licence, to all that would, *to build Caſtles vpon their owne Lands*, thereby to Fortifie the Realme, and breake the force of any ouer-running inuaſion, that ſhould maſter the field: Which in ſetled times might be of good effect, but in a ſeaſon of diſtraction and part-taking, very dangerous. And being to ſubſiſt by Friends, hee makes all he could: *Creates new Lords, gaues to many great Poſſeſſions, and hauing a full purſe ſpares for no coſt to buy loue and fidelitie*: A purchaſe very vncertaine when there may be other conueyances made of more ſtrength to carry it.

Two wayes hee was to looke for blowes: From *Scotland* on one ſide, and *France* on the other: *Scotland* wanted no inſtigations: *Dauid* their King mooued both by Nature and his oath to his Neece, turnes head vppon him: *Stephen* was preſently there, with the

the ſhew of a ſtrong Armie, and appeaſed him with the reſtitution of *Cumberland*, and his ſonne *Henry* Prince of *Scotland*, with the Earledome of *Huntingdon*: which, with that of *Northumberland* (as Scottiſh VVriters ſay) was to deſcend vnto him by the right of his Mother *Maude*, who was daughter to *Waltheof* Earle of *Huntingdon*, and of *Iudith* Neece to *William* the firſt, by whoſe gift he had that Earledome, and was the ſonne of *Syward* Earle of *Northumberland*. And for this the Prince of *Scotland*, tooke his Oath of fealty to King *Stephen* which the father refuſed to doe, as hauing firſt ſworne to *Maude* the Empreſſe. Though otherwiſe hee might be indifferent, in reſpect that *Stephen* had married likewiſe his Neece, which was *Maude* daughter to the Earle of *Bologne* and of *Mary* ſiſter to this King *Dauid*, who by this meane was Vncle both to *Maude* the Queene, and *Maude* the Empreſſe.

The King, returning from this Voyage, found ſome defection of his Nobilitie, which preſently put him into another action, that entertayned him ſometimes: After which, hee falls dangerouſly ſicke, in ſo much as hee was noyſed to bee dead, by which ſickeneſſe, hee loſt more then his Health: For his Friends, put in danger thereby, caſt to ſeeke another party to beare them vp: it weakened *Anion*, and ſets him on to ſurprize certayne peeces in *Normandy*, to prepare for the recouerie of his VViues right, and made all this Kingdome wauer. Thus was his firſt yeare ſpent, which ſhewed how the reſt of eighteene would prooue, wherein wee are to haue no other repreſentations, *But of reuolts, beſeeging of Caſtles, ſurprizings, recouurings loſings againe, with great ſpoiles, and deſtruction*, in briefe, a moſt miſerable face of a diſtracted State, that can yeelde no other notes of inſtruction, but ſuch as are generall in all times of like diſpoſition: and therefore herein wee may the better forbeare the rehearſall of many particulars, beeing all vnder one head of action, and like Nature.

The King (hauing recouered, would make the world know hee was a liue and preſently paſſes with Forces into *Normandy*, ouer-came the Earle of *Anion* in battaile: after makes peace with him, and vpon renouncing of the claime of *Maude*, *couenants to giue him* 5000. *markes* per annum: he entertaines amity with King *Lewis* the ſeuenth, and cauſes his ſonne *Euſtace* to doe him homage for the Duchy of *Normandy*, wherein he was inueſted: beſides, to content his elder brother *Theobald*, Earle of *Blou*, hee giues him *a penſion of* 2000. *markes*, and ſo returnes againe into *England*, to a VVarre againſt *Scotland*, which, in the meane time, made incurſions on this Kingdome; where whilſt hee was held buſie in worke, *Robert* Earle of *Glouceſter*, baſe ſonne to *Henry* the firſt, a man of high ſpirit, great direction, and indefatigable induſtry (an eſpeciall actor that performed the greateſt part, in theſe times, for his ſiſter *Maude*) had ſurprized the Caſtle of *Briſtow*, and procured Confederates to make good other peeces abroad in diuers parts: as *William Talbot* the Caſtle of *Hereford*; *Paynel* the Caſtle of *Ludlow*: *Louell* that of *Cary*: *Mosne* the Caſtle of *Dunſter*: *Robert de Nichol* that of *Warham*, *Euſtace Fitz. Iohn* that of *Walton*, and *William Fitz. Allan* the Caſtle of *Shrewsbury*.

Stephen leaues the proſecution of the *Scottiſh* VVarre to *Thurſtan* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, whom he made his Lieutenant, and furniſhed with many Valiant Leaders; as *Walter* Earle of *Albemary*, *William Penurell* of *Nottingham*; *Walter* and *Gilbert Lacies*: Himſelfe bravely attended, bends all his power to repreſſe the Conſpirators, which hee did in one expedition; recouers all the Caſtles (by reaſon of their diſtance, not able to ſuccour one another) and draue the Earle of *Glouceſter* home to his ſiſter into *Anion*.

No leſſe ſucceſſes had his forces in the North, againſt the *Scots*, whom in a great battaile they diſ-conſented and put to flight: Which great Fortunes meeting together in one yeare, brought foorth occaſion of bad, in that following: for now preſuming more of himſelfe, he fell vpon thoſe rockes that rent all his greatneſſe. He calls a Councell at *Oxford*, where occaſion was giuen to put him out with the Clergie: that had onely ſet him into the State. The Biſhops vpon the permiſſion of building Caſtles, ſo out-went the Lords in Magnificence, ſtrength, and number of their erections, and eſpecially the Biſhop of *Saliſburie*, that their greatneſſe was much maligned by

1137. *Anno Reg.* 2.

Robert Earle of Gloceſter the naturall ſonne of *Henry* the firſt.

King *Stephen* repreſſes the Conſpirators.

He defeated the Scots.

1138. *Anno Reg.* 3.

1140. *Anno Reg. 5.*

by them, putting the King in head, that all these great Castles, especially of *Salisbury*, the *Vies*, *Shyrburne*, *Malmesbury*, and *Newarke*, were onely to entertayne the party of *Maude*: whereupon the King, whose feares were apt to take fire, sends for the Bishop of *Salisbury* (most suspected) to *Oxford*. The Bishop, as if fore-seeing the mischiefe comming to him, would gladly haue put off his iourney, and excused it by the debility of his age, but it would not serue his turne: thither he comes, where his seruants, about the taking vp of Lodgings, quarrell with the seruants of the Earle of *Brittaine*, and from words fall to blowes, so that in the bickering, one of them was slaine, and the Nephew of the Earle dangerously VVounded. Whereupon the King sends for the Bishop, to satisfie his Court, for the breach of peace, made by his seruants: The satisfaction required, was *the yeelding vp keyes of his Castles, as pledges of his fealty*; but that being stood vpon, the Bishop with his Nephew, *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincolne*, were restrayned of their liberty, and shortly after sent as prisoners to the Castle of the *Deuises*, whither (the Bishop of *Ely*, another of his Nephewes) had retired himselfe before. The King seizes into his hands his Castles of *Salisbury*, *Shyrburne*, *Malmesbury*, & after three dayes assault, the *Deuises* was likewise rendred; besides, he tooke all his Treasure, which amounted to fortie thousand markes.

The King seizes vpon the Bishops Castles and Treasure.

This action being of an extraordinary strayne, gaue much occasion of rumour; some said: *The King had done well in seizing vpon these Castles; it being vnfit, and against the Canons of the Church, that they who were men of Religion and peace should raise Fortresses for Warre, and in that sort as might be preiudicial to the King.* Against this, was the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Popes Legat, taking rather the part of his function, then that of a brother: saying: *That if the Bishops had transgressed, it was not the King, but the Canons, that must iudge it: that they ought not to be depriued of their possessions, without a publique Ecclesiasticall Councell; that the King had not done it, out of the zeale of Iustice, but for his owne benefit, taking away that which had beene built vpon the Lands, and by the charge of the Church, to put it into the hands of Lay-men, little affected to Religion.* And therefore to the end, the power of the Canons might bee examined, hee appoynts a Councell to bee called at *Winchester*, whither the King is summoned: And thither repayre most of all the Bishops of the Kingdome, where first is read the Commission of the Legatine power, granted by Pope *Innocent* to the Bishop of *Winchester*, who were openly vrges the indignity offered to the Church, by the imprisoning of these Bishops: *An act most haynous and shamefull for the King, that in the peace of his Court, through the instigation of euill ministers, would thus lay hands vpon such men, spoile them of their estates: Which was a violence against God. And that seeing the King would yeeld to no admonitions hee had at length called this Councell, where they were to consult what was to be done: that for his part, neither the loue of the King, though his brother, nor the losse of his liuing, or danger of his life, should make him faile in the execution of what they should decree.*

The Popes Legat a Bishop takes part with Bishops against the King his brother. *Malmesbury.*

The King, standing vpon this cause, sends certayne Earles to this Councell, to know why hee was called thither: Answere was made by the Legat: *That the King, who was subiect to the faith of* CHRIST, *ought not to take it ill, if by the ministers of* CHRIST, *he was called to make satisfaction, being conscious of such an offence as that age had not known: that it was for times of the Gentilys, for Bishops to be imprisoned, and depriued of their possessions; and therefore they should tell the King his brother: That if he would vouchsafe to yeeld consent to the Councell, it should be such by the helpe of God, as neither the* Roman *Church, the Court of the King of* France, *nor the Earle* Theobald, *brother to them both (a man wise, and religious) should, in reason dislike it: That the King should doe aduisedly to render the reason of his act, and vndergo a Canonical iudgement: that hee ought in duty to fauour the Church, into whose bosome being taken, he was aduanced to the Crowne without any military hand.*

With which answere the Earles departed, attended with *Alberic de Ver*, a man exercised in the Law; and hauing related the same, were returned with the Kings reply: which *Alberic* vrged, *inueighing the iniuries Bishop* Roger *had done to the King: how he sate downe-right in his Court: that his men, presuming on his power, had offred violence to the nephew and seruants of the Earle of* Brittaine, *and to the seruants of* Henri de Lyons, *a man of*

The Kings Reply.

that

that Nobility and ſtoutnes, as would neuer vouſafe to come vpon any requeſt to the late King and yet for the loue of this, wat deſirous to ſee England: *where, to haue this violence offred, was an iniury to the King, and diſhonour to the Realme, that the Biſhop of* Lincolne, *for the ancient hatred to the Earle of* Brittaine, *was the author of his mens ſedition: that the Biſhop of* Salisbury *ſecretly fauoured the Kings enemies; and did but ſubtlely temporize, as the King had found by diuers circumſtances: eſpecially when* Roger de Mortimer, *ſent with the Kings forces in the great danger of* Briſtow, *hee would not lodge him one night in* Malmesbury: *that it was in euery mans mouth, as ſoone as the Empreſſe came, he and his Nephewes would render their Caſtles vnto him. That he was arreſted, not as a Biſhop, but a ſeruant to the King, and one that adminiſtred his procuſations, and receiued his monies. That the King tooke not his Caſtles by violence, but the Biſhop voluntarily rendred them, to auoid the calumnie of their tumults rayſed in his Court: If the King found ſome mony in his Caſtles, he might lawfully ſeize on it, in regard* Roger *had collected it out of the reuenues of the King his Vncle and predeceſſor: and the Biſhop willingly yeelded vp the ſame, as well as his Caſtles, through feare of his offences; and of thus, wanted not witneſſes of the Kings part, who deſired that the couenants made betweene him and the Biſhop, might remaine ratified.*

Againſt this, Biſhop *Roger* oppoſes: *That he was neuer ſeruant to the King, nor receiued his monies; and withall added threatnings, as a man, not yet broken, though bent with his fortunes: that if he found not iuſtice for his wrongs in that Councell, hee would bring it to the hearing of a greater Court.*

The Legat mildly, as he did other things, ſaid: *That all what was ſpoken againſt the Biſhops, ought firſt to be examined in the Eccleſiaſticall Councell, whither they were true or no, before ſentence ſhould haue bin giuen againſt them contrary to the Canons; and therefore the King ſhould (as it is lawfull in iudiciall trials) reueſt the Biſhops in their former Eſtates, otherwiſe by the law of Nations being diſſeiſed, they ſhall not hold their Plea.*

After much debate, the Kings cauſe was (vpon a motion) put off till the next day, to the end the Arch-biſhop of *Roan*, an eſpeciall inſtrument for the King, might bee there; who deliuering his opinion, ſaid: *That if the Biſhops could rightly proue by the Canons, they ought to haue Caſtles, they ſhould hold them; but if they could not, it proceeded of great improbity to ſtriue to do otherwiſe. And be it (ſaid he) their right to haue them; yet in a ſuſpected time, according to the manner of other Nations, all great men ought to deliuer the keyes of their Fortreſſes, to be at the Kings pleaſure, who is to fight for the peace of all. But it is not their right by the decree of the Canons to haue Caſtles; and if by the Princes indulgence it be tollerated, yet in a time of neceſſity, they ought to deliuer the Keyes.*

The Lawyer *Alberic* addes; *That it was ſignified to the King, how the Biſhops threatned, and had furniſhed ſome to go to* Rome *againſt him. But, ſaid he, the King would haue you know, that none of you preſume to doit: for if any go out of* England, *contrary to his will, and the dignitie of the Kingdome, it will be hard returning.* In concluſion the Councell brake vp, nothing was done. The Biſhops durſt not excommunicate the King, without the Popes priuity; and beſides, they ſaw the ſwords too buſie about them; yet failed not the Legat, and the Arch-biſhop to proſecute their parts, and from authority, fell to prayer; and (at the Kings feete, in his Chamber) *beſought him, that he would pitty the Church, pitty his owne ſoule and his fame; not to ſuffer diſſention to be, betweene the Kingdome and the Prieſt-hood.* The King returned them faire words, but held what he had gotten.

The Legats and Archbiſhops ſubmiſſion.

Snortly after, through griefe, dyed the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and (according to the fate of ouer-eminent and greedy Officers) vnpittied. He was a man (in his latter time) noted of much corruption, and vnſatiable deſire of hauing. From whom, the preſent King in the beginning of his Reigne had done very much, making one of his Nephewes Chancellour, the other Treaſurer, and vpon his ſuite, gaue to himſelfe the Borough of *Malmsbury*; inſomuch as the King would ſay to his Familiars about him: *If this man will begge thus ſtill, I will giue him halfe the Kingdome but I will pleaſe him: and firſt ſhall hee be weary of craning, ere I of granting.* And ſure the King had great reaſon to ſuſpect his adhering to *Maude*, whoſe part hee began to fauour: onely, out of the hatred he bare to *Wincheſter*; who yet was content to forſake his owne brother, in regard, by

his ingagement he was preferred to the Crowne, rather then to loſe his good will, and the reſt of the Clergy.

Maud: the Empreſſe conducted into *England.*

But yet this breaking of the King into the Church (which had made him) vtterly diſſolued him. For preſently heereuppon all his power fell aſunder: The Empreſſe found now a way open to let her in, and the Earle of *Gloceſter* preſuming of a ſure ſide, conducted her into *England* onely with 150. men: put her into the Caſtle of *Arundell*, and himſelfe (attended but with twelue horſe) paſſed away cleare through all the Country to *Briſtow*: and from thence to *Gloceſter*, where he had leiſure without oppoſition, to rayſe all the Country to take part with the Empreſſe; who, from *Arundell* Caſtle, was afterward (by the Legat himſelfe, and the Kings permiſſion) conueyed to *Briſtow*: receiued with all obedience, grew daily in ſtrength as ſhe went, and came at length to her brother (who had taken in *Hereford*, made himſelfe ſtrong with the Welſh, and ſetled thoſe parts) to gather vp more of the Kingdome, by ſhewing herſelfe and her power in diuers places.

Stephen, hauing no part cleare (by reaſon the Caſtles, vpon which hee ſpent both his time and meanes, lay ſo thicke blockes in his way) as he could not make that ſpeede to ſtop this ſtreame, as otherwiſe he would (holding it not ſafe to goe forward, and leaue dangers behind, that might ouer-take him.) And firſt hee layes ſiege to the Caſtle of *Wallingford*, which, *Brian* ſonne to the Earle of *Gloceſter*, held againſt him: then to the Caſtle of *Briſtow* and other places, working much, but effecting little: which ſeeing, to get time and ſtagger the ſwift proceeding of this new receiued Princeſſe, hee cauſes a treaty of peace to be propounded at *Bathe*, where the Legat (who likewiſe earneſtly ſolicited the ſame) with the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, were appointed Commiſſioners for the King; and the Earle of *Gloceſter* for the Empreſſe; but nothing was effected, both returne to make good their ſides. The Empreſſe ſeekes to recouer more, the King what he had loſt. And leſt the North parts might fall from him, and the King of Scots come on, hee repaires thitherward: And finding the Caſtle of *Lincolne* poſſeſt by *Ralph* Earle of *Cheſter*, who had married a daughter of the Earle of *Gloceſter*, and holding it not ſafe to bee in the hands of ſuch a Maiſter, in ſuch a time, ſeekes to take it in by force. The Earle of *Cheſter*, who held newtrall, attempting nothing againſt the King, tooke it ill, and ſtood vpon his defence; but being ouer-layd by power, conueyes himſelfe out of the Caſtle, leaues his brother and wife within to defend it, and procures ayde of his Father in Law the Earle of *Gloceſter*, to ſuccour him.

The Earle takes in hand this buſineſſes, ſets out of *Gloceſter* with an Army of *Welchmen* and others, attended with *Hugh Bigod*, and *Robert de Morley*, ioynes with the Earle of *Cheſter*, marches to *Lincolne*, where, in the battaile, King *Stephen* was taken, carried priſoner to *Gloceſter*, preſented to the Empreſſe, and by her ſent to bee kept in the Caſtle of *Briſtow*, but in all Honoreble faſhion, till his attempts to eſcape layde fetters on him.

Shee labours the Legat for the Crowne of *England.*

Hereupon the Empreſſe (as at the top of her fortune) labours the Legat *to bee admitted to the Kingdom, as the daughter of the late King, to whom the Realme had taken an oath to accept for ſoueraigne in the ſucceſſion*; and wrought ſo, as a Parle was appointed for this purpoſe, on the Playne neere to *Wincheſter*, where in a bluſtring ſad day (like the fate of the buſineſſe) they met; and the Empreſſe ſwore, and made affidation to the Legat, *that all the great buſineſſes, and eſpecially the donation of Biſhoprickes and Abbeys, ſhould bee at his diſpoſing, if he (with the Church) would receiue her as Queene of* England, *and hold perpetuall fidelity vnto her.* The ſame oath and affidation tooke likewiſe her brother *Robert* Earle of *Gloceſter*, *Brian* his ſonne, Marques of *Wallingford*; *Miles* of *Gloceſter* (after Earle of *Hereford*) with many others for her. Nor did the Biſhop ſticke to accept her as Queene (though ſhe neuer came to bee ſo) and with ſome few other, made likewiſe affidation for his part, that ſo long as ſhee infringed not her couenant, hee would alſo hold his fidelity to her.

The next day, ſhee was receiued with ſolemne proceſſion into the Biſhops Church at *Wincheſter*, the Biſhop leading her on the right hand, and *Bernard* Biſhop of Saint *Davids* on the left. There were preſent many other Biſhops, as *Alexander* Biſhop of *Lincolne*

Lincolne, and *Nigel* Bishop of *Ely* (the Nephewes of *Roger*, lately imprisoned) *Robert* Bishop of *Bathe*, and *Robert* Bishop of *Worcester*, with many Abbots.

Within a few dayes after came *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to the Empresse inuited by the Legat; but deferred to doe fealty vnto her, as holding it vnworthy his person and place, without hauing conferred first with the King. And therefore hee, with many Prelats, and some of the Laiety (by permission obtained) went to the King to *Bristow*. The Councell brake vp, the Empresse keepes her Easter at *Oxford*, beeing her owne Towne. Shortly vppon Easter a Councell of the Clergy is againe called to *Winchester*, where the first day the Legat had secret conference with euery Bishop apart, and then with euery Abbot and other, which were called to the Councell. The next day he makes a publike speech, *Shewing how the cause (of their Assembly) was to consult for the peace of their Country in great danger of vtter ruine. Repeates the flourishing reigne of his Vncle the peace, wealth and honour of the kingdom in his time; and how that renowned King, many yeares before his death had receiued an oath both of* England *and* Normandy *for the succession of his daughter* Maude *and her issue; but*, saith he, *after his decease, his daughter being then in* Normandy, *making delay to come into* England, *where (for that it seemed long to expect) order was to be taken for the peace of the Country, and my brother was permitted to Reigne. And although I interposed my selfe a surety betweene God and him, that hee should honour and exalt the holy Church, keepe and ordaine good Lawes; Yet, how he hath behaued himselfe in the Kingdome, it grieues me to remember, and I am ashamed to repeate. And then recounts he all the Kings course with the Bishops, and all his other mis-gouernments. And then*, sayd he, *euery man knowes I ought to loue my mortall brother, but much more the cause of my immortall Father; and therefore seeing God hath shewed his iudgement on my brother, and suffered him (without my knowledge) to fall into the hand of Power: that the Kingdome may not miscarry for want of a Ruler, I haue called you all hither by the power of my Legation. Yesterday the cause was moued in secret, to the greatest part of the Clergy, to whom the right appertaines to elect and ordaine a Prince. And therefore after hauing inuoked (as it is meete,) the Diuine ayde, Wee elect for Queene of* England *the daughter of the peacefull, glorious, rich, and in our time the incomparable King; and to her, we promise our faith and allegiance.*

The Legats speech to the Clergy, to Crowne the Empresse.

When all, who were present, eyther modesty gaue their voyce, or by their silence contradicted it not, the Legat addes: *The* Londoners, *who are (in respect of the greatnesse of their City) as among the optimacy of* England, *wee haue by our messengers summoned, and I trust they will not stay beyond this day, to morrow we will expect them.*

The *Londoners* came, were brought into the Councell, shewed *How they were sent from the Communalty of* London *not to bring contention, but prayer, that the King their Lord might be freed from captiuity, and the same did all the Barons (receiued within their Liberties) earnestly beseech of my Lord Legate, and all the Clergy there present.* The Legat answeres them at large and loftily, according to his speech the day before, and added, *That the* Londoners *who were held in that degree in* England, *ought not to take their parts, who had forsaken their Lord in the Warre, by whose Councell the Church hath beene dishonoured, and who fauoured the* Londoners *but for their owne gaine.*

Then stands there vp a Chaplaine to Queene *Maude*, wife to *Stephen*, and deliuers a letter to the Legat, which he silently read, and then sayd aloud, *That it was not lawfull in the assembly of so many reuerend and religious persons the same should be publikely read, containing matter reprehensible.* The Chaplaine not to faile in his message, boldly reads the Letter himselfe, which was to this effect: *That the Queene earnestly intreates all the Clergy there Assembled, and namely the Bishop of* Winchester, *the Brother of her Lord, to restore him vnto the Kingdome, whom wicked men, which were also his subiects, held Prisoner.*

To this the Legat answeres (as to the *Londoners*) and shortly after the Councell brake vp, wherein many of the Kings part were excommunicated: namely *William Martell*, an especiall man about the King, who had much displeased the Legat.

Hereupon a great part of *England* willingly accepted of *Maude*, in whose businesses her brother *Robert* imployes all his diligence and best care, *reforming Iustice, restoring*

the Lawes of England, *promising reliefements, and whatsoeuer might be to win the people*; the Legat seconding all his courses.

But now, shee being at the poynt of obtaining the whole Kingdome; all came suddainly dasht by her ouer-hauty and proud carriage, and by the practise of the *Londoners*, who adhering to the other side, began openly to inueigh against her, who had displeased them, and they had plotted to surprize her in their Citie; whereof shee hauing notice, secretly withdrawes herselfe (accompanied with her Vncle *Dauid*, King of *Scots*, who was come to visit her and her brother *Robert*) vnto *Oxford*, a place of more security. The Legat himselfe takes, or makes an occasion to bee slacke in her cause, vpon her denying him a suite for his Nephew *Eustace*, the sonne of *Stephen*, about the inheritance of his Earledome of *Mortaigne* in *Normandy*. Besides, the Queene regnant, watchfull ouer all oportunities, found meanes to parle with the Legat, *Sets vpon him with her teares, intreaty, promises and assurance for the Kings reformation*; in so much as *she recalled him to the affection of Nature, brought him about againe to absolue such of the Kings part, as he had lately excommunicated.*

The Legat leaues the Empresse.

Is intreated with teares by the Queene regnant.

The Earle of *Gloceſter* seeing this suddaine and strange relaps of their affaires, striues by all meanes to hold vp Opinion, and re-quicken the Legats disposition, which to keepe sound, was all. Hee brings the Empresse to *Winchester*, settles her, and her guard, in the Castle, where she desires to speake with the Legat, who first delayes, then denies to come. Whereupon they call their best friends about them. Queene *Maude* and the Lords incompasse the Towne, and cut off all victuall from the Empresse, so that in the end, the Earle of *Gloceſter* wrought meanes to haue her conueyd from thence to the *Vies*, but himselfe was taken, and in him most of her.

The Empresse besieged at *Oxford*, the Earle of *Gloceſter* taken Prisoner.

This sets the sides both euen againe into the Lists of their tryall: the two Prisoners are to redeeme each other: The disproportion of the quality betweene them, shewed yet there was an euenesse of power, and the Earle would not consent to the Kings deliuery (who onely in that was to haue the Precedence) but vppon most secure cautions. The Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Legat, vndertooke to yeelde themselues Prisoners for him, if the King released him not, according to his promise: But that would not serue the turne, till they both had written their Brieues to the Pope, to intimate the course that was taken heerein, and deliuered the same vnto him, vnder their hands and seales. So that, if the King should as he might not care, to hold the Bishops in Prison: yet the Pope, if hard measure were offered, might relieue them. Which shewes the aduantage of credit in the businesse, lay on this side, and the King was to haue his fetters though at liberty.

1142. *Anno Reg.* 7.

The Queene and *Eustace*, her sonne the Prince, vpon the inlargement of *Stephen*, remaine pledges in the Castle of *Briſtow* till the Earle were released, which was done vppon the Kings comming to *Winchester*. VVhere the Earle in familiar conference, was, by all art possible, solicited to forsake the party of *Maude*, with promise of all preferments of honour and estate: but nothing could mooue him beeing fixt to his courses, and rather would hee haue beene content to remayne a perpetuall Prisoner, then that *Stephen* should haue beene released, had not his sister wrought him to this conclusion.

The Legat, after this, calles a Councell at *London*, where the Popes letters, written vnto him, are openly read, which argue him (but mildly) of some neglect of his brothers releasing, and exhort him to vse all meanes Ecclesiasticall and Secular, to set him at libertie.

King *Stephens* complaint.

The King himselfe came into the Councell, complaynes, *How his subiects, to whom hee had neuer denied Iustice, had taken him, and reproachfully afflicted him euen to death.* The Legate, with great eloquence, labours to excuse his owne courses: Alledging, *How hee receiued not the Empresse by his Will, but necessity: that presently vpon the Kings ouer-throw, whilest the Lords were either fled, or stood in suspence attending the euent, she and her people came thundring to the Walls of* VVinchester: *And that, what past soeuer hee had made with her for the right of the Church, shee obstinately brake all: Besides, hee was certainely informed, that shee and hers had plotted, both against his dignity and life:*

But

But God in his mercy, contrary to her desire, had turned the businesse so, as he escaped the danger, and his brother was deliuered out of hands. And therefore he, from the part of God, and the Pope, willed them, with all their armed power, to ayde the King, annexed by the consent of the People and the See Apostolique, and to Excommunicate all the disturbers of the peace that fauoured the Countesse of Anion.

There was in the Councell a Lay Agent for the Empresse, who openly charged the Legat, *That in respect of the faith he had giuen the Empresse, to passe no act there prejudicial to her Honour: hauing sworne vnto her neuer to ayde his brother with aboue twenty souldiers; that her coming into England, was vpon his often Letters vnto her: and his cause it was, that the King was taken and held prisoner.* (This, and much more sayd the Agent with great aufterity of words, wherewith the Legat seemed not to bee moued at all, nor would stoope to reply.)

But both parts thus set at liberty, were left to worke for themselues, holding the State broken betweene them; and no meanes made to interpose any barre to keep them a sunder. Their borders lay euery where, and then the ingagements of their Partakers, who (looke all to be sauers or to recouer their stakes when they were lost, which makes them neuer giue ouer) entertayne the conuention. But the best was, they were rather troubles then Warres, and cost more labour then blood. Euery one fought with Bucklers, and seldome came to the sharpe in the field, which would soone haue ended the businesse.

Some few moneths after these inlargements, (stood both sides at some rest, but not idle, casting how to compasse their ends.) The Empresse at the *Vies* with her Councell, resolues to send ouer her brother into *Normandie*, to solicite her husband the Earle of *Anion*, to come to ayde her with forces from thence: Her brother the better to secure her in his absence, setles her in the Castle of *Oxford*, (well furnished for all assaults) and takes with him the sonnes of the especiall men about her, as pledges to hold them to their fidelity. *Stephen* seekes to stop the Earles passage, but could not, and then layes siege to the Castle of *Oxford*; which held him all the time that the Earle was abroad. *Geffery* Earle of *Anion* (desirous rather to haue *Normandy* (whereof, in this meane time, hee had attayned the most part, and in possibility of the rest) then to aduenture for *England*, which lay in danger, refused to come in person, but sends some small ayde, and his eldest sonne *Henry*, being then but eleuen yeares of age, that he might looke vpon *England*, and be shewed to the people, to try if that would moue them to a consideration of his right: which prooued of more effect then an Army.

The Earle of *Glocester* safely returning, makes towards *Oxford* to relieue the Empresse, who had secretly conueyed her selfe disguised out at a posterne Gate, onely with foure persons got ouer the Thames, passed on foote to *Abington*, and from thence conueyed to *Wallingford*, where her brother and sonne met her, to her more comfort after hard distresses.

Stephen seeing his enemy thus supplied, and like to grow, labours to win friends, but money failes, which made diuers of his Lords, and especially his mercenaries, whereof he had many out of *Flanders*, to fall to the rifling of Abbeyes, which was of dangerous consequence: And for Armies there was no meanes, onely about Castles, with small powers, lay all the businesse of those times, and they being so many were to small effect, but onely to hold them doing, which was for many yeares.

The Earle of *Glocester*, the chiefe pillar of the Empresse, within two yeares after his last comming out of *Normandy* died, and shortly after *Miles* Earle of *Hereford*, an especiall man of hers, which had vtterly quailed her, but that in stead of a brother shee had a sonne grew vp to bee of more estimation with the Nobility, and shortly after of ableneese to vndergoe the trauailes of Warre. His first expedition at sixteene yeares of age was Northward to combine him with *Dauid* King of *Scots* his great Vncle, to whom his mother had giuen the Country of *Northumberland*. After him followes *Stephen* with an Army to *Yorke*, least hee should surprize that City, and to intercept him in his returne: but according to his vsuall manner, and *Fleming*-like, after the first heate of his vndertakings, which were quicke and braue, hee quailes: nothing

The Earle of *Glocester* gets to *Normandy*.

The Earles returne with the Empresses eldest sonne *Henry*.

1143. *Anno Reg.* 8.

The Earle of *Glocester* dyes.

nothing was effected, and both returne without incountring.

Now to aduance the State and meanes of *Henry*, Fortune, as if in loue with young Princes, presents this occasion. *Lewys* the seuenth, King of *France*, going in person to the Holy warres, and taking with him his wife *Elinor*, the onely daughter and heire of *William* Duke of *Guien*, grew into such an odious conceite of her, vppon the notice of her lasciuious behauiour in those parts, as the first worke hee doth vppon his comming backe, hee repudiates, and turnes her home with all her great dowry, rather content to lose the mighty estate she brought him, then to enioy her person. With his great Lady matches *Henry* before he was twenty yeares of age, (beeing now Duke of *Normandy*, his father deceased, who had recouered it for him) and had by her the possession of all those large and rich Countries, appertayning to the Dutchy of *Guien*, besides the Earledome of *Poitou*. Whereuppon *Lewys* inraged to see him inlarged by this great accession of State, who was so neere, and like to be so dangerous and eminent a neighbour, combines with *Stephen*, and aydes *Eustace* his sonne (whom hee married to his sister *Constance*) with maine power, for the recouery of *Normandy*, wherein hee was first possest. But this young Prince, furnished now with all this powerfull meanes, leaues the management of the affayres of *England* to his friends, defends *Normandie*, so brought to, as the King of *France* did him little hurt; and *Eustace* his Competitor, returned home into *England*, where shortly after he dyed, about 18. yeares of his age, borne neuer to bee out of the calamities of Warre, and was buried at *Feuersham* with his mother, who deceased a little before, and had no other ioy nor glory of a Crowne but what we see. *Stephen*, whilst Duke *Henry* was in *Normandy*, recouers what hee could, and at length besieges *Wallingford*, which seemes in these times to haue beene a peece of great importance and impregnable, and reduced the Defendants to that extremity, as they sent to Duke *Henry* for succour, who presently thereuppon, in the middest of VVinter, arriues in *England* with 3000 foote, and 140 horse. VVhere first, to draw the King from *Wallingford*, he layes siege to *Malmesbury*, and had most of all the great men in the VVest, and from other parts comming in vnto him. *Stephen*, now resolued to put it to the tryall of a day, brings thither all the power hee could make; and far ouer-went his enemy in number; but flouds and stormes, in an vnseasonable VVinter, kept the Armies from incountring; till the Bishops, doubtfull of the successe, and seeing how dangerous it was for them, and the whole State, to haue a young Prince get the maistry by his sword, mediated a peace, which was after concluded in a Parliament at *Winchester*, vpon these conditions.

An. 1151.

1 *That King* Stephen *during his naturall life, should remaine King of* England, *and* Henry *enioy the Dukedome of* Normandy, *as descended vnto him from his mother, and be Proclaimed Heire apparent to the Kingdome of* England, *as the adopted sonne of King* Stephen.

2 *That the partizans of either, should receiue no damage, but enioy their Estates according to their ancient Rights and Titles.*

3 *That the King should resume into his hands all such parcels of inheritance belonging to the Crowne, as had beene alienated by him, or vsurped in his time. And that all those possessions which by intrusion had beene violently taken from the owners since the dayes of King* Henry, *should be restored vnto them who were rightly possessed therein, when the said King reigned.*

Resumptions.

4 *That all such Castles as had bin built by the permission of* Stephen, *and in his time (which were found to be* 1117) *should be demolished, &c.*

There is a Charter of this agreement in our Annals, which hath other Articles of reseruation for the Estates of particular persons. And first for *William*, the second sonne of *Stephen*, to enioy all the possessions his Father held before hee was King of *England*, and many other particulars of especiall note.

After this pacification and all businesse here, setled, Duke *Henry* returnes into *Normandie* and likewise there concludes a peace with the King of *France*, and for that hee would be sure to haue it, buyes it, with twenty thousand markes.

And now King *Stephen* hauing attayned (that hee neuer had) Peace (which yet, it seemes

seruices, hee enioyed not a yeare after) vses all the best meanes hee could to repayre the ruines of the State, makes his progresses into most parts of the Kingdome, (to reforme the mischiefes that had growne vp vnder the sword) And after his returne calls a Parliament at *London*, to consult of the best meanes for the publicke good. After the Parliament, hee goes to meete the Earle of *Flanders* at *Dover*, who desired conference with him; and hauing dispatcht him, falls presently sicke, dyes within few dayes after, and was buried (in the Abbey he founded) at *Feuersham*, with the vnfortunate Princes.

A man so continually in motion, as wee cannot take his dimension, but onely in passing, and that but on one side, which was Warre: On the other, wee neuer saw but a glaunce of him, which yet, for the most part, was such, as shewed him to bee a very worthy Prince for the Gouernment. He kept his word with the State concerning the releuement of Tributes, *and neuer had Subsidy that we find.*

But which is more remarkeable, hauing his sword continually out, and so many defections and rebellions against him, *He neuer put any great man to death.* Besides it is noted, that notwithstanding all these miseries of Warre, *There were many Abbeys built in his Reigne, then in six hundreth yeares before*, which shewes, though the times were bad, they were not impious.

The end of the Life and Reigne of King Stephen.

The Life and reigne, of Henry the second; And first of the Line of Plantagenet.

A. 1154. He reigned 18. yeares, and ten moneths.

THAT short time of peace, before the death of *Stephen*, had so allayed the spirit of contention, and prepared the Kingdome (wearied and defaced with Warre) to that disposition of quietnesse; as *Henry Plantagenet* (though a *French-man* borne, and at that time, out of the Land: long detayned with contrary Winds, yet a Prince of so great possessions abroad, as might make him feared, to bee too mighty a maister at home; or doubtfull, where hee would set his seate: Whether carry *England* thither, or bring those great States to this) was, notwithstanding generally admitted (without any opposition or capitulation, other then the vsuall oath) to the Crowne of *England*: which he receiued at the hands of *Theobald*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the twentieth day of December, *Anno* 1154. about the three and twentieth yeare of his age.

1155. Anno Reg. 1.

And (though he were a Prince *Young, Active, Powerfull, and had all that might make him high and presuming*: Yet the necessity of his owne affayres, were so strong raines to hold him in, from all exorbitant courses: as made him wary to obserue at first, all meanes to get, and retaine the loue and good opinion of this Kingdome, by a regulat and easie Gouernment; beeing sure to haue the King of *France* perpetually awake, for all aduantages (both in regard of daily quarrells, common to mighty neighbours; as also for matching with her that came out of his bed, and brought away those mighty Prouinces from that Crowne, whereby, he comes now to ouer-match him) beeing thus inuested in this powerfull Kingdome of *England*. Where, after hauing made a choyce of graue Counsellors, such as best vnderstood the state thereof; hee beganne at a Councell or Parliament held at *Wallingford*, with an Act (that both serued his owne turne, and much eased the stomacks of his people) *which was the expulsion of Strangers*, wherewith the Land was much pestered, by reason of the late warres that had drawne great numbers of them; and especially of *Flemings* and *Picards*, whom King *Stephen* especially trusted in his greatest actions, after hee grew doubtfull of the *English* fidelity, and had made their Leader *William de Ipres*, Earle of *Kent*, who likewise was turned home, and his estate seized into the Kings hands.

Expulsion of Strangers.

Then that he might subsist by his owne meanes, without pressure of his subiects, (whose voluntary seruices, and contributions, would yeeld him more in measure, then if exacted) *he lookes to the State, and ordering of his reuenues, reformes the Exchequer, and renokes all such Lands belonging to the Crowne, as had any way bin alienated or vsurped.* And though some of the great Lords stood out for the holding what they had in possession,

Reuersion of Crowne Lands.

as

as *Hugh de Mortimer* for his Caſtles of *Cleberry*, *Wigmore*, and *Bridgenorth*; and *Roger Fitz Miles*, Earle of *Hereford* for the City and Lands of *Glocester*: Yet the King tooke them by force as appertayning to the Crowne. Beſides, he claimed the Caſtle of *Scarborough*, which *William* Earle of *Albemarle* held, and diuers other Lands and Caſtles in *Yorkeſhire*, poſſeſſed by priuate men. *Hugh Bigot* reſigned his Caſtles into the Kings hands. And more, he tooke from *William* Earle of *Mortaine*, and *Warren*, baſe ſonne to King *Stephen*, the Caſtle of *Pemſey*, the City of *Norwich*: with other Townes and Caſtles, notwithſtanding himſelfe granted the ſame in his agreement with *Stephen*: alledging, *They were of the Demeynes of the Crowne, and could not be alienated.* Onely he ſuffered him to enioy ſuch lands, as his Father, King *Stephen* held in *England*, in the time of *Henry* the firſt.

Then goes hee Northward and recouers the City of *Carlile*, ſeizes all *Cumberland* into his hands; and after takes the Towne of *New-Caſtle*, with the Caſtle of *Bamburge*, and ſo reunited all *Northumberland*, which his Mother (the Empreſſe) had before granted to *Dauid* King of *Scots*, her Vncle (Grand-father to *Malcolin*, who now reigned) as being out in his Mothers power, nor his, to giue away any part of the Kingdome. Notwithſtanding, he was content, *Malcolin* ſhould enioy the Earledome of *Huntingdon*, which King *Stephen* had giuen to *Henry* Prince of *Scotland*, Father to *Malcolin*, as being a peece in the heart of *England*, whereof he could make no vſe, but at the Kings pleaſure; and beſides, was a meanes, to hold him his Homager, and to performe thoſe ſeruices belonging to that Earledome.

And the ſame courſe tooke hee with the Alienations, and vſurpations formerly made of the Demeynes of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and forced *Theobald* Earle of *Blois* to reſigne into his hands two Caſtles, and *Petroch* Earle of *Perch*, other two. Theſe *reuocations*, whereby ſo many were indamaged in their eſtates, *and Grants, both of his Predeceſſors, and his owne vtterly nullified*, might ſeeme, to be an act of great iniuſtice, and in a new Gouernment, of little ſafety. But in regard, the Common-wealth had thereby a benefit; and but few (though great) intereſſed, it paſſed as a worke vniuerſally neceſſary, ſeeing his Maintenance o herwiſe, muſt bee made vp out of publicke taxations; which would turne to a generall grieuance. But *the reſeruing of the Earledome of* Anion *out of his brother* Geffreyes *hands, contrary to his oath*, cannot but be held a ſtraine beyond conſcience and good nature. For his father *Geffrey Plantagenet* deſirous to leaue ſome eſtate to his ſecond ſon *Geffrey*, ordayned by his Teſtament, *That when* Henry *had recouered the Kingdome of* England, *the other ſhould haue the County of* Aniou; and in the meane time, put *Geffrey* in poſſeſſion of the Caſtles and Townes of *Chinon*, *Loden*, and *Mirabell*, whereby hee might, both haue maintenance for his eſtate, and a readier meanes to come to the reſt when occaſion ſerued. And *leſt his ſonne* Henry *ſhould not performe his will, he got certaine biſhops, and other nobles to ſweare, that they would not ſuffer his body to be interred, till* Henry, *who was then abſent, had ſworne to fulfill his Teſtament: Henry*, rather then to ſuffer his Fathers body to lye vnburied, *with great vnwillingneſſe takes this oath.* But afterwards being inueſted in the Crowne of *England*, and *Geffrey* ſeazing vpon the Earledome of *Anion*, he paſſes ouer into *France*, and not onely takes from him the Earledome, but alſo thoſe three Townes he had in poſſeſſion; alledging, *It was no reaſon, a forced oath (vpon ſuch an occaſion) ſhould binde him to forgo the inheritance of his Birth-right, being all the Patrimony, that was to deſcend vnto him from his Father) and though he had recouered the Kingdome of* England, *that was not his Fathers worke, but by an other right. And although he held his brother deare vnto him, yet hauing Children of his owne, he was to prouide, that what was his, ſhould deſcend to them.* But yet was content, to allowe his brother an honorable penſion (of a thouſand pounds *Engliſh*, and two thouſand pounds of *Anioun* money nearely) for the maintenance of his eſtate; and obtayned of Pope *Adrian* the ſeuenth (an *Engliſh* man borne) a diſpenſation for his Oath, made in this caſe.

The King reſumes the Earledome of *Anion*.

1156. Anno Reg. 2.

And now the firſt occaſion, that put him here into action of Warre, was the Rebellion of the *Welch*, who according to their vſuall manner, euer attempted ſome thing, in the beginning of the Reigne of new Princes, as if to try their ſpirits, and their owne

Fortunes

fortunes. (Againſt whom hee goes ſo prepared, as if he meant to go through with his Worke.) Wherein at firſt, he had much to doe, paſſing a ſtreight among the Mountaines, where he loſt (with many of his men) *Euſtace Fitz. Iohn*, and *Robert Curcy*, eminent perſons; and himſelfe noyſed to bee ſlaine, ſo much diſcouraged that part of the Army, which had not paſſed the Streights, as *Henry* an Earle of *Eſſex*, threw downe the Kings Standard (which he bare by inheritance) and fled; but ſoone, the King made it knowne, hee was aliue, diſcomfited his enemies, and brought them, to ſeeke their peace with ſubmiſſion. The Earle of *Eſſex* was after accuſed, by *Robert de Monfort* for this miſdeede, had the Combate, was ouercome, pardoned yet of life, but condemned to be ſhome a Monke, put into the Abbey of *Reading*, and had his Lands ſeiſed into the Kings hands.

His firſt expedition into *Wales*.

The puniſhment of Cowardize.

It was now the fourth yeare of the reigne of this King; when, *all his affaires were in proſperous courſe, his State increaſing, his Queene fruitfull, and had borne him three ſonnes in* England, *Henry*, *Richard* and *Geffrey*: his eldſt ſonne *William* (to whom he had cauſed the Kingdome, to take an Oath of fealty) dyed ſhortly after his comming to the Crowne, ſo that now, the ſame Oath is rendred to *Henry*, and all is ſecure and well on this ſide.

1158. *Anno Reg.* 4.

The King of *France*, who would gladly haue impreached the mighty current of this Kings Fortune, was held in, and fettered with his owne neceſſities: his iourney to the Holy Land, had exhauſted all his Treaſure, and ſince his comming home, the Pope had exacted great ſummes of him for diſpenſing with his ſecond marriage, which was with *Conſtantia* daughter to *Alphonſo*, King of *Galicia*, a feeble alliance, and farre off, ſo that all concurred to increaſe the greatneſſe of this King of *England*; who hauing now almoſt ſurrounded *France* (by poſſeſſing firſt all *Normandy*, with a great footing in *Brittaine*, by the reſignation of *Nants*, with the Country there about, which *Conan* the Duke was forced lately to make vnto him; then the Earledome of *Maine*, *Poictou*, *Tourame*, *Anion* with the Dutchy of *Guien*) hee alſo layes claime to the rich Earledome of *Tholouſe* vpon this Title:

The reſignation of Nants to the King of *England*.

William *Duke of* Aquitaine, *grandfather to Queene* Elionor, *married the daughter and heire of the Earle of* Tholouſe, *and going to the holy Wars, ingaged that Earledome to* Raymond *Earle of* S^t. Gyles, *and neuer returned to redeeme it.* William *his ſonne, father to Queene* Elionor, *either through want of meanes, or neglect, deferred likewiſe the redemption thereof; ſo that the Earle of* S^t. Gyles *continuing in poſſeſſion whilſt he liued, left it to his ſon* Raymond, *of whom King* Louys *of* France (*hauing married* Elionor, *the daughter and heire of the laſt* William) *demaunded the reſtitution, with tender of the ſumme for which it was ingaged. Raymond* refuſes it, and ſtands to his poſſeſſion, as of *a thing abſolutely ſold or forfeited; but being too weake to contend with a King of* France, *fell to an accord, and married his ſiſter* Conſtance, *widdow of* Euſtace *ſonne to King* Stephen, *and ſo continues the poſſeſſion.* Now King *Henry* hauing married this *Elionor*, and with her was to haue all the Rights ſhee had tenders likewiſe (as the King of *France* had done, in the ſame caſe) *the ſumme formerly diſburſed, vpon the morgage of that Earledome.* And withall makes ready his ſword to recouer it, and firſt combines in league and amity, with ſuch whoſe Territories bordred vppon it: as with *Raymond* Earle of *Barcelona*, who had married the daughter and heire of the King of *Arragon*, a man of great Eſtate in thoſe parts, entertayning him with conference of a match betweene his ſecond ſonne *Richard*, and his daughter: with couenant, *that* Richard *ſhould haue the inheritance of the Dutchy of* Aquitaine, *and the Earledome of* Poictou. Beſides, hee takes into his protection *William* Lord of *Tranchenille* (poſſeſſing likewiſe) many great Signories in the Countrey: and one who held himſelfe much wronged in his Eſtate, by the Earle of *Tholouſe*.

King *Henries* clayme to the Earledome of *Tholouſe*.

1159. *Anno Reg.* 5.

Theſe aydes prepared, hee leauies an Army, and goes in perſon to beſiege the Citie of *Tholouſe*, and takes along with him *Malcolm*, King of *Scots*, who (comming to his Court to doe him homage, for the Earledome of *Huntingdon*, and to make clayme for thoſe other peeces, taken from his Crowne) was entertayned with ſo many fayre words and promiſes of King *Henry*, as drew him along to this Warre.

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The Earle of *Tholouſe* vnderſtanding the intentions of the King of *England*, craues ayde of his brother in Law the King of *France*, who likewiſe with a ſtrong Armie, comes downe in perſon to ſuccour *Tholouſe*, and was there before the King of *England* could arriue with his Forces; whereupon, ſeeing himſelfe preuented, and in diſ-aduantage, King *Henry* fell to ſpoyling the Country, and takes in *Cahors* in *Quercy*, where he places a ſtrong Garriſon to bridle the *Tholouſans*, and ſo returnes into *Normandy*, gaue the order of Knight-hood to King *Malcolin* at *Tours*: augments his Forces, and enters the Country of *Beannoiſin*, where hee deſtroyes many Caſtles, and commits great ſpoyles. And to adde more anoyance to the King of *France*, hee obtained of the Earle *de Auranches*, the two ſtrong Caſtles *Rochford* and *Monford*, which furniſhed with Garriſons, impreached the paſſage twixt *Orleance* and *Tarù*; in ſo much as the Warre and weather grew hote betwixt theſe two great Princes, and much effuſion of blood was like to follow; but that a mediation of peace was made, and in the end concluded, *With a match betweene the young Prince* Henry, *not ſeauen yeares of age, and the Lady* Margaret *eldeſt daughter to the King of* France *ſcarce three: weake linkes, to hold in ſo mighty Princes, The yong Lady was deliuered rather as an Oſtage then a Bride, to* Robert de Newburge, *to be kept till her yeares would permit her to liue with her husband.* In the meane time, notwithſtanding many ruptures hapned betweene the Parents: *The firſt whereof grew vpon the King of* Englands *getting into his owne hand the Caſtle of* Giſors, *with two other Caſtles vpon the Riuer* Eata, *in the confines of* Normandy: deliuered vp before the due time *by three Knights Templars, to whom they were committed in truſt, till the marriage were conſummated.* And this coſt ſome blood: the Knight Templars are perſecuted by the King of *France*, and the King of *England* receiues them.

1160. *Anno Reg. 6.* Prince *Henry* contracted to *Margaret* daughter to the King of *France*.

But now the aduantage of power lying all on this ſide, and the King ſeeing himſelfe at large (and how much hee was abroad) beganne to bee more at home, and to looke to the Prerogatiues of his Crowne, which as he was informed, grew much infringed by the Clergy: which, ſince the time of *Henry* the firſt, *Were thought to haue inlarged their iuriſdiction beyond their vocation*; and himſelfe had found their power, in the election of King *Stephen*, with whom they made their owne conditions, with all aduantages for themſelues, whereby they depriued his Mother and her Iſſue, of their ſucceſſion to the Crowne. And though afterwards by their mediation, the peace twixt him, and *Stephen* was concluded, and his ſucceſſion ratified: yet for that, might hee thanke his Sword, the Iuſtice of his cauſe, and ſtrong party in the Kingdome. VVhat they did therein ſhewed him rather their power, then their affection; and rather put him in minde of what they had done againſt him at firſt, then layed any obligation on him, for what they did afterward. And his owne example, ſeeing them apt to ſurpriſe all aduantages for their owne aduancement, made him doubt how they might deale with his Poſterity, if they found occaſion; and therefore is hee eaſily drawne to abate their power in what hee could.

The King ſeekes to abate the power of the Clergy, and the cauſe thereof.

To this motion of the Kings diſlike, the Lay Nobilitie (emulous of the others authority) layed more weights: alledging *how the immunities of the Clergy tooke vp ſo much from the Royalty, as his execution of iuſtice could haue no generall paſſage in the kingdom: the Church held their Dominion apart, and free from any other authority then their owne; and being exempt from ſecular puniſhments, many enormious acts were committed by Clergymen, without any redreſſe to be had*; and it was notified to the King, that ſince the beginning of his Reigne, *There had bin aboue a hundreth Man-ſlaughters committed within the Realme of* England *by Prieſts and men within Orders.*

Complaints againſt the Clergy.

1161. *Anno Reg. 7.* *Thomas Becket* preferred to the Sea of *Canterbury*.

Now had the King, a little before (vpon the death of *Theobald* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*) preferred *Thomas Becket*, a creature and ſeruant of his owne, to that Sea. A man whom firſt, from being Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*, hee made his Chancellor, and finding *him Diligent, Truſty and Wiſe*, imployes him in all his greateſt buſineſſes of the State: by which tryall of his ſeruice and fidelity, hee might expect to haue him euer the readier to aduance his affayres, vpon all occaſions. And beſides, to ſhewe how much hee reſpected his worth and integrity, hee commits vnto him *the education of the Prince, a charge of the greateſt conſequence in a Kingdome*, which ſhall be euer ſure to finde their

Kings

Kings as they are bred. At the beginning of this mans promotion, this reformation of Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction is ſet vpon, *a worke (in regard of that time of deuotion) of great difficulty*: the Biſhops hauing from the beginning of Chriſtianity, firſt vnder the *Saxon* Kings, principally ſwayed the State; and though at the entrance of the *Norman*, they were much abridged of their former liberties, *they held themſelues if not content, yet quiet.* For albeit they had not that power in temporall buſineſſe as before; yet, *within their owne circle, they held their owne iuriſdiction, and immunities; and had ſince, both by the Law, Ciuill Warres, and the occaſion of Forraine affaires, much inlarged them.* So that any reſtriction, or diminution, of the power they had, could not but touch veynes that were very ſenſible in that part: eſpecially, *by reaſon of the vniuerſall participation of the Spirit that fed them*; and therefore could not bee but a buſineſſe of much trouble.

The King conuokes a Councell at *Weſtminſter*, and there firſt propounds to haue it enacted, *That all ſuch of the Clergy as ſhould bee taken and conuicted for any haynous offence, ſhould loſe the priuiledge of the Church, and be deliuered to the ciuill Magiſtrate, to be puniſhed for their offences, as other the Kings ſubiects were.* For, if after ſpirituall puniſhment, no ſecular correction ſhould bee vſed; there would bee no ſufficient meanes to reſtrayne them from doing miſchiefe: ſeeing it was not likely, ſuch men would much care for their degrading and loſſe of Orders, whom the Conſcience of their calling did not hold in awe. A Parliament at Weſtminſter 1163. *Anno Reg.* 9.

The Arch-biſhop and his ſuffragans, with the reſt of the Biſhops, ſhewed the King *how they were not to yeeld to any ſuch Act, being againſt the liberties of the Church, which himſelfe had ſworne to defend and maintayne; and therefore humbly beſought him, that hee would not vrge any thing to the preiudice of their iuriſdiction, and ſuch immunities as they had hitherto enioyed, both vnder him and his Noble Progenitors.*

The King not liking this anſwere demaunds, *Whether they would ſubmit themſelues to the Lawes and Cuſtomes, which the Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, in the time of his grandfather* Henry *the firſt did obſerue?* They anſwered, *They would; their Order, the honor of God, and holy Church, in all things ſaued*; with which reſeruation the King grew more diſpleaſed, the Parliament brake vp, and nothing effected at that time, for hee ſaw the Biſhops faſt to themſelues, and the more by the animation of the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, whom hee thought (in regard of all thoſe his graces beſtowed on him) to haue found more yeelding to his courſes, and therefore his indignation was moſt againſt him: And becauſe hee would make him ſee what the diſpleaſure of ſo mightie a King was, who could as well caſt downe as aduance: *Firſt denies him acceſſe: then takes from him what hee could poſſibly, countenances all ſuch as were his oppoſites, his buſineſſes in any the Kings Courts go againſt him, the Earle of* Clare *is ſupported in a conteſtation he had with him, about his Homage for the Caſtle of* Tunbridge, *and preuailes*: nothing is left vndone, that might bee thought to humble him. And beſides the King wrought ſo, *As he vnties the knot, gaines firſt the Arch-biſhop of* Yorke, *(the ancient Competitor with* Canterbury *in dignity) and after, the Biſhops of* Lincolne, Hereford *and the eſpeciall Prelates: and ſeparates them both from the Councell, and company of the Arch biſhop* Becket.

Notice of this iarre being giuen abroade, a Meſſenger is ſent from the Pope, and all the Cardinalls to reconcile it, and *to charge the Arch-biſhop to make peace with his Lord the King and promiſe to obſerue his lawes without exception.* The Archbiſhop preſſed with this meſſage, and the aduice of many great men, repaires to the King at *Woodſtocke*, and there *promiſes in good faith*, without any euill meaning, *to obſerue the Kings Lawes ſo-farre forth as was required.*

The King ſuppoſing now, things better prepared for his purpoſe then before, calls a generall Aſſembly of the Biſhops and Nobility at *Clarendon*, where *Iohn* of *Oxford*, the Kings Clerke was Preſident of the Councell: And a very ſtrict charge is giuen from the King, *That they ſhould call to memory the Lawes of his Grandfather* Henry *the firſt, and to reduce them into Writing*: which beeing done, hee willed the Arch-biſhoppe and Biſhops, ſo ſet their Seales thereunto. VVhich when the A Parliament at *Clarendon*. 1164. *Anno Reg.* 10.

the reſt were content to doe, *the Arch-biſhop* Becket *refuſed.* Yet at length, by the perſwaſion of the Biſhops (vrging him to ſatisfie the Kings pleaſure, and appeaſe his wrath, in regard of his preſent danger, which, by the ruſhing vp and downe of the Kings ſeruants with threatning countenances, they ſuſpected themſelues likely to fall into) *He tooke his Oath to obſerue the Kings Lawes without any reſeruation.* And for the writing deſired to haue a Copy, as if better to aduiſe there. And taking it into his hand, he turnes to the Clergy, and ſayd: *Brethren ſtand faſt, you ſee the malice of the King and of whom we are to beware.*

The Arch-biſhop *Becket*, takes his oath to obſerue the Kings Lawes.

So the Councell ended, but not the Kings diſpleaſure againſt the Arch-biſhop, whom onely hee found, durſt beare vp againſt his power, the reſt all yeelding thereunto, And therefore proceedes he, *by all meanes to vexe and diſgrace him, and to aduance his Concurrent the Arch-biſhop of* Yorke, *whom hee ſolicites the Pope (by his Agents* Iohn *of* Oxford, *and* Geffrey Riddle) *to make his Legat of all* England. Which the Pope (fore-warned, acquainted with this buſineſſe) refuſed to do: yet at the petition of thoſe Agents, granted *that Legation to the King himſelfe, but ſo as he ſhould do nothing to grieue the Arch-biſhop*; which the King tooke as a great indignity, and ſent backe his Agents with the Popes Grant.

The king vſeth all meanes to vexe the Arch-biſhop.

The Arch-biſhop *Becket* after his oath at *Clarendon*, ſo repented, as *he ſuſpended himſelfe from the ſeruice of the Altar, & did ſharpe penance till he had obtained abſolution from the Pope.* Which (vpon his information of the caſe) was ſent him. After this, as ſome write, he attempts to depart out of the Kingdome, contrary to *a Law made at* Clarendon *(forbidding Archbiſhops, Biſhops and other Perſons to depart out of the Realme without the Kings leaue. Which, although they obtained, yet were notwithſtanding to ſecure the King, neither in their going, returning or ſtaying there, to practiſe any thing preiudicious to his State or Perſon.)* But being by contrary winds brought backe, he more exaſperates the King againſt him.

The Arch-biſhop repents him of his oath.

After this, he is ſummoned to an aſſembly at *Northampton* (holden about the ratification of the acts of *Clarendon*) where (to deſpite him the more) the Kings horſes are placed in his Inue; and there, *Firſt had he a caſe adiudged againſt him, concerning a Manor, for which, one* Iohn *the Kings Marſhall contended with him in Law*; *and beſides the loſſe of the Mannor, was caſt in arrerages, fiue hundred Markes*, which the King was ſaid to haue ſent him; but he alledged how it was giuen: yet becauſe hee confeſſed the receite, and could not prooue the gift, hee was condemned to pay it. *Then was he called to render an account to the King of all ſuch receits as in the time of his Chancellorſhip he had receiued for the King, of certaine Biſhopricks & Abbeys during their vacancies, which amounted to 3000. markes.* For theſe accounts, he alledged *How the King knew well, he was diſcharged before his election to the Sea of* Canterbury; *and how the Prince, the Barons of the Excequer, and* Robert de Lucie, *chiefe Iuſtice of* England *had made him his acquittance for all accounts, & ſecular receits, in the behalfe of the king: & ſo (free and cleared) was he choſen to the adminiſtration of that office, and therefore would pleade the ſame no more.*

A Parliament at *Northampton.*

The Arch-biſhop called to account.

The King, notwithſtanding, vrging to haue iudgement paſſe againſt him, both for this, his late attempts and diſobedience, hee was commanded the next day to attend his Cenſure. The morning before he was to appeare, hee celebrates earely with great deuotion, the Maſſe of S^t. *Stephen Protomartyr*, which had theſe words: *Etenim ſederunt Principes, & aduerſum me loquebantur*; and ſo committing his cauſe to God *ſets forward to the Court in his Stole, his blacke Canonicall hood, carrying the Croſſe in his right hand, and guiding his horſe with the left.* The people ſeeing him come in this faſhion, flocke all about him; he entring the great Chamber, ſate downe amongſt them, the King beeing within, in his Priuy Chamber with his Councell: from whom firſt came foorth the Biſhop of *London*, and much blames him for comming ſo armed to the Court, and offered to pull the Croſſe out of his hand, but the Arch-biſhop held it ſo faſt that he could not. Which the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſeeing, ſaid to *London*, *Brother, let him alone, he ought wel to beare the Croſſe. London* replies, *you ſpeak brother againſt the king and it wil be ill for you.* After this comes foorth the Arch biſhop of *Yorke* (the heate of whoſe ancient hatred, ſayth *Howeden*, would not ſuffer him to ſpeake in peace, and rebukes him very ſharply,

Roger Howeden.

for

for comming in that fashion, as if to a Tyrant, or heathen Prince, and told him, *That the King had a sword sharper then his Crosse, and if he would be adiudged by him, he should take it from him. Canterbury* replies, *the Kings sword wounds carnally, but mine strikes Spiritually, and sends the soule to Hell.*

After much debate, the Arch-bishop *Becket* inuayes against this Violent proceeding against him: *How no age euer heard before, that an Arch-bishop of* Canterbury *had beene adiudged in any of the Kings Courts for any cause whatsoeuer, in regard both of his Dignity and Place; and for that hee is the Spirituall Father of the King, and all other his Subiects.* Then to the Bishops, *You see the World rageth against me, the enemy riseth vp; but I more lament, the Sonnes of Adother fight against me. If I should conceale it, the age to come will declare, how you leaue mee alone in the Battell, and haue iudged against me, beeing your Father, though neuer so much a sinner. But I charge you by vertue of your Obedience, and perill of your Order, that you be not present in any place of iudgement, where my Person or cause comes to bee adiudged. And heere I appeale to the Pope*: Charging you farther by Vertue of your Obedience, *that if any Temporall man lay hands on mee, you exercise the Sentence of the Church; as it becomes you, for your Father the Arch-bishop, who will not shrinke howsoeuer, nor leaue the Flocke committed vnto him.*

Then were all these great complaints of his Contempt, Disobedience and Periury, exhibited, and aggrauated against him before the Assembly, and they cryed generally hee was a Traytor, that hauing receiued so many benefices at the Kings hands, would refuse to doe him all earthly honour, and obserue his Lawes as he had sworne to doe. The Bishops likewise, seeing all thus bent against him, *Renounced their Ecclesiasticall obedience vnto him, cited him to* Rome, *and condemned him as a periured man and a Traytor.*

Complaints against the Archbishop.

Then the Earle of *Leicester* accompanied with *Reginald* Earle of *Cornwall*, came to the Arch-bishop, and charged him from the King to answere to what was Obiected vnto him, or else to heare his iudgement. *Nay, sonne Earle,* said he, *first beare you: It is not vnknowne to your selfe, how faithfully I haue serued the King, and how in regard therof he preferred me to the place I haue (God is my witnesse) against my will. For I knew mine owne infirmities, and was content to take it vppon, rather for his pleasure, then Gods cause; therefore now doth God withdraw himselfe, and the King from me. At the time of my election hee made me free from all Court bondage, and therefore touching those things from which I am deliuered, I am not bound to Answere, nor will I. How much the soule is worthier then the body, so much are you bound to obay God, and me rather then any Earthly Creature: neither will Law or Reason permit the Sonnes to condemne the Father: And I refuse to stand eyther to the Iudgement of the King or any other Person; appealing to the presence of the Pope by whom onely on Earth I ought to be adiudged, committing all I haue to Gods protection and his; and vnder this authority I depart of this place.* And so went hee out and tooke his Horse, not without some difficulty in passing, and many reproaches of the Kings seruants.

Being gotten out of the Court, a great multitude of the Common people (reioycing to see him deliuered) and diuers of the Clergy conuayed him honourably to the Abbey of Saint *Andrewes*, whence disguised (by the name of *Dereman*) hee escaped ouer into *Flaunders* and so *France*.

The Arch-bishop disguised fled out of the Kingdome.

This businesse of the Church, I haue the more particularly deliuered (according to the generall report of the Writers of that time) in regard it lay so chayned to the Temporall affaires of the State, and bewrayed so much of the face of that Age, with the constitution both of the Soueraignty, and the rest of the body, as it could not well bee omitted. Besides, the effects it wrought in the succeeding Reigne of this Prince, the vexation, charge, and grieuous burthen it layed vpon him for many yeares, is worthie of note, and shewes vs what spirit had predomination in that season of the VVorld, and what Engines were vsed in this Oppugnation.

Presently vppon the departure of this Great Prelate, the King sends ouer to

the King of *France*, *Gilbert* Biſhop of *London*, and *William* Earle of *Arundell*, to intreat him, *not only to forbid the Archbiſhop his Kingdome, but to be a meanes to the Pope, that his cauſe might not be fauoured by the Church, being ſo contumatious a rebell as he was againſt his Soueraigne Lord.*

The King of *France* notwithſtanding this intreaty, ſends Fryer *Francis* his Annoyner vnder hand to the Pope, to beſeech him, as hee tendred the honour of holy Church, and the ayde of the Kingdome of *France*, *to ſupport the cauſe of* Thomas *of* Canterbury, *againſt the Tyrant of* England.

The King ſends Ambaſſadors to the Pope.

King *Henry* ſends likewiſe with all ſpeed, *Roger* Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *London*, *Chichiſter* and *Exceſter*: *Guido Rufus*, *Richard Inecheſter*, and *Iohn* of *Oxford*, Clerkes: *William* Earle of *Arundell*, *Hugh de Gundeuile*, *Barnard de Saint Walleric*, and *Henry Fitz Gerrard*, to informe the Pope of the whole cauſe, and preuent the Arch-biſhops complaint. The multitude and greatneſſe of the Commiſſioners ſhewed the importnance of the Ambaſſage, and the Kings earneſt deſire to haue his cauſe preuaile. The finde the Pope at the City of *Sens*, to whom, they *ſhewed how perners and diſobedient the Arch-biſhop had behaued himſelfe to his Soueraigne Lord the King of* England; *how hee alone refuſed to obay his Lawes and Cuſtomes, which hee had ſworne to doe; and that by his peeuiſh waywardneſſe, the Church and Kingdome were like to be diſturbed, which otherwiſe would agree in the reformation thereof, as was fit and neceſſary; and therefore they beſought him, as hee tendred the peace of the Church of* England, *and the loue of the King their Soueraigne, not to giue credit or grace, to a man of ſo turbulent and dangerous a ſpirit.*

This Information (notwithſtanding earneſtly vrged) they found moued not any diſpoſition in the Pope to fauour the Kings cauſe, ſo that in the end, *They beſought him to ſend two Legats ouer into* England, *to examine the particulars of this buſineſſe, and how it had bin carried; and in the meane time, to admit no other information of the cauſe but referre it to their relation.* The Pope refuſes to ſend any Legat; the Commiſſioners depart without any ſatisfaction. And within foure dayes after, comes the Arch-biſhop and proſtrates himſelfe at the Popes feet: deliuers him a coppy of thoſe Lawes, which the King called his *grandfathers Lawes*, which being openly read in the preſence of all the Cardinals, Clergy and many other people, *The Pope condemned them for euer, and accurſed thoſe who obeyed or any way fauoured them.*

Thoſe Lawes among the Statutes of *Clarendon*, which the Arch-biſhop ſo much oppugned (and moſt offended the Clergy) were (as by his owne letter to the Biſhop of *London* appeares) theſe eſpecially: *That there ſhould be no appeale to the Apoſtolike Sea, without the Kings leaue. That no Arch-biſhop or Biſhop ſhould go out of the Realme but by the Kings Permiſſion. That no Biſhop excommunicate any, who held of the King, in Capite; or interdict any Officiall of his without the Kings leaue, &c. That Clergy men ſhould be drawne to ſecular iudgement, That Lay-men (as the King and other ſhould handle cauſes of the Church, Tythes, and ſuch like.* And theſe were dangerous incroachments vpon their Liberties.

But now the King, ſeeing his Ambaſſage to take no effect, and withall, in a manner contemned, preſently makes his heauie diſpleaſure, and the ſcorne hee tooke, knowe by his ſeuere Edicts, both againſt the Pope, and the Arch-biſhop, that they might ſee what edge his ſecular power had in this: Ordayning, *That if any were found carrying Letter, or Mandate from the Pope, or Arch-biſhop, containing any interdiction of Chriſtianity in* England, *he ſhould be taken, and without delay executed as a trayter both to the King and Kingdom. That whatſoeuer Biſhop, Prieſt, Monke or Conuerſer in any Order, Clergie, or Layman, ſhould haue and retaine any ſuch letters; ſhould forfeite all their poſſeſſions, good and chattells to the King, and be preſently baniſhed the Realme with their kinne. That no Clergy men, Monke or other ſhould be permitted to paſſe ouer Sea, or returne out of* Normandy *into* England, *without letters from the Iuſtices heere, or from the King being there; Vpon paine to be taken as a Malefactor, and put in hold. That none ſhould appeale to the Pope. That all Clerkes which had any reuenue in* England *ſhould returne into the Realme within three months, vpon paine of forfeiting their eſtates to the King.*

1166. *Anno Reg.* 12. The Kings Edicts againſt the Pope and his agents.

That

That Peter Pence *ſhould be collected and ſequeſtred till the Kings pleaſure were farther knowne.*

Beſides this, hee baniſhes all that were found to bee any way of kinne to the Arch-biſhop, without exception of condition, ſex, or yeares. And withall, takes occaſion vpon the *Schiſme* which was then in the Church, to renounce Pope *Alexander*, and incline to the Emperours faction, which ſtood thus.

The Election of two Popes.

After the death of *Adrian* the fourth, *Rowland* a *Geneneſe*, and a great enemy of the Empire, is by two and twenty Cardinalls elected Pope by name of *Alexander* the third, to which election foure Cardinalls oppoſed, and made choice of a *Octauian* a Citizen of *Rome* that would be called *Victor* the fifth. The Emperor *Frederic Barbaroſſa* ſummons theſe two Popes to a Councell at *Pauia*, to vnderſtand and determine their right. *Alexander* makes the old anſwere, *That the Pope could not be iudged by any man liuing*, refuſes to appeare before the Emperour, and withdrawes into *Anagnia*. *Victor* conſents to appeare there, or whereſoeuer the Emperour would appoint, ſo that, hee was the man for that ſide. But all the other Princes of Chriſtendome (except thoſe of the Emperours faction) acknowledge *Alexander* for Pope as elected by moſt voyces. And eſpecially by the King of *France* who called him thither; and at *Cocy* vpon *Loyr*, hee and the King of *England* receiued him with all honour and reuerence, in ſo much, as they are ſayde to haue attended vpon his Stirrop, the one on the right hand, the other on the left: after, this, he calls a Councell at *Tours*, whither the Kings of *England*, *Spaine* and *Hungary* ſend their Ambaſſadors, and there, are the conſtitutions of the Councell of *Pauia*, and the Emperours confirmation of *Victor* nullified, ſo that *Alexander* hauing his party daily encreaſing in *Italy*, was ſhortly after receiued into *Rome*.

Notwithſtanding all this, the King of *England* finding him ſo auers in this buſineſſe, *Falls off from him, renounces his Authority, turnes to the Emperours faction, ſeekes to ſtrengthen himſelfe with the Princes of* Germany, *conſents to match his daughter* Maude *to the Duke of* Saxony, *at the motion of* Reginald *Arch-biſhop of* Collen, *ſent ouer by the Emperor for that purpoſe, and intertaines a motion for another daughter to be matched with the Emperour ſonne.*

Pope *Alexanders* Letter to the Clergy of *England.*

But now, by reaſon this contrary faction to Pope *Alexander* grew to bee but feeble, all this working did the King no good, but exaſperates the Pope, and ſets him on the more to ſupport the cauſe of the Arch-biſhop, *Who ſolicites the Clergy of* England, *threatens, intreates, adiures them not to forſake their hold, nor giue way to the inuador of their liberties, which ſought to confound the Prieſt-hood and the Kingdome: and if they oppoſed not mainly at the firſt, but ſuffered the leaſt breach to bee made vppon them, they were vndone.* Then excommunicates hee all the eſpeciall Miniſters of the King that adhered to the *Tentonicque* faction, or helde intelligence with the Arch-biſhop of *Collen*: As *Iohn of Oxford, Richard Iuechеſter, Richard de Lucie, Ioſiling Baliol, Alan de Neuile*, and with theſe all ſuch as had entred vppon the goods of the Church of *Canterbury*, which hee called the *Patrimony of the Crucifix*, *and the foode of the poore*; and there were *Ralph de Brocke*, *Hugh Saint Clare*, and *Thomas Fitz Barnard*. Thus are both ſides buſied in this drie Warre, wherein, though there were no ſword, yet it gaue vexation enough.

The King repreſſes the *Welch.*

And yet this was not all the worke that tooke vp the Kings time; for during this diſſention, the Welſh againe reuolt, and to ſuppreſſe them he ſpent murch labour, with the loſſe of many great men, and was himſelfe in that danger, as had not *Hubert Saint Clere* receiued a Wounde for him, by an Arrow aymed directly at his owne perſon, hee had there finiſhed his part. In this expedition hee is ſayd, to haue vſed extreame crueltie.

After this, hee paſſes into *Normandy* to bee neere his buſineſſe, which now lay all on that ſide. And firſt to entertayne the opinion of Piety (though hee were falne out with the Pope) hee obtaynes at an Aſſembly of his Biſhops and Barons of *Normandy*, *two pence in the pound, of euery mans Lands and goods to be payd that yeare* 1166. *and a peny of euerie pound to be paid for foure yeares following*, which was leuied for the releiſe of the Chriſtians in the Holy Warre, and ſent vnto them.

1166.

Anno Reg. 13.

Then hee raiſes forces and takes in certayne Caſtles in the Countrey of *Maine*, and Marches of *Brittaigne*, from diuers Lords and Barons that had diſobayed him. And whilſt he was buſie abroade, *Mathew* ſonne to the Earle of *Flaunders* (who had married the Lady *Mary Abbeſſe* of *Ramſey*, daughter to King *Stephen*, and had by her the Country of *Bologne*) attempted ſomething on the Coaſt of *England*, either to try the affections of the people, or to make ſpoyle and booty, but without any effect at all, the King being too mighty for any ſuch weake vndertaker.

And to diſtend his power yet wider, falls out this occaſion: (*Conan* Earle of *Brittaigne* dyes, and leaues one onely daughter (which hee had by his wife *Conſtance* daughter to the King of *Scots*) to ſucceed him in his State. The King of *England* being then in armes vpon the Marches of *Brittaigne*, deales with the Guardians of the young Lady to match her to his third ſonne *Geffery*. The Nobilitie of that Country beeing then of a rough, and haughtie diſpoſition (giuen to fewds and perpetuall quarrelling one with another) were wrought vpon, and a ſide is wonne of ſuch as could doe moſt in this buſineſſe; which is effected to the great contentation of the King of *England*.

The Death of *Maude* the Empreſſe.

This fell out to be in the 13. yeare of his Reigne, wherein, as ſome write, dyed his mother *Maude* the Empreſſe, a Lady of an high and actiue Spirit: illuſtrious by her birth, but more by her firſt match, and moſt by her ſonne, whom ſhe liued to ſee eſtabliſhed in all theſe mighty States, in the glory of Greatneſſe and Peace: Fertile in iſſue, hauing now had foure ſonnes and three daughters, linkes of loue and ſtrength (oftentimes in priuate families) though ſeldome in Princes; and ſhee left him in the beſt time of his dayes before any great tempeſt ouertooke him.

Three yeares after this, hee imployes moſt in *France*, about the ordering and clearing the bounds of his Dominions from vſurpation, or incroachments of neighbour Lords (whom his greatneſſe held all in awe) and they muſt haue no more then hee would: eſpecially hee ſettles and reformes the State of *Brittaigne*, which was very much out of order, and in mutiny about the late Match; which beeing ſomewhat appeaſed, hee keepes a ſolemne Chriſtmas at *Nants*, and Royally Feaſts the Nobility of the Countrey.

Then returnes he into *England*, where, leſt Peace (by reaſon of his long and often abſence) might afflict and corrupt his ſubiects, hee lookes to that Diuine, and Almighty worke of Kings, the adminiſtration of Iuſtice, appointing certayne Commiſſioners as Syndicqs to examine the abuſes and exceſſes committed by his Officers, and grieuouſly puniſhes the Shrieſes of the Land, for extortion and bribery.

1169. *Anno Reg.* **16.**

His Eaſter, he keepes at *Windſor*, whither repayres vnto him *William* King of *Scots* who lately ſucceeded *Malcom* his brother, and brings with him his younger brother *Dauid*, both to congratulate the King of *Englands* returne, and alſo continue his clayme to thoſe peeces in the North, which hee pretended to bee vniuſtly detained from that Crowne. The King entertaynes him, as hee had done his brother with fayre words, and tells him, *How it was not in his power, to do any thing therein, without the conſent of the ſtate in Parliament; which if he would attend, there ſhould be that courſe taken, as hee hoped might giue him ſatisfaction.* In expectation whereof this King came often into *England*, and once attended the King in an expedition into *France*, as his Predeceſſor had done before.

The Pope writes to the Biſhops of *England*.

But now all this while, the wrath of the Church continues, and the cloud hangs ſtill ouer him, daily threatning the great thunder-bolt. Although it ſeeme the Pope of himſelfe, was not very forward to proceede to that extreamity, but would gladly haue quieted the Arch-biſhop otherwiſe; *Who* (hee ſayd) *had taken an ill time for this buſineſſe, the King being mighty, and the Church in trouble*; and therefore writes he his letters to the Biſhops of *London* and *Hereford*, *willing them to deale effectually with the King, and to admoniſh him to deſiſt from intruding vpon the liberties of the Church, and to reſtore the Arch-biſhop to his Sea and Dignity.*

The Biſhops anſwere to the Popes Letter.

The Biſhopps wiſely Anſwere the Popes Letter, in ſubſtance thus: *Wee haue* (ſayed they) *done your* Holineſſe *Meſſage, and as much as was decent for the Maieſtie of a King, inſtantly vrged him to ſatisfie your deſire, made by vs: And if hee had*

erred

erred from the way of truth and Iuſtice, that he would not delay to returne thereunto; that he would not inhibit ſuch as were deſirous to viſit the Church of Rome, *hinder appeales, oppreſſe Churches and Church-men, or ſuffer others ſo to doe: That hee would call home our Father the Arch-biſhop, &c. and perſiſt in the workes of Piety; that hee by whom Kings Reigne might preſerue vnto him his temporall Kingdome, and giue him an eternall in Heauen: And that vnleſſe hee would yeelde to your Holy Admonitions, you, who had hitherto endure, could in patience forbeare no longer.* Beſides, we added this of our ſelues, *how it was to be feared, if he amended not his errors, his Kingdome would not long ſtand, nor yet proſper.*

The King receiued your admonitions with many thankes, much temperance and modeſtie, and anſweres to euery point. Firſt, hee proteſted that in no ſort hee auerted his minde from your Holineſſe, *nor euer purpoſed ſo to doe, but ſo long as you ſhewed him fatherly Grace, hee would loue you as a Father; reuerence and cheriſh the Church as his Mother. And humbly obey your ſacred Decrees, ſauing his owne Dignity, and that of his Kingdome; and if of late he hath not reſpected you with any reuerence, the cauſe was that hauing with all his affection, and all his power ſtood to you in your neceſſity, hee was not anſwered worthily to his deſerts vpon his recourſe to you by his Ambaſſadour, but in euery petition had the repulſe. And for hindring any which are willing to viſit your* Holineſſe, *hee anſweres hee will not, nor hath hitherto done.*

But *for Appeales,* by the ancient cuſtome of the Kingdome, *Hee chalenges that honor, and cumber to himſelfe: that no Clergy man for any ciuill cauſe ſhall goe out of the Land till hee had tried, whether he may obtaine his right by his Royall Authority, and Iuſtice at home; which if hee cannot, hee may (without any hinderance) when hee will, make his Appeale. Wherein, if any way hee doth preiudice* Your Honour, *hee offers, by the helpe of God to correct it, as it ſhall bee ordered by the Councell of the whole Church of his Kingdome. And for the Emperour, though hee knew him a Schiſmatique, hee neuer vnderſtood hee was excommunicate. But if hee bee by vs informed thereof, or hath entred vnlawfull league with him, or any other, hee promiſes likewiſe to redreſſe the ſame, by the ſayd Eccleſiaſticall Councell of his Kingdome. And for our Father, the Lord of* Canterbury (hee ſayth) *that hee neuer expelled him out of his Kingdome, but as hee went out of his owne accord, ſo alſo at his pleaſure it was free for him to returne to his Church in peace: prouided, that his Maieſtie might bee ſatisfied concerning thoſe complaints of his, and haue him to obſerue his Royall Dignitie. And if it can bee prooued, that any Church, or Church-man, hath beene oppreſt by the King, or any of his, hee is ready to make full ſatisfaction, as ſhall be thought fit by the whole Councell, of the Church of his Kingdome.*

This (ſay they) *wee haue receiued in anſwere from our Lord the King, and wiſh wee could haue had it fully according to your deſire; but theſe things we thought good to notifie to your* Highneſſe, *that your* Diſcretion *may perceiue what is like to bee the concluſion of this buſineſſe. The King ſtands vpon the iuſtification of his owne cauſe, ready to obey the Councell and iudgement of the Church of* England. *Whereupon wee thought good to beſeech your Highneſſe, that you would moderate, for a time, that zeale (which by the fire of the diuine Spirit, is worthy inkindled, to reuenge any iniurie done to the Church of God, and forbeare to pronounce any ſentence of interdiction, or that laſt iudgement of abſciſion, whereby innumerable Churches may be miſerably ſubuerted, and both the King and an infinite number of people with him, irreuocably (which God forbid) auerted from your obedience.*

Then they tell him, *That better it were to haue a member bad, then cut off: abſciſion brought deſperation: A skilfull Chirurgion might recouer an infected part, and how it were fitted to imploy ſome meanes to heale the Wound; then by cutting off a moſt noble part of the Church of God, to bring more diſturbance to the ſame that hath too much alreadie. Though the King were ſtiffe, they ought not to deſpaire of the grace of God; that a Kings ſtomacke was then to bee wonne, when hee had wonne, and might not bluſh to yeelde, when hee had ouercome: Patience, and Meekeneſſe, muſt pacifie him, &c. And in concluſion, wee ſpeake fooliſhly* (ſay they) *but yet with all Charitie: if it come to paſſe, that the Lord of* Canterbury *looſe both his goods; And line beſides in perpetuall exile,*

exile; and England, *(which God forbid) fall away from your obedience, were it not better to forbeare for a time, then with ſuch zeale of ſeuerity to foſter vp a party? what if perſecution cannot ſeperate many of vs from you, yet will not there want knees to bow to* Baal, *and receiue the Pall of* Canterbury *at the hands of an Idoll, without choyce of Religion or Iuſtice: neither will there was want ſuppliers of our* Chayres *that will obey him with all deuotion, and already many deuoure theſe hopes; wiſhing that ſcandalls may come, and ſtraight wayes bee made crooked.*

Thus much out of their letters, which are the beſt peeces of Hiſtory in the world, and ſhewe vs more of the inſide of affayres, then any relations elſe. And by this we truely ſee what barres kept theſe two mighty powers backe from their wills, and yet how loude they threaten, and both a feard of each other.

But the King of *England* ſtood ſafe enough, and was like to haue his buſineſſes runne in a ſtrong and entire courſe, when by caſting to make things ſafer then faſt, hee layes open a way both to diſ-joynt his owne power, and imbroyle his people with diuiſion; which was by the aſſociation of his ſonne *Henry* in the gouernment, *an act without example in this Kingdome*, and ſtrange that a Parliament, an aſſembly of the State, conuoked for the ſame buſineſſe, would in ſo wiſe times, conſent to communicate the Crowne, and make the common-wealth a Monſter with two heads. But it ſeemes, the ſtrong deſire of the King was ſuch, for the loue hee bare his ſonne, as hee would not be denied in this motion, nor hold it a ſufficient Security, to haue twice before cauſed all the Kingdome to take an Oath of Fealty vnto him, and to haue deſigned, vnleſſe hee were crowned King, as hee was, with all vſuall ſolemnities the 14 day of *Iune* 1170. by *Roger* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, and had homage done vnto him that day by the King of *Scots*, *Dauid* his brother, and all the Nobility of *England*. But now with what reſeruations this was done, we are not particularly informed: whether there was an equall participation of rule, or onely but of Title; and that the Father, notwithſtanding this Act, was to haue the eſpeciall manage of the Gouernment, and the Sonne, though a King, yet a Sonne, with a limited power. Howſoeuer, this yong King ſhewed ſhortly after, *That a Crowne was no State to be made ouer in truſt*, and layd much griefe, and repentance, vppon his Fathers forwardneſſe.

Prince *Henry* crowned King.

1170.

Anno Reg. 10.

What mooued the King with this precipitation (to bee before hand with his Graue) may be deemed the iealouſie hee had apprehended by his Mothers example, who *for all the Oath of Fealty ſo often taken for ſucceſſion*, was yet put by it, through the working of the Clergy; and now conſidering in what termes hee ſtood with them, and that although hee had wonne ſome few Biſhops vnto him, was ſure they loued him not, and what they might worke with the people, if himſelfe ſhould fayle, made him ouer-doe his worke.

The King of *France*, vnderſtanding that his daughter was not Crowned with her husband (which by reaſon of her tender age was deferred) tooke it ill, and threatens King *Henry* the Father with Warre. if it were not preſently done; which cauſes him to make more haſte backe againe into *Normandy* (leauing the young King in *England*) to ſatisfie or preuent this quarrelling Prince.

And whilſt he remayned there, meanes was made that the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, (who had beene now ſix yeares in exile) was brought to haue conference with the King, by the mediation of the King of *France*, *Theobald* Earle of *Bleys*, and diuers great Biſhops; which the King of *England* was the more willing to accept, in regard hee ſaw this breach with the Church might much preiudice his temporall buſineſſes, whenſoeuer they ſhould breake out: And how the Arch-biſhop continually was working the Pope, and all the great Prelates of the Chriſtian World againſt him: which, *How much ſuch a party as ſwayed the Empire of Soules might doe in a time of weale, againſt a Ruler of bodies*, was to bee conſidered. And therefore deſcends he from the higth of his will to his neceſſity, and they meete at *Montmiriall* before the King of *France*, where the Arch-biſhop keeling at the feete of his Soueraigne Lord the King of *England*, ſayd, *Hee would commit the whole cauſe in controuerſie to his Royall Order, Gods honour onely reſerued.*

Beckets ſubmiſſion to the King.

The

The King (who had beene often vied to that reſeruation) grew into ſome choller, and ſayd to the King of *France*, and the reſt, *Whatſoeuer diſpleaſeth this man, he would haue to be againſt Gods honor, and ſo by that ſhift, will challenge to himſelfe all that belongs to me: But becauſe, you ſhall not thinke me to go about to reſiſt Gods honor, and him, in what ſhall bee fit, looke what the greateſt & moſt holy of al his predeceſſors haue done to the meaneſt of mine let him doe the ſame to me, and it ſhall ſuffice.* VVhich anſwere beeing, beyond expectation, ſo reaſonable, turn'd the opinion of all the company to the Kings cauſe, in ſo much as the King of *France*, ſayd to the Arch-biſhop, *Will you be greater then Saints? better than Saint* Peter? *what can you ſtand vpon? I ſee it is your fault, if your peace be not made.* The Arch-biſhop replies to this effect: *That as the authority of Kings had their beginning by degrees, ſo had that of the Church, which being now by the prouidence of God, come to that eſtate it was, they were not to follow the example of any, that had beene faint or yeelding in their places. The Church had riſen, and increaſed out of many violent oppreſſions, and they were now to hold what it had gotten. Our Fathers* (ſayd hee) *ſuffered all manner of afflictions, becauſe they would not forſake the name of Chriſt, and ſhall I, to be reconciled to any mans fauour liuing, derogate any thing from his honour?*

The King and *Becket* accorded.

This hauty reply of a ſubiect, to ſo yeelding an offer of his Soueraigne, ſo much diſtaſted the hearers, as they held the maintenance of his cauſe, rather to proceede from obſtinacy then zeale, and with that impreſſion, the conference for that time, brake vp. But after this, were many other meetings, and much debate about the buſineſſe. And the King of *France*, (at whoſe charge lay the Arch-biſhop all this while) came to another conference with them, vppon the Confines of *Normandy: Where, the King of* England *tooke the Arch-biſhop apart, and had long ſpeech with him; twice they alighted from their horſes, twice remounted, and twice the King held the Archbiſhops bridel, and ſo againe they part, prepared for an attonement, but not concluding any.* In the end by mediation of the Arch-biſhop of *Rouen*, the matter is quietly ended before the Earle of *Bloys*, at *Amboyſe*. And thereupon *Henry* the Father, writes to *Henry* the ſon, beeing then in *England*, in this wiſe: *Know yee that* Thomas *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *hath made peace with me (to my will) and therefore I charge you, that he and all his, haue peace; and that you cauſe to be reſtored vnto him, and to all ſuch (as for him) went out of* England, *all their ſubſtances, in as full and honourable manner, as they held it, three monthes before their going, &c.* And thus by this letter wee ſee, in which King, the commaund lay.

Becket returnes into *England*.

The Arch-biſhop returning into *England* (not as one who had ſought his peace, but inforced it) with larger power to his reſolution then before, *Suſpends by the Popes Bull, the Archbiſhop of* Yorke *from all Epiſcopall Office, for crowning the young King within the Prouince of* Canterburie, *without his leaue, and againſt the Popes Commandement; and without taking* (according to the cuſtome) *the Cautionarie Oath, for conſeruation of the liberties of the Church.* Hee brought alſo letters to ſuſpend in like manner, *The Biſhops of* London, Salisburie, Oxford, Cheſter, Rocheſter, Saint Aſaph, *and* Landaffe, *for doing ſeruice at the Coronation, and vpholding the Kings cauſe againſt him.* And by theſe letters were they all to remayne ſuſpended, till they had ſatisfied the Arch-biſhop in ſo much as hee thought fit.

The Kings offer to *Becket*.

Becket reply.

Thus to returne home, ſhewed that hee had the better of the time, and came all vntyed, which ſo terrified the Biſhops that preſently (hauing no other refuſe) they repayre to the King in *Normandy*, and ſhewed him this Violent proceeding of the Arch-biſhop, *How ſince his returne he was growne ſo imperious as there was no liuing vnder him.* Wherewith the King was ſo much mooued, as hee is ſayd in extreame paſſion to haue vttered theſe words; *In what a miſerable State am I, that cannot be quiet, in mine owne Kingdome, for one only Prieſt? Is there no man will ridde me of this trouble.* Whereupon (they report) foure Knights, Sir *Hugh Moruille*, Sir *William Tracy*, Sir *Richard Brittaine*, and Sir *Raynold Fitz Vrs*, (then attending vppon the King, and geſſing his deſire by his words) depart preſently into *England*, to bee the vnfortunate executioners of the ſame; but by ſome it ſeemes rather, theſe foure Gentlemen were ſent with Commiſſion from the King to deale with the Arch-biſhop in another manner, *And firſt to wiſh him to take his Oath of Fealty to the young King: then to reſtore theſe Biſhops to the execution of their function*

function: and thirdly, to beare himselfe with moderation in his place, whereby the Church might haue comfort vpon his returne, and the Kingdome quietneſſe.

The murthering of *Becket*.

But they finding the Arch-biſhop not anſwering their humour, but peremptory and vntractable, without regarding their Maſters meſſage, grew into rage, and firſt from threatning force, fell to commit it, and that in an execrable manner: putting on their armour (to make the matter more hideous) they entred into the Church, whether the Arch-biſhop was with-drawne, the Monkes at Diuine Seruice; and there calling him Traytor, and furiouſly reuiling him, gaue him many wounds, and at length ſtrake out his braines, that with his blood be ſprinkled the Altar. His behauiour in this act of death, his courage to take it: his paſſion are committing the cauſe of the Church, with his ſoule to God and his Saints: the place, the time, the manner and all aggrauates the hatred of the deede, and makes compaſſion and opinion to be on this ſide.

The Murtherers miſerable end.

The vnfortunate Gentlemen (hauing effected this great ſeruice, rifled the Arch-biſhops houſe, and after weighing the foulneſſe of what they had committed, and doubtfull whether the King, though they had done him a great pleaſure, would ſeeme ſo to acknowledge it) withdrew themſelues into the North-parts; and from thence purſued, fled into ſeuerall Countryes, where they all within foure yeares after (as is reported) dyed miſerable Fugitiues.

The King of *France* informs the Pope of *Beckets* murder.

Soone ranne the rumor of this deed, with full mouth ouer all the Chriſtian world, euery pen that had paſſion, was preſently ſet on Worke. The King of *France* (himſelfe) informes the Pope of the whole manner; with aggrauation of the foulneſſe thereof, and incites him to vſe the moſt exquiſit puniſhment he could, *To vnſheath* Peters *ſword, to reuenge the death of the Martyr of* Canterbury *whoſe blood cries out for all the Church, and whoſe diuine glory was already reuealed in miracles.*

The Earle of *Blois* informes likewiſe.

Theobald Earle of *Bloys*, a great and graue Prince (elder brother to King *Stephen*) ſends likewiſe his information to the Pope, and ſhewes him, *How he was at the peace-making betweene the King of* England *and this bleſſed Martyr; and with what a chearefull countenance, with what willingneſſe the King confirmed the agreement, granting him power to vſe his authoritie as it ſhould pleaſe the Pope and him againſt thoſe Biſhops, which had contrary to the right and dignitie of the Church of* Canterbury, *preſumed to intrude the New King into the Royall throne. And this hee would iuſtifie by his Oath, or howſoeuer; and in this peace* (ſayth he) *the man of God doubting nothing, puts his necke vnder the ſword: this innocent Lambe the morrow vpon Saint* Innocents *day, ſuffered Martyrdome: the iuſt blood was ſhed, where the ſhot of our ſaluation, the blood of Chriſt is offered* And then, *how Court dogs, the Kings familiars and domeſtickes, were his miniſters to execute this horrible act, concluding with an exhortation likewiſe of reuenge.*

The Arch-biſhop of *Sens* writes to the Pope.

But *William* Arch-biſhop of *Sens* comes with a more maine out-cry, as if he would wake the Pope, were he neuer ſo dead a ſleepe; and tels him, *How hee was appointed ouer Nations and Kingdomes, to bind their Kings in fetters, and their Nobles with manacles of Iron: that all power both in Heauen and Earth was giuen to his Apoſtle-ſhip: bids him looke how the Bore of the Wood had rooted vp the Vineyard of the Lord of Saboath, &c. and all, in that moſt powerfull phraſe of holy writ.* And after, hauing bitterly enuyed againſt the King, vſes theſe words: *It imports you, O moſt milde keeper of the Walls of* Ieruſalem, *to reuenge that which is paſt, and prouide for the future. What place ſhall be ſafe, if the rage of tyrannie ſhall imbrew the* Sancta Sanctorum *with blood, and teare in peeces the Vice-gerents of Chriſt, the foſter children of the Church, without puniſhment? Arme therefore all the Eccleſiaſticall power you may, &c.*

The King declares his innocency by Embaſſage to the Pope.

Such and ſo great was the vprore of the Church, raiſed vpon theſe motiues, as notwithſtanding the King of *England*, (then the greateſt Prince of all the Chriſtian world) imployed the moſt eſpecial men could be choſen in all his Dominions, *for reputation learning and iudgment to declare his innocencie to the Pope: to vow and proteſt that he was ſo far from willing ſuch a deede to be done, as hee was from doing it himſelfe, and how grieuouſly hee tooke the matter when he heard thereof*; yet ſo deep was the impreſſion ſetled before hand, and his name made ſo odious at *Rome*, as not onely the Pope denyed Audience to his Ambaſſadors, but euery Cardinall, and all other his Miniſters, refuſed to haue any conference

Pope and Cardinals denied audience, refuſed conference.

ference with them. Which, with the hard paſſage they had in going thither, by the many dangers and reſtraints they endured, and now the contempt they found there, did (as they ſignified to the King) much diſcourage them. Yet for all this, were there thoſe braue Spirits among them, (as great Princes haue alwayes great Miniſters) that neuer gaue ouer working to cleare their maiſters honour, by Apologies, Remonſtrances, and all whatſoeuer wit could deuiſe; and dealt ſo, as they kept off the great confounding blow of the higheſt Cenſure, though it were euery day threatned and expected. And hauing (by grauely vrging the miſchiefes, might follow in the Church; if a King of ſo great a State and ſtomacke, ſhould bee driuen to take deſparate courſes) giuen ſo pauſe, and allay to the firſt heate; they timed it out all that Spring, and a great part of the next Summer; when, although they could giue the King no great ſecurity, yet they aduertiſe him of hope. But the ſending of two Cardinalls *à Latere*, *Gratianus* and *Viuianus* downe into *Normandie*, did exceedingly vexe him. For they were rough againſt him, and would haue interdicted him, and his Dominions: but beeing fore-warned of their comming and intention, hee appeales to the preſence of the Pope, and ſo put off that trouble. Returning out of *Normandy*, into *England*, hee giues ſtrict commandement, *That no briefe-carrier of what condition or order ſoeuer, without giuing good ſecurity for his behauiour to the King and Kingdome, bee ſuffered to paſſe the Seas.*

The Conqueſt of *Irland.*

Notwithſtanding all the vexation the Church put this King into, hee left nothing vndone that concerned the aduancement of his affaires, but as if now the rather, to ſhewe his power and greatneſſe, takes this time for an expedition into *Ireland* (hauing commaunded a Nauie of foure hundred ſhipps to bee readie at *Milford Hauen* for the tranſportation of Men, Victualls, and Armour) and ſets foorth in the beginning of *November*, an vnſeaſonable time, both for thoſe Seas, and the inuaſion of a Countrey not well knowne. But the buſineſſe (it ſeemes) was well prepared fro him, hauing had an intention thereof, euer ſince the ſecond yeare of his Reigne, in which *Hee ſent a ſolemne Ambaſſage to Pope* Adrian *the fourth, to craue leaue for the ſubduement of that Country, vnder pretence of reducing thoſe rude people from their vicious faſhions to the faith and way of truth.* Which the Pope willingly granted, and returnes the Ambaſſadours, with an autenticall conceſſion thereof in writing, to this effect. *Firſt, ſhewing how laudable a thing it was, and how fitting the magnificence of ſo mighty a King, to propagate his glorious name on earth, and heape vp reward of eternall felicity in Heauen, by extending the bounds of the Church, reducing rude and vnlettered people from their vicious manners, to the verity of the Chriſtian faith and ciuilty. And then giues him power to inuade the ſame, and to execute whatſoeuer ſhould be to the Honor of God, and good of the Country, with reſeruation of* Church-rights, *and* Peter-pence (a penny of euery houſe yearely which hee had promiſed by his Ambaſſadors) and ſo concludes, with an exhortation *to plant men of good and examplar life in the Clergy, &c.*

Dermot complaint againſt *O'Conor* to King *Henry.*

But the King at that time, hauing other occaſions, left off the purpoſe of this, which comes now of late to bee againe imbraced by this meanes: *Dermot Mac Murrgh* one of the fiue Kings which then ruled that Iſland, comes vnto him into *Aquitaine* to craue his ayde againſt *Rodoricke* the Great, called *O Conor Dun*, King of *Connaught*, who contending for the Soueraigntie of the whole, had chaced him out of his Dominion of *Lemſter.*

Dermots offences.

The King of *England* (glad to finde a doore thus opened to his intention, that might yeeld paſſage of it ſelfe without beeing broken vp) intertaynes this ejected King with promiſes of ayde; and though hee could not as then furniſh him, beeing ingaged in other great affaires, hee yet permits ſuch of his ſubiects as would, to aduenture their Fortunes with him. But the occaſion of diſſention, betweene theſe two Iriſh Kings was indeede foule on the part of *Dermot*, *who had corrupted, and ſtolne away the wife of* Rodoricke, *and for that odious iniury, with his iniuſtice to his people (the common cauſes of ruining and tranſferring Kingdomes)* hee was by ſtrong hand chaced out of his Dominion of *Lemſter*; and thereupon makes out for Forraine ayde. And (hauing thus delt with the King of *England*) he betakes him into *Wales*, where firſt he wrought one *Robert Fitz*

Fitz Stephen, a man of a desperate Fortune (yet able to draw many voluntaries) to contract with him; and afterward *Richard* (of the House of *Clare*) surnamed *Strong-bow*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, commonly called (of his chiefe seate in *Monmouth-shere*) Earle of *Chepstow*, or *Strigill*, a Lord of high courage and worthinesse, which made him well followed, and of great possessions both in *England* and *Normandy*, which gaue him meanes for his entertainments. *Fitz Stephen* was perswaded by promise of rich rewards: The Earle, of marriage with *Eua* the daughter of *Dermot*, and the succession of the kingdome of *Lemster*.

The Conquest of *Ireland*.

Fitz Stephen with *Maurice Fitz Gerard*, his halfe brother by the mother, passed ouer first with a small company and landed at the place called by the *Irish* *Bag-bun*, which in *English* signifies *Holy*, and therefore interpreted as presaging good successe, whereof his rime retaines yet the memory, *At the head of* Bagge *and* Bun, Ireland *was lost and wonne*. And the next day after arriued at the same place, *Maurice de Prendergast*, with other men at armes, and many Archers in two ships, parcel of *Fitz Stephens* forces which from thence marched to the City of *Weisbford*, with Banners displayed, in so strange a forme and orded (though their number were not foure hundred) as the *Irish* vnacquainted with so vnusuall a face of Warre, were ouercome with feare, and rendred vp themselues to their mercy, with their City of *Weisbford*, which with the Countrey about was giuen by *Dermot* to *Robert Fitz Stephen*, for an encouragement to him, and hope to others. And there was planted the first Colonie of the English, which euer since hath continned, retayning still in a sort our ancient attire, and much of our language, proper onely to that City and Countrey about, and called by a distinct name, *Weisbford speech*.

Triginta Militibus.

The beginning of *May*.

1170. *Anno Reg.* 16.

The next yeare are new supplies sent out of *Wales*, and after, vpon intelligence of good successe, the Earle of *Pembrooke* arriues in the Bay of *Waterford* with two hundred men at armes, and a thousand other souldiers, takes the Towne, which was then called *Porthlarge*, puts the inhabitants to the sword (to giue terror to others, and make roome for his owne people) and there *Dermot* giues him his daughter in marriage, with the dowry of his Countrey, which, after his wickednesse had done, hee liued not to see more yeares (hauing had too many by this) and dyes miserably, leauing the Stile of *Ningal* (which signifies) *the strangers Friend*, added to his name in memory of his vnnaturall forsaking his owne Nation:

1171. *Anno Reg* 17.

Strong-bow, after hauing secured the places gotten, marches with those small forces he had ouer the Island without resistance. *Rodoricke* the great (shewing himselfe but a little Prince) kept in the *Wildes* and fastnesses of *Connaught*, and neuer came to appeare before the enemy; who passing through the Country at his pleasure, takes what pledges hee would of the inhabitants to secure their obedience, and with as little labour possest himselfe of the City of *Dublin* the head of the Island.

Thus *Wales* got vs first the Realme of *Ireland*, and (which is most strange) without stroake of battaile: a thing scarce credible, that a Countrie so populous, a Nation of that disposition, should not lift vp a hand to defend it selfe, hauing, it seemes, either neglected the vse of armour, or else neuer beene acquainted with them (other then in a naked manner of domesticke fight one with another) whereby, the terror of strange and neuer before seene forces in order of Warre, layed them prostrate to the mercy of the *Ouer-runner*.

But the King of *England* aduertised of the prosperous successe of their Aduenturers and the estate of the Countrey grew in iealousie of them, thinking they presumed farther then their subiection would allow, and would make themselues that which they must be made by him, and takes away the glory of the worke that should be onely his; causes proclamation to be made: *That no vessell should carry any thing out of his Dominions into* Ireland, *and that all his subiects should returne from thence, and leaue off their attempts, otherwise to forfeit their Estates at home.* And withall sends ouer *William Fitz Adelm*, and *Robert Fitz Barnard* with some forces to prepare the way for him, who followed shortly after, and lands eight miles from *Waterford* the Eue of Saint *Luke*, *Anno* 1172. beeing the third yeare after the first *Inuasion* made by *Fitz Stephen*.

1172. *Anno Reg.* 18.

At

At his firſt landing, *a white Hart* ſtarting out of a Buſh was taken, and preſented to him, interpreted as a preſage of a white Victory. The next day hee marches to *Waterford* where he ſtaied fifteene daies; and thither came to him of their owne accord, the Kings of *Corke*, *Limricke*, *Oxery*, *Meth*, and all of any power in *Ireland* (except *Roderick* King of *Connaught*, who ſtill kept himſelfe in the faſtneſſe of his Countrie,) *and ſubmitted themſelues with all the Clergy, taking their Oath of Fealty to him, and the yong King, and their Succeſſors for euer*; ſo theſe deuided Princes holding no common Councell for the publique ſafety: rather then to ioyne thoſe hands that had ſo often ſcratched each other, fell all from themſelues, and with the ſame emulation they had in liberty, ſtroue for their ſeruitude who would be firſt to receiue a forraine maiſter. The *Iriſh* kings ſubmiſſion.

From *Waterford* the King goes to *Dublin*, where, hee holds an Aſſembly of all theſe ſubiect Kings, with the Lords Spirituall and Temporall of *Ireland*, for the further ratification of their allegiance, and the ordering and reformation of the State. Which done hee cauſes the Biſhops with the Clergie there to aſſemble at *Caſſell*, and appoynts an eſpeciall Chaplaine of his owne, with the Arch-deacon of *Landaffe* to bee aſſiſtants and aduiſors vnto them for reformation of Church-buſineſſes, which ſeemes to haue beene as diſordred as the people. For though the Iriſh had beene long before Chriſtians, it was after a wilde and mixt faſhion, and therefore, according to his promiſe made to the late Pope, and to do a work pleaſing to the preſent, it was decreed, *That all Churche-lands ſhould bee free from exaction of ſecular men; and that from thenceforth, all Diuine things ſhould be ordered, and vſed in euery part of* Ireland *according to the manner of the Church of England*, beeing fit (as ſayth the Cannon) *that as* Ireland *hath by Gods mercy obtained a Lord and King out of* England, *ſo from thence they ſhould receiue a better forme of life, and manners, then heretofore they vſed.* *Henries* reformation of *Ireland.*

His *Chriſtmaſſe* hee keepes at *Dublin*, where he royally feaſts all Kings and great men of the Countrey; the reſt of his beeing there hee imployes in fortifying and planting Garriſons where moſt need required: he makes *Hugh Lacy* Iuſtice of all *Ireland*, giues him the keeping of *Dublin*, and beſides confirmed vnto him and his heires, by his Charter, the Country of *Meth* to hold the ſame in Fee, for the ſeruice of a hundreth Knights: hee beſtowes on *Robert Fitz Bernard* the keeping of the Townes of *Waterford*, and *Weuford* (which he tooke from *Fitz Stephen* the firſt inuador) with charge to build Caſtles in them; and to humble the Earle *Strongbow*, and leuell him with the reſt of his ſubiects, he takes from him all his dependants, and makes them his.

So was it but his winters worke to get a kingdome, which though thus eaſily won, it mooued more difficult and coſtly in the keeping, by reaſon the proſequution of a full eſtabliſhment thereof was neyther by him or his ſucceſſors (hauing other diuertuents) euer throughly accompliſhed.

On *Eaſter* monday hee ſets out for *England*, where hee makes no ſtay, but takes the yong King along in his Company, and paſſes ouer into *Normandy* to meete other two Legates (*Theodinus* and *Albertus*) who were ſent from Pope *Alexander* (but in milder faſhion then the laſt) to examine the murther of the late Arch-biſhop *Becket*. Foure moneths were ſpent in debating the matter, and in the end, the King by his Oath taken vpon the Reliques of Saints, and the Holy Euangeliſts, before the two Legates in the preſence of King *Henry* the ſon, the Arch-biſhop of *Rouen*, and all the Biſhops, and Abbots of *Normandy* in the Citie of *Auranches* purged himſelfe, of either commanding or conſenting to the murther. Yet for that he doubted leſt they who committed the ſame might be moued thereunto by ſeeing him diſturbed, and in paſſion: hee tooke the ſame Oath; that in ſatisfaction thereof, hee would faithfully performe theſe Articles following: *Firſt, neuer to forſake Pope* Alexander, *nor his Catholicke ſucceſſors ſo long as they vſed him as a Catholik King. Secondly, that Appeales ſhould freely be made to the Pope, in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall.* Prouided, that if any were ſuſpected, to worke euill to him, or his kingdome, they ſhould then put in ſecurity before they departed. *Thirdly, that hee would (from Chriſtmas next for three yeares to come) vndertake the Croſſe, & the ſommer following, in perſon go to* Ieruſalem, *vnleſſe he were ſtaid by the Pope, or his ſucceſſors, or imployed againſt the* Saracins *in* Spaine. *Fourthly, that in the meane time, he ſhould deliuer ſo much* His purgation for *Beckets* murther.

money

mony vnto the Templars hands, as by their opinion would entertaine 200. ſouldiers in the holy War for one yeare. Fifthly, call home all ſuch as had endured baniſhment for the Arch-biſhop. Sixtly, reſtore his poſſeſſions. Seuenthly, and laſtly, aboliſh all ſuch cuſtomes as in his time had beene introduced to the preiudice of the Church. After himſelfe had ſworne, he cauſed King *Henry* his ſonne to ſweare to all theſe Articles, except ſuch as concerned his owne perſon. And for a more Memory in the Roman Church, hee cauſed his Seale to bee ſet vnto them, with that of the two Cardinalls. So ended this tedious buſineſſe, that made more noyſe in the World, then any hee had, and bowed him more: beeing his ill Fortune, to grapple with a man of that free reſolution as made his ſufferings, his glory: had his ambition, beyond this World; ſet vp his reſt, not to yeelde to a King; was onely ingaged to his cauſe; had opinion, and beleefe, to take his part: Which ſo much preuailed, as the King ſeeking to maiſter him, aduanced him; and now is hee faine to kneele, and pray to his Shrine, whom hee had diſgraced in his perſon; and hauing had him aboue his will, whileſt he liued, hath him now ouer his Faith beeing dead. And yet forty eight yeares after this, ſayth the French Hiſtory, it was diſputed among the Doctors of *Paris*, whether hee were damned or ſaued: And one *Roger* a *Norman* maintayned, hee had iuſtly deſerued death, for rebelling againſt his Soueraigne, the Miniſter of God.

Both Kings ſweare to theſe Articles.

To make the better way to the ending of this buſineſſe, and content the King of *France*; *Henry* the ſonne is againe Crowned, and with him *Margaret* his Wife, with permiſſion ſhortly after, to goe viſite *Paris*; where, this young King (apt enough (though not to know himſelfe) yet to know his State, receiued thoſe inſtructions as made his ambition quite turne off his Obedience, and conceiue, *How to be a King, was to bea power aboue, and vndeniedeable.*

Henry the ſon is againe crowned with *Margaret* his wife.

And to further the birth of this apprehenſion, fell out this occaſion. The Father euer awake to aduance his greatneſſe, takes a iourney in perſon into *Anergnia*, and ſo to *Monferrato*; and there purchaſes a match for the price of fiue thouſand Markes, for his yongeſt ſonne *Iohn*, with *Alice* the eldeſt daughter of *Hurbert*, Earle of *Mauriena* (then as it ſeemes) Lord of *Piemont* and *Sauoy*, which condition to haue with her, the inheritance of all thoſe Countryes, contayning many great Signories, Cities, and Caſtles, ſpecified in *Roger Houeden*, with all the circumſtances and couenants, very remarkeable, of the contract. So vnto greatneſſe (that eaſier encreaſes then begins) is added more meanes, and euery way opens to this actiue, and powerfull King, aduantages of State, in ſo much, as the King of *France*, was euen ſurrounded with the power, and dependances of this mighty King of *England*, whoſe Fortunes moſt of all the neighbour Princes (which ſubſiſt by other, then their owne power) now follow. And being returned from concluding this match in *Piemont*, there comes to him lying at *Limoges*, *Raymond* Earle of Saint *Gyles* (by whom was giuen the firſt affront hee had in *France*) now to doe homage vnto him from the Earledome of *Tholouſe*: And there became the man of the King of *England*, and of his ſonne *Richard* Earle of *Poictou*, to hold *Tholouſe* from them (by hereditary right) for ſeruice of comming vnto them vppon their ſommons, and remayning in their ſeruice forty dayes at his owne charge: And if they would entertayne him longer, to allow him reaſonable expences. Beſides, the Earle ſhould pay yearely, for *Tholouſe*, and the appertinances, a hundred markes of ſiluer, or ten Horſes, worth ten Markes a peece.

1173. *Anno Reg.* 19.

The homage of *Raymund* Earle of Saint *Gyles* for the Earledome of *Tholouſe*.

About the ſame time alſo came the Earle *Hubert* to *Limoges* (to know what Land the King of *England*, would aſſure his ſonne *Iohn*) who reſolued to giue vnto him the Caſtles of *Chinon*, *Lodun* and *Mirable*. Wherewith King *Henry* the ſonne grew much diſpleaſed, and heere mooued his Father, eyther to reſigne vnto him, the Dutchy of *Normandie*, the Earledome of *Anion*, or the Kingdome of *England* for his maintenance: in which motion, hee was the more egar beeing incenſed by the King of *France*, and the diſcontented Lords, both of *England*, and *Normandy*, who were many, and falne, or wrought from the Father, vpon new hopes, and the aduantage of a deuided Soueraigniy.

Henry the ſon takes diſpleaſure againſt his father.

Aud though there were many other occaſions of this defection of the ſonne, from the

the Father; yet, that this for theſe Caſtles ſhould firſt be taken (may ſeeme to bee the VVorke of GODS eſpeciall iudgement) beeing thoſe peeces, which himſelfe had taken from his owne naturall brother *Geffery*, contrary to his Oath, made vnto his Father as is before related: ſo (as if to tell iniuſtice, that it muſt bee duely repayed) the ſame Caſtles are made, to bring miſchiefe vppon him, and to giue a beginning to the fouleſt diſcorde that could bee: VVherein hee had not onely the Children of his owne body, but the VVife of his Bed to Conſpire, and practiſe againſt him.

For, hereuppon the ſonne ſuddainly breaking away from the Father came to *Paris*, where, the King of *France* (who had no other meanes to preuient the ouer-growing of a neighbour but to deuide him) ſommons and ſolicites the Princes of *France*, and all the friends hee could make, to ayde King *Henry* the ſonne againſt the father, and to take their Oath, *eyther diſpoſſeſt him of his Eſtate, or bring him to their owne conditions.* The young King likewiſe ſweares vnto them, *Neuer to haue peace with his Father without their conſents, and all ſweares to giue vnto* Phillip *Earle of* Flanders, *for his aide, a thouſand pounds Engliſh by the yeare, with the County of* Kent, Douer *and* Rocheſter *Caſtles: To* Mathew *Earle of* Bologne *brother to the ſaid Earle, for his ſeruice,* Kerton Soak *in* Lindſey, *the Earldome of* Morton *with the* Honor of Heize: *To* Theobald *Earle of* Bloys, *two hundred pounds by yeare in* Aniou: *the Caſtle of* Amboys *with all the right hee pretended in* Tureine, *&c.* And all theſe Donations with diuers others, hee confirmed by his *new Seale,* which the King of *France* cauſed to be made. Beſides, by the ſame Seale, *He confirmed to the King of* Scots, *for his ayde, all* Northumberland *vnto* Tyne: *and gaue to the brother of the ſame King, for his ſeruice, the Earledomes of* Huntingdon *and* Cambridge. *To the Earle* Hugh Bigot *the Caſtle of* Norwich: *other Earles of* England, *as* Robert *Earle of* Leiceſter, Hugh *Earle of* Cheſter, Roger Mowbray, *&c. had likewiſe their rewards and promiſes of the* Lyons skin, *that was yet aline.*

Beſides, they draw into their party *Richard* and *Geffery*, whoſe youths (apt to bee wrought on, for increaſe of their allowance) are eaſily intiſed; and with them their mother inraged with iealouſie, and diſdaine for her husbands conceiued abuſed of her bed. So that, this great King in the middeſt of his glory, about the twentieth yeare of his Reigne, comes ſuddainly forſaken of his owne people, and is driuen through diſtruct to hire, and entertayne ſtrange forces; procuring twenty thouſand *Brabanſons* (which were certayne Mercenaries commonly called the Routs or Coſterels) for the recouery and holding of his Eſtate. And ſome few faithfull Miniſters hee had (notwithſtanding this generall defection) who tooke firmely to him; as *William* Earle *Mandeuile*, *Hugh de Lacy*, *Hugh de Beauchamp*, *&c.*

But howſoeuer we haue ſeene the beſt of this Kings glory, and though hee had after this, good ſucceſſes, hee had neuer happineſſe; labour hee did all meanes to haue qualified the heate of his diſtempered ſonne, by many meditations of peace: offering all conuenient allowances for his Eſtate, but all would not preuaile: his ſword is drawne, and with him the King of *France* with all his forces enters vppon his Territories on that ſide the Sea; on this the King of *Scots* ſeizes vpon *Northumberland*; and makes great ſpoyles. The olde King complaines to the Emperour, and all the neighbour Princes his friends, of the vnnaturall courſes of his ſonne, and of his owne improuident aduancing him. *William* King of *Sicile* writes, and condoles his misfortunes, but lay too farre off to helpe him.

The King of *France* beſieges *Vernoul* a place of great ſtrength, and importance, which *Hugh de Lacy*, and *Hugh de Beauchamp* valiantly defended, and after a monthes ſiege, they of the Towne (victualls fayling) obtayned truce of the King of *France*, and permiſſion to ſend vnto their Soueraigne for ſuccour, *Which if it came not within three dayes, they would render the Citty, and in the meane time their Hoſtages.* The peremptorie day was the Eue of Saint *Lawrence*. The King of *France* with King *Henry* the ſonne, and with diuers great Lords and Biſhops ſwore, if they rendred the Citty at the day appoynted, their hoſtages ſhould bee re-deliuered, and no dammage done to the Cittie.

King *Henry* the Father with all the forces he could make, came iuſt at the limitted day; diſpoſes his Armie to ſtrike Battaile with his enemies; but the King of *France* to auoyde the ſame, ſends the Arch-biſhop of *Sens*, and the Earle of *Bloys* to mediate a parle, which was appoynted the morrow: this day loſt, loſt *Vernoul*. For, to the morrow Parle, the King of *France* neyther comes, nor ſends; but had entrance into the Towne (according to couenants) which contrary to his Oath, hee ſackes, takes with him the hoſtages, and ſpoyle thereof: remooues his Campe, and leaues the King of *England* diſappoynted; who that night, after hauing perſued the flying Army with ſome ſpoyle, enters into *Vernoul* and the morrow ſurpriſes *Danuile* a Caſtles of his enemies, with many Priſoners. Thence he goes to *Rouen*, whence, hee ſent his *Brabanſons* into *Brittaine* againſt *Hugh* Earle of *Cheſter*, and *Ralph Fulgers*, who had poſſeſt themſelues almoſt of the whole Country; but beeing not able to reſiſt the Kings forces in the Field, they with all the great men in thoſe parts, and that ſide of *France* recouered the Caſtles of *Dole*; where, they Fortified and kept themſelues, till King *Henry* the Father came in perſon, beſieged and tooke it; and with them, about foure ſcore Lords, men of name and action. Whereuppon all the reſt of the Countrey yeelded themſelues.

This ouerthrow beeing of ſuch import, ſo terrified the Aduerſaries, as they negotiate a Peace, and a Parle is appointed betweene *Giſors* and *Try*, wherein the King of *England*, (though he had the better of the day) condeſcended to make offer to his ſonne *Of halfe the reuennes of the Crowne of* England, *with foure conuenient Caſtles therein*; or if hee had rather remayne in *Normandie, halfe the reuennes thereof, and all the reuennes of the Earledome of Anion, &c. To his ſonne* Richard *he offers halfe the reuennes of* Aquitaine *and foure Caſtles in the ſame. To* Geffery, *the Land that ſhould come vnto him by the daughter of the Earle* Conon. *Beſides, he ſubmitted himſelfe to the arbitration of the Arch-biſhop of* Tarento, *and the Popes Legates, to adde any allowance more as in their iudgments ſhould bee held fit, reſeruing vnto himſelfe his Iuſtice and Royall power*: which yeelding grants, ſhewed how much hee deſired this peace.

But it was not in the purpoſe of the King of *France*, that the ſame ſhould take effect: for ſuch peruerſineſſe and indignitie, was offered to King *Henry* in this Treaty, as *Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter*, is ſayde to haue reproached him to his face, and offered to draw his ſword vpon him; ſo that, they brake off in turbulent manner, and their troupes fell preſently to bickering betweene *Curteles*, and *Giſors*, but the French had the worſe.

The Earle of *Leiceſter* with an Army, makes ouer into *England*, is receyued by *Hugh Bigot*, into the Caſtle of *Fremingham*. *Richard de Lucy* Chiefe Iuſtice of *England*, and *Humphrey Bohun* the Kings Conſtable, being vpon the borders of *Scotland*, hearing thereof, makes truce with the King of Scots. And haſte to Saint *Edmonſbury* where the Earles of *Cornwall*, *Gloceſter*, and *Arundell* ioyne with them; they encounter the Earle of *Leiceſter*, at a place called *Farnham*, ouerthrew his Army, ſlew tenne thouſand Flemings; tooke him, his Wife, and diuers great Priſoners, which were ſent vnto the King in *Normandy*, who, with his Army was not there idle, but daily got Caſtles, and Forts from his enemies, vntill Winter conſtrayned both Kings to take truce till Eaſter following; and the like did the Biſhop of *Dureſme* with the king of *Scots*, for which hee gaue him three thouſand markes of ſiluer, to bee payed out of the Lands of the Barons of *Northumberland*.

1174. *Anno Reg.* 20. *Henry* the fathers arriuall in *England*.

The Spring came on, and the truce expired: King *Henry* the Sonne, and *Phillip* Earle of *Flaunders*, are ready at *Graueling*, with a great Army for *England*. The King of *Scots* is entered *Northumberland*, and ſends his brother *Dauid* with a power to ſuccour the remnant of the forces, of the Earle of *Leiceſter*, which held the Towne of *Leiceſter*, but without ſucceſſe: for *Richard Lucy*, and the Earle of *Cornwall* had beſore raced the City, and taken *Robert Mowbray*, comming likewiſe to ayde thoſe of the Caſtle.

King *Henry* the Father vpon his ſonnes preparation for *England*, drawes his forces from his other imployments, and brings them downe to *Barbfleet*, arriues at *Southampton* with

with his Priſoners, Queene *Elionor*, *Margaret* the wife of his ſonne *Henry*, the Earles of *Leiceſter* and *Cheſter*, and from thence goes to *Canterbury* to viſit the Sepulcher of his owne Martyr, and performe his vowes for his Victories. And they write how comming within ſight of the Church, *He alights, and went three miles on his bare feete, which with the hard ſtones were forced to yeeld bloody tokens of his deuotion on the way.* And as, if to recompence (the merrit of this Worke) they note, *How the very day when hee departed from* Canterbury, *the King of* Scots *to be ouerthrowne and taken at Alnwicke*, by the Forces of the Knights of *Yorke-ſhire*, which are named to be: *Robert de Stutcuile, Odonel de Humfreuile, William de Veſcy, Ralph de Glanuile, Ralph de Tilly*, and *Bernard Baliol.*

King *Henry* viſites *Beckets* Sepulcher.

Lewis King of *France*, hearing of King *Henries* paſſage into *England*, and the taking of the King of *Scots*, calls backe *Henry* the ſonne, and the Earle of *Flaunders* from *Graueſha*, where, they ſtayed expecting the Winde, and beſiedged *Roan* on all ſides ſauing that of the Riuer. The whilſt King *Henry* is quieting and ſetling the State of *England*, where hee had firſt the Caſtle of *Huntingdon* rendred vnto his mercy, ſauing the liues, and members of the Defendants; then the Caſtles of *Fremingham* and *Bungaie*, which the Earle of *Bigot* helde by force of *Flemings*, from whom (The Earles ſubmiſſion could hardly obtayne pardon) but in the ende they were ſent home. From thence hee goes to *Northampton*; Where, hee receiues the King of *Scots* his priſoner, and the Caſtles of *Dureſme*, *Norham*, and *Alnerton* rendred into his hands by the Biſhop of *Dureſme*; who, for all his ſeruice done in the North, ſtood not cleare in the Kings opinion. There came likewiſe thither *Roger de Mowbray* yeelding vp himſelfe with his Caſtle of *Treske*: The Earle *Ferrers*, his Caſtles of *Tutsbury*, and *Dufficld*: *Anketill*, *Mallory* and *William Dine*, Conſtables of the Earle of *Leiceſter*, the Caſtles of *Leiceſter*, *Montſorill* and *Groby*; ſo that within three weekes, all *England* was quieted, and all without drawing of ſword, which in thoſe manly dayes ſeemed onely reſerued for the field.

The King of Scots his Priſoner.

This done, and ſupplied with one thouſand Welſhmen: King *Henry* with his Priſoners, the King of *Scots*, the Earles of *Leiceſter* and *Cheſter*, paſſes ouer into *Normandy*, to the reliefe of *Roan*: where thoſe thouſand Welſhmen ſent ouer the Riuer *Sienc*, entred, and made way through the Campe of the King of *France*, ſlew a hundred of his men, and recouered a Woode without any loſſe of theirs. After which exployt, the King of *England* (cauſing the gates of the City, to be ſet open, the Barracadoes taken away, the trenches they had made, betweene the French Campe and the City, to bee filled vp againe, with rubbiſh and timber) marched foorth with troupes, to prouoke the enemy, but without any anſwere at all. In the ende the King of *France*, ſends away the weakeſt of his people before, and followed after with the reſt, vppon ſufferance of the King of *England*, by the mediation of the Arch-biſhop of *Sens*, and the Earle of *Bloys*, who vndertooke that hee ſhould the next day come to a parle of peace, which hee performed not.

King *Henry* fauours the *French* army.

But ſhortly after (ſeeing this action had ſo little aduantaged eyther him, or thoſe for whom hee pretended to haue vndertaken it) hee imployes the former Agents againe to the King of *England*: and peace, with a reconciliation is concluded betweene him, and his ſonnes. But with more reſeruation on his part, then had beene by the former treaty offered, as hauing now, more of power, and the aduantage of Fortune; and yet yeelding ſo much, as ſhewed, *The goodneſſe of his Nature was not ouer-ſwayed by his ambition*; all his proceeding in this Warre witneſſing, that *neceſſity did euer worke more then his will.*

The King and his ſonne reconciled as the Charter of Peace ſhewes. *Roger Houen.*

And at the ſigning of the Charter of this Peace, when his ſonne *Henry* would haue done him homage (which is perſonall ſeruice) hee refuſed to take it, becauſe hee was a King, but receiued it of *Richard*, and *Geffery*. Yet after this, *Henry* the ſonne to free his Father of all ſcruple, became his Liege-man, and ſwore Fealty vnto him againſt all men, in the preſence of the Arch-biſhop of *Rouen*, the Biſhop of *Bayeux*, the Earle *Mandeuile*, and a great Nobility.

At the Concluding of this ſame Peace, the Earle of *Flaunders* yeelded vp to King

Henry the Father, the Charter made vnto him by the ſonne for the remuneration, and had another confirmed for the penſion hee had yearely out of *England* before this War, which was 1000. *Markes out of the Exchequer*, afterward granted vppon condition *of Homage, and for finding the King of* England *yearely fiue hundred ſouldiers for the ſpace of forty daies vpon ſummons giuen.*

This ſame buſineſſe ended, the Father, and the Sonne makes their Progreſſes into all their Prouinces on that ſide, to viſite and reforme the diſorders of Warre, and to ſettle their Affayres there. *Richard* is ſent into *Aquitaine*: and *Gefferie* into *Brittaine*, vppon the ſame buſineſſe, and there left with their Counſells to looke to their owne.

1175. *Anno Reg.21.* The two Kings, Father and Sonne ſhortly after returne into *England*, where reformation in the Gouernment needed as much as in *France*; and heere had the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſummoned a Councell of the Clergie, wherein were many enormities of the Church reformed, as may bee ſeene in the Canons of that Synod. The King ſupplies all Vacancies, and giues to *Iohn de Oxenford*, (that great Miniſter of his) the Biſhopricke of *Norwich*: Then takes hee into his hands all the Caſtles hee could ſeize vpon; amongſt other the Tower of *Briſtoll*, which was rendered by the Earle of *Gloceſter*, and was neuer in his hands before. *Hee takes penalties both of Clerkes and Lay-men, who had treſpaſſed his Forreſts in time of Hoſtilitie*: for which he is taxed of wrong, *Richard Luey* Iuſtice of *England*, hauing warrant by the Kings precept to diſcharge them for the ſame. But the profit which they yeelded him, made him take the ſtricter regard therein. For after the death of *Alane de Neuile* which had beene chiefe Iuſtice of all the Forreſts of *England*, hee deuides them into diuers parts, appointing *to euery part foure Iuſtices*, whereof *two to be Clerkes, and two Knights, and two Seruants of his Houſhold, to be Keepers of the Game ouer all other Forreſters, either of the Kings, Knights, or Barons whatſoeuer, and gaue them power to implea, according to the Aſſiſe of the Forreſt.*

All Vacancies ſupplied by the King.

1176. *Anno Reg.22.* The King being at *Yorke*, there came vnto him *William* King of *Scots*, with almoſt all the Biſhops, Abbots, and Nobility of *Scotland*, and confirmed the Peace, and finall concorde which had formerly beene, in the time of his impriſonment, at *Faleiſe* in in *Normandy*: before all the greateſt Eſtates of both Kingdomes; the Tenour whereof is to be ſeene in *Roger Houeden.*

After this, a Councell is called at *Windſor*, whether repayre certayne Biſhops of *Ireland*, and the Chancelour of *Roderick* King of *Connaught*, for whom a finall concord is concluded, vpon doing Homage, Fealty, and a Tribute to be payd, which was, *Of euery ten Beaſts, one ſufficient Hide, within his Kingdome, and thoſe Prouinces that held thereof.*

The Kingdome deuided into ſixe parts for Iuſtice.

VVithin a while after, a Councell or Parliament is aſſembled at *Nottingham*, and by aduice and conſent thereof, the King cauſed *The Kingdome to bee deuided into ſixe parts, and conſtitutes for euerie part three Iuſtices itinerants, cauſing them to take an Oath vpon the Holy Euangeliſts, faithfully for themſelues to obſerue, and cauſe inuiolably to be obſerued of all his Subiects of* England, *the Aſſiſes made at* Claringdone, *and renued at Northampton*, which Aſſiſes were chiefly *for Murther, Theft, Robbery, and their receiuers: for deceipts, and burning of Houſes*, which facts if found *by the Verdict of twelue men*, the *accuſed* were to paſſe the tryall *of Water Ordeil*, whereby, if not acquitted, *their puniſhment*, was *loſſe of a leg, or Baniſhment*, that Age ſeemed to hold it a greater example of a Malefactor miſerably liuing, then of one dead, for as yet they came *not ſo farre as blood*, in thoſe caſes.

And yet wee finde in the Reigne of this King, that one *Gilbert Plumton* Knight, accuſed for a Rape, before *Ranulph de Glanuile*, Chiefe Iuſtice of *England* (deſirous, (ſayth *Houeden*) by vniuſt ſentence to condemne him) was adiudged, to bee hanged on a Gibbet; VVhereunto, when hee was brought, and in the hands of the Executioner, the people ranne out crying, *That an vnocent and iuſt Perſon ought not ſo to ſuffer.* *Balduin* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, a religious man and fearing God, hearing the claymor of the people, and the iniury done to this miſerable Creature, came foorth, and

and forbade them, *from the part of the Omnipotent God, and vnder paine of Excommunication that they should not put him to death that day, being Holy, and the Feast of Saint Mary Magdalen*; whereupon the execution was put off till the morrow. That night meanes was wrought to the King, who commaunded *a stay to bee made till other order were taken*, being informed that for the enuy which *Glanuile* bare to this *Planton*, hee was desirous to put him to death, in regard hee had married the daughter of *Roger Gubwast* an inheritrix, whom hee would haue had *Reiner* his Shriefe of *Yorkeshiere* to haue had; which act leaues a foule stayne of Iniustice, vppon the memory of this Chiefe Iustice *Glanuile*: In the time of whose Office, a tract of the Lawes, and Customes of the Kingdome of *England* was composed, which now passes vnder his name.

The charge giuen for businesses in these Assises, consisted but of very few poynts besides those fellonies, and was especially *for taking Homage, and Liegancy of all the Subiects of* England: *Demolishing of Castles, the Rights of the King, his Crowne and Exchequer.* The multitude of actions which followed in succeeding times, grew out of new transgressions, and the increase of Law and Litigation, which was then but in the Cradle. 1177. *Anno Reg.* 13.

William King of *Sicile* sends and craues to haue *Ioan* the Kings Daughter in marriage. Whereupon the King calls a Parliament, and by the Vniuersall Councell of the Kingdome, granted his daughter to the King of *Sicile*; to whom she was shortly after sent, and there honourably indowed with many Cities, and Castles, as may appeare by the Charter of that King. *William* king of *Sicile* matches with *Ioan* the kings daughter. *Rog. Houed.*

But the great Match that was prouided for Earle *Iohn* became frustrate by the death of *Alice*, daughter to the Earle of *Mauriana*, and he is married to the daughter of *William* Earle of *Glocester*, by whom he was to haue that Earldome. This *William* was sonne to *Robert*, brother to *Maude* the Empresse.

The same yeare also, hee marries *Elionor*, another of his Daughters to *Alphonso*, King of *Castile*, and takes vp the controuersie betweene him, and his Vncle *Sanctio* King of *Nauarre*, about the detention of certayne bordering peeces, of each others Kingdome, both the Kings hauing referred the businesse to his arbitration.

Likewise, the Marriage which should haue beene betweene his sonne *Richard*, and *Alice* Daughter to the French King, (committed heeretofore to his custody and gouernment) was agayne treated on, and vrged hard, by the Popes Legate to bee consummated vppon payne of interdiction. But yet it was put off for that time, and both Kings notwithstanding concluded a perpetuall League, and amity to ayde each other against all men, and to bee enemies to each others enemies. Besides, they both Vowed an expedition, to the Holy Land in person, which they liued not to performe. 1178. *Anno Reg.* 24.

The King of *France* vppon a dangerous sickenesse of his sonne *Philip*, vowes a Visitation of the Sepulcher of *Thomas* the Martyre of *Canterbury*: And vppon Lycence and safe Conduct of the King of *England*, performes the same with great Deuotion, and rich Presents. First, *Offering vppon his Tombe, a massie Cup of Gold*, and after, *gaue and confirmed by his Charter three thousand, fiue hundred Sextaries of Wine* for the Monkes, annually to be receiued at *Poissi*, at the charge of the King of *France*; and beside, freed them from all Tolle and Custome, for whatsoeuer they should buy in his Kingdome. A Sextary is eight English quarts, and 36. Sextaries is a Modius of VVine. *Rud.*

After hauing stayed there three dayes, hee returnes towards *France*, Conducted by the King of *England* to *Douer*. The Sonne recouers health, but the Father lost his in this iourney; for comming to Saint *Denis*, hee was taken with a Palsie, and liued not long after. The weakenesse of his Age, and disease mooued him presently to haue his sonne *Philip* (beeing but fifteene yeares of Age) to bee Crowned King in his life time, which was done at *Reimes*, *Anno* 1179. 1179. *Anno Reg.* 25.

Henry Duke of *Saxony* (who had married *Maude* daughter to King *Henry*) was expelled his Dutchy, and banished by the Emperour *Frederick* the third, for seauen yeares, for 1180. *Anno Reg.* 26.

for detayning the reuenues, which the Arch-biſhop of *Cologne* had out of *Saxonie*; and refuſing to come vnto tryall at the Imperiall Chamber, according to his Faith, and promiſe made to the Emperour. So that hee was driuen to come (for ſuccour with his Wife and Children) to his Father in Law, into *England*. Where hee remayned three yeares, and vpon the comming of the Arch-biſhop of *Cologne* to viſit the Sepulcher of *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, meanes was wrought to reſtore him to his Dutchy: and a motion is made of marriage for *Richard* the Kings ſonne, with the daughter of the Emperour *Fredericke* (notwithſtanding the contract made with *Alice* daughter to the King of *France* long before) but the laſt intention was made fruſtrate, by the death of the Emperours Daughter.

King *Henry* ſends his ſonne *Iohn* to reſide in *Ireland*, to the end (that the Maieſty of a Court, and the number of the attendants which the ſame would draw thither) might both awe, and ciuiliſe that Countrey: But hee beeing accompanied with many Gallants, young as himſelfe, who ſcorning, and deriding the Iriſh (in regard of their rude habits and faſhions) wrought an ill effect. For it turned out three of their greateſt Kings (*Limmerick*, *Conact*, and *Corke*) into open act of rebellion; *Gens enim hæc, ſicut & natio quæuis barbara, quanquam honorem neſciant, honorati tamen, ſupra modum affectant*, ſayth *Giroldus Cambrenſis*.

The King ſends after monies giuen to pious vſes by Teſtators of the Clergy.

Now this fayre time of peace, which King *Henry* enioyed gaue him leaſure to ſeeke out all meanes to ſupply his Coffers, wherein hee was very Vigilant: And hearing of the great ſummes (which *Roger* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, had giuen by his Teſtament to godly vſes) ſends Commiſſioners to finde out, and to ſeize the ſame to his owne vſes, alledging, *That the Arch-biſhop had giuen Iudgement in his life time, that it was againſt Law, any Eccleſiaſtical perſon ſhould diſpoſe any thing by will (vnleſſe before hee were ſicke,)* and that himſelfe had done contrary to his owne Decree. The Commiſſioners hauing found out, that *Hugh* Biſhop of *Durham* had receiued of the Arch-biſhop three hundred Markes of ſiluer to bee beſtowed in thoſe vſes, demaund the ſame for the King. The Biſhop replyes, *That hauing receiued it from the hands of the Arch-biſhop, hee had according to his will, diſtributed the ſame amongſt the Lepros, Blinde, and Lame; in repayring Churchs, Bridges, and Hoſpitalls: So that who would haue it, muſt gather it vp againe of them.* Which anſwere ſo diſpleaſed the King, as (beſides the ſeizing vpon the Caſtle of *Dureſme*) hee wrought this Biſhop much vexation.

The Vacancy of *Lincolne* held 18. yeares to the Kings vſe.

His meanes certayne (beſides the Reuenue of his Demeſne, and the benefit of the Forreſts) were not then great in *England*; which cauſed him oftentimes in his neceſſities to bee bold with the Church, and to hold their Benefices Vacant; as hee did the Biſhopricke of *Lincolne* eighteene yeares. Hee made a new Coyne in *England*, which was round, decryed the Olde, and put all the Coyners to great ranſome for corrupting the Olde money. And beſides to ſaue his purſe (in regard euery continuall charge of Horſe, and Armour was heauy vnto him,) hee cauſed euery mans Lands and ſubſtance to bee rated for the Furniſhing thereof. And firſt beganne the ſame, in his Dominions beyond the Seas: Ordayning, *That whoſoeuer had a hundred pounds Anioun money in goods, and chattle, ſhould finde a Horſe, and all Millitary furniture thereunto; and whoſoeuer had in chattle forty, thirty, or twenty pounds Anioun money, ſhould finde a Corſlet, Head-peece, Launce and Sword: or Bow and Arrowes*, with a ſtrict prohibition, *That no man ſhould ſell or pawne his Armour, but bee bound to leaue it when he dyed, to his next heire.* And this Order afterward, hee eſtabliſhed in *England*, by conſent of the State. The King of *France*, and the Earle of *Flanders* by his example did the like in their Countries.

1181. *Anno Reg.* 17.

Great and manifold were the expences of this mighty King, in reſpect of his entertaynments, penſions, and rewards, hauing ſo wide an Eſtate, and ſo many euer in his worke, both of his owne, and others who muſt alwayes be fed. And beſides, oftentimes he is faine to bribe the Popes Legates, in his buſineſſe with the King of *France*, to haue them fauourable for his ends: to ſend many ſupplies, by their perſwaſions, and for his owne reputation, to the Holy Warre.

Anno

Anno 1182. (ſayth *Walſingham*) he relieued the neceſſity of the *Ieroſolomitans*, with two and forty thouſand Markes of ſiluer, and fiue hundred Markes of gold, which was in money, ſeauen and forty thouſand, three hundred, thirty three pounds, ſixe ſhilling eight pence. And when Pope *Lucius* diſtreſſed by the *Romans*, deſired an ayde out of *England*, the King ſent him a mighty ſumme of Gold and Siluer; in leauying whereof, the Clergie heere delt very circumſpectly; for when the Popes *Nuncij* came to deſire the ſame, they aduiſed the King; that according to his will, and honour hee himſelfe ſhould ſupply the Popes occaſion, as well for himſelfe, as them: for that it was more tollerable, that their Lord and King, ſhould receiue from them, the returne of that ayde, then that the Popes *Nuncij* ſhould; which might bee taken for a cuſtome to the detriment of the Kingdome.

1182. *Anno Reg.* 28. *Henry* 2. relieued Pope *Lucius* and the *Ieroſolomitans* with great ſummes of gold and ſiluer.

Now (about eight yeares) had the peace continued betweene the two Kings, Father and the Sonne, when againe new flames of vntam'd diſcord began to breake out; the occaſion whereof as farre as can be diſcouered (in the vncertaine paſſages of that time) wee finde to bee this.

1183. *Anno Reg.* 29. Great diſtaſts often-times breake vp with great diſcontentments.

Anno Reg. 29. After a great Chriſtmas kept at *Caen* in *Normandy*, with his Sonnes *Henry*, *Richard* and *Geffery*, the Duke of *Saxony* with his Wife and Children, beſides a great Nobility of all parts: The King willed King *Henry* his ſonne, to take the Homages of his brother *Richard* Earle of *Poictou*, and *Geffery* Earle of *Britaine*. *Richard* refuſes to doe it (but vppon perſwaſion) beeing afterwards content; his brother refuſes to take the ſame. Whereuppon with great indignation *Richard* departs from his Fathers Court in *Poictou*; Mans and furniſhes his Caſtles there. The King his brother followes by inſtigation of the Barons of *Poitou* and *Aquitaine*, who were falne from *Richard*, and adhered to the young King (as men that vnderſtood what would become of younger brothers eſtates in ſuch Dominions, where the elder brothers birthright, and power, would carry all) and *Geffery* Earle of *Britaine* takes the King his brothers part, comes with forces to ayde him.

Henry and his ſonnes accorded.

Richard ſends for ſuccour to his Father, who with a powerfull Army (rather to conſtrayne them to a peace, then to make Warre) came downe into *Poitou*, where againe his three Sonnes after the debatement of their grieuances ſwore to obey, and ſerue their Father, and to hold perpetuall peace among themſelues. And for the farther ratification of this Concord, they meete at *Mirabel*, where *Henry* the Sonne, deſires, that the Barons of *Poitou* and *Aquitaine* (whom hee had ſworne to defend againſt his brother *Richard*) might bee there at the concluding this peace, and to bee pardoned for any former act committed. Which requeſt is granted, and *Geffery* Earle of *Britaine* ſent to bring the Barons thither. But the Barons (holding this peace, either not ſafe, or not profitable) ſo worke, as they win the meſſenger to take their part againſt the Father, and keepe him with them.

Henry the ſonne notwithſtanding continues to mediate ſtill for the Barons, and to get his Father, and brother *Richard* to receiue them into grace. And vndertaking to bring in both them, and his brother *Geffery*; is permitted by the Father to goe treate with them at *Limoges*, whether alſo, by another way, and with ſmall Company, it was agreed the Father ſhould come, which he did; but his approach was met with arrowes, ſo dangerouſly ſhot at his perſon, as the next man to him was ſlayne, and himſelfe with his ſonne *Richard*, forced to retire from the place. And yet afterwards, deſirous out of a Fatherly affection to haue conference with his ſonnes for the quiet ending of this buſineſſe, (vpon their aſſurance of his ſafety) hee enters into the City: When againe from the Caſtle is ſhot a barbed arrow, which had tooke him directly on the breaſt, had not his Horſe by the ſuddaine lifting vp his head, receiued it in the fore-head. Which act his ſonnes neuer ſought to finde out and puniſh, but ſtill, vnder-hand held amity with the Barons. At length, notwithſtanding King *Henry* the ſonne comes to the Father, and proteſts, that vnleſſe the Barons would come and yeelde themſelues at the Kings feete, hee would vtterly renounce them: And after, hauing againe (vppon his Fathers promiſe of pardon and peace) deale with them: and finding as hee auowed their obſtinacy, made ſhew to forſake their party, and returnes to his Father with great ſubmiſſion, de-

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liuering vp vnto him his Horſe and Armour in aſſurance thereof.

But many dayes hee ſpent not with him, when againe (eyther for the intended reuenge hee found his Father meant to proſecute againſt the Barons) whoſe protection hauing vndertaken, hee held himſelfe in this honour, engaged to preſerue: or by the working of ſome mutinous Miniſters about him, whoſe element was not peace: he againe enters Oath and League with them. But therein finding his power ſhort of his will, and deſperate of all ſucceſſe in his courſes; hee ſuddainly breakes out into an extreame paſſion before his Father, falls proſtrate at the Shrine of Saint *Martial*, and vowes preſently to take vpon him the Croſſe, and to giue ouer all worldly buſineſſe beſide.

The inconſtancy of king Henry the ſonne.

His vowe.

With which ſtrange and ſuddaine paſſion, the Father much mooued, beſought his ſon with teares to alter that raſh reſolution, and to tell him truly, whether indignation, or religion induced him thereunto. The ſonne proteſts, that it was meerely for the remiſſion of his ſinnes, committed againſt his perſon. And vnleſſe his Father would now giue him leaue (without which hee could not goe) he would there inſtantly kill himſelfe in his preſence. The Father (after hauing vſed all meanes to diſſwade him, and finding him full obſtinate) ſayd vnto him; *Sonne, Gods will be done, and yours; for your furniſhing, I will take ſuch order as ſhall befit your Eſtate.*

His reſolution.

The ſonne (whilſt the Fathers paſſion had made him tender) wrought thereuppon, and beſought him, that he would deale mercifully with thoſe of the Caſtles of *Limoges*, the Barons of *Aquitaine*, and pardon them. To which, the Father in the end (though vnwillingly) yeelds, ſo that, they would put in their pledges for ſecuring their fidelity, and the peace; which they ſeemed content to doe. But vpon the deliuery, and receiuing of theſe pledges, new ryots were committed, by ſuch as could not endure the peace (which is neuer faithfull, but where men are voluntary pacified:) and theſe young Princes againe take part with their Confederates, and are made the heads of rebellion, committing rapine, and ſacriledge to ſupply their neceſſities, and feede their followers.

His requeſt for the Barons of *Aquitaine*.

And in the end, the young King hauing much ſtrugled in vaine, through griefe and vexation of ſpirit (which cauſed the diſtemperature of body) fell into a burning feuer with the fluxe, whereof, within few dayes hee dyed. A Prince of excellent parts, who was firſt caſt away by his Fathers indulgence, and after by his rigor; not ſuffering him to be what himſelfe had made him, neither got hee ſo much by his Coronation, as to haue a name *in the Catalogue* of the Kings of *England*.

His Death.

The ſorrow of the Father (although it be ſayd to bee great) hindred not his reuenge vpon the Barons of *Aquitaine*; whom he now moſt eagerly perſecuted, ſeazed on their Caſtles, and raced to the ground that of *Lymoges*.

Geffery vpon his ſubmiſſion, is receiued into grace, and the yeare after dyed at *Paris*: hauing (in a conflict beene troden vnder horſes feete, and miſerably cruſhed: ſo that halfe the male iſſue wherein this King was vnfortunate, hee ſaw extinct before him, and that by deaths as violent, as were their diſpoſitions. The other two, who ſuruiued him, were no leſſe miſerable in their ends.

Earle *Gefferies* ſubmiſſion and death.

Now the young King of *Briance*, *Philip* the ſecond (in whoſe fate it was, to do more then euer his Father could effect, vpon the death of *Henry* the ſonne) requires the deliuery of the Country of *Vexin*, which was giuen in dowre with his Siſter *Margaret*, but the King of *England*, (not apt to let goe any thing of what hee had in poſſeſſion) was content to pay yearely to the Queene *Dowager*, 17050. pounds *Anioun*. And the more to hold faire with this young King, whoſe ſpirit, hee ſaw, grew great, and actiue, and with whom hee was like to haue much to doe, did homage vnto him, for all hee held in *France*, which hee neuer did to the Father, being the firſt deſcent of Maieſty, he euer made to any ſecular power. And beſide, tooke his part againſt *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*, who oppoſed againſt him, and was in thoſe dayes a Prince of mighty power, and had euer ſtood faſt vnto King *Lewis* the Father. But now *Philip* the ſonne otherwiſe led, or affectioned, quarrels with him, and demaunds the Country of *Vermendois*, as appertayning to the Crowne of *France*: and withall, vpon allegation of conſanguinity repudiates his wife, Neece to this Earle of *Flanders*, giuen vnto him by his Fathers

1184. *Anno Reg.* 30. *Henry* the ſecond doth homage to *Philip* king of *France*.

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choyce a little before his death. The Earle followed by *Odo* Earle of *Burgogne*, the Earles of *Champaigne*, *Hainalt*, *Namur*, Saint *Pol*, and others, warres vpon the King of *France*, and commits great ſpoyles within his territories, ſo that hee was faine in the ende to compound with him to his diſaduantage. After this, the Kings of *England*, and *France*, meete betweene *Giſors* and *Try*; where the King of *England* ſweares to deliuer *Alice*, vnto *Richard* his ſonne. And the King of *France* her brother grants her in Dowery, the Countrey of *Vexin*, which *Margaret* his other Siſter had before.

The Earle of *Flanders* compels the King of *France* to compound.

But theſe tyes held them not long together, for the young King of *France* ſo wrought with *Richard*, as hee drew him from his Fathers obedience, and they liued together in that amity, as one bed and boord is ſayd to haue ſerued them, both which ſo enrag'd the old King, as hee called home his ſonne, and before his Biſhops and Nobility, cauſed him to ſweare vppon the Euangeliſts, to obſerue fealty vnto him, againſt all perſons whatſoeuer; which hauing done, and ready to paſſe ouer into *England*, he is informed of the great preparation made by the King of *France*, who gaue out, that hee would ſpoyle and ranſacke both *Normandy*, and the reſt of the King of *Englands* territories in *France*; vnleſſe he would preſently deliuer vp his ſiſter *Alice* vnto *Richard*, or render *Giſors*, and the Countrey of *Vexlin* into his hands. VVhereuppon the King returnes backe, and comes againe to a parle betweene *Giſors* and *Try*. Where, the Arch-biſhop of *Try* (ſent from the Eaſt to call vp ayde for the Holy VVarre) did with that power of perſwaſion to vrge his meſſage, as it let out all the humour of priuate rancor and contention, betweene theſe two great Kings, altered their whole Counſells, their pretenſions, their deſignes: turned them wholly to vndertake in perſon this labourious action, and reſolue to leaue their Kingdomes, their pleaſures, and all the things of glory they had at home, to proſecute the ſame, through all the diſtemperatures of climes, and difficulties of paſſages, whereunto that voyage was obnoxious: ſo that now, no other thing was thought or talked on, but onely preparations, and furniſhments for this buſineſſe.

1185. *Anno Reg.* 31.

The Kings of *England* and *France* accorded, and prepare for the Holy VVarre.

And to diſtinguiſh their people, and followers (who all ſtroue which ſhould bee moſt forward) it was ordered that they who followed the King of *England*, ſhould weare a white Croſſe: *France* a red; and *Flaunders* a greene. And for a further ingagement in the buſineſſe, ths King of *England* writes to the Partriarch of *Antioch*, a moſt comfortable and pious Letter: in the end whereof he hath theſe words, *Amongſt other Princes, I and my Sonne, reiecting the glory of this World, and deſpiſing all the pleaſures thereof, in proper perſon, will, God willing, viſite you ſhortly.*

Then to rayſe money to defray this great enterprize, it was ordayned by the two Kings, their Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Earles, and other in *France*, that all whoſoeuer, as well Clerke as Lay (ſauing ſuch as went the Voyage) ſhould pay the tenth of all their reuenues of that yeare, and the tenth of all their Mooueables and Chattles; as well in gold as ſiluer. And many excellent orders were made for reſtraynt of licentiouſneſſe both in apparrell, and manners, as was fitting for the vndertakers of ſo ciuill and deuout an action.

The King of *England* hauing layde this impoſition vppon all his Dominions in *France*, comes ouer, calls a Councell of his Biſhops, Abbots, Earles, Barrons, both of the Clergy, and Laiety at *Gaymington*, and by their conſents impoſes the ſame taxation vppon his Subiects of *England*. *Sub Eleemoſinæ titulo vitium rapacitatis includens*, ſayth *Walſingham*, and preſently ſends forth his Officers into euery Shiere, to Collect the ſame according as it was done in *France*. But of euery City in *England*, he cauſed a choyce to be made of the richeſt men: as in *London* of two hundred, in *Yorke* a hundred, and ſo according to the proportion of the reſt; and cauſed all theſe, at a certayne time and place to appeare before him; of whom hee tooke the tenth of all their Mooueables, by the eſtimation of credible men which knew their eſtates: ſuch as refuſed hee impriſoned till they had payde it, of which example and exaction, wee muſt onely hold Piety guilty: otherwiſe thoſe times had not yeelded it.

1186. *Anno Reg.* 33.

The King ſends likewiſe *Hugh* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, with other Commiſſioners, to *William*

Prouision by King *Henry* in *England*.

William King of *Scots* to collect the tenthes in his Countrey, which hee would not permit, but offered to giue the King of *England* fiue thousand Markes of siluer for those tenthes, and the Castle which hee claymed, but the King of *England* refused the same.

1187. *Anno* Reg. 33.

Whilst these preparations were in hand, and the money collecting, a quarrell arises betweene *Richard* Earle of *Poictou*, and *Raymond* Earle of *Tholouse*, vpon this occasion, The Earle of *Tholouse* by the perswasion of one *Peter Suillar*, had taken certaine Merchants of *Aquitaine*, and vsed them hardly. The Earle of *Poictou* surprizes this *Peter*, imprisons him, and would not suffer the Earle of *Tholouse* to redeeme him, vpon any condition. Whereupon the Earle imprisons two Gentlemen seruants of the King of *England*, *Robert* and *Ralph Poor*, trauelling through his Country (as Pilgrimes) from Saint *Iames de Compostella*; which Earle *Richard* tooke so ill, as he enters into the Earles Countrey with an Army (prepared for a better act) wastes it with fire and sword, besieges and takes his Castles about *Tholouse*. The King of *France* (vpon the lamentable complaynt of the *Tholousans*) sends to the King of *England* to vnderstand, whether his sonne *Richard* did these things by his will and Counsell. The King of *England* answeres, *That he neither willed nor Counselled him thereunto, and that his son sent him word, (by the Archbishop of* Dublin) *that he did nothing, but by the consent of the King of* France. Who (not satisfied with this answere) enters presently into *Bery* with his Army, seazes vppon the Countrey; takes in diuers Castles of the King of *England*, who makes himselfe ready to recouer the same. And thus that great intended enterprise, vndertaken with such feruor, became dasht and ouerthrowne, at the very time, they appoynted to haue set forward.

A meane quarrell dashes and diuerts the great preparation for the Holy War, and layes it vppon the selfe kingdomes.

1188. *Anno* Reg. 34.

All the meanes the Pope could vse by his Legates, nor all the perswasions of other Princes might preuaile, to reconcile these two ingaged Kings, though diuerse interviewes were procured, diuerse ouertures propounded, yet none tooke effect; they euer depart more incensed then they met: in so much as at length, the King of *France*, in a rage, cut downe the great Elme (betweene *Gisors* and *Try*) vnder which, the Kings of *France*, and Dukes of *Normandy* were euer vsed to parle, and swore, *There should be no more meetings in that place.* But yet after this, they were brought to another parle elsewhere, and therein the Popes Legat threatned to interdict the King of *France*, vnlesse hee made peace with the King of *England*. The King of *France* told him, that he feared not his sentence, beeing grounded vpon no equity, and that it appertained not to the Church of *Rome*, by sentence, or otherwise, to chastise the Kingdome, or King of *France*, vndertaking to reuenge the demerrits of the rebellious, that dishonoured his Crowne; and flatly told the Cardinall, *That he smelled of the Sterlings of* England.

The King of *France* cuts downe the most eminent elme of Princely parley.

This interview, wrought a worse effect then all the rest: for heere the King of *England* (absolutely) refuses to render *Alice* to his sonne *Richard*, but offered to the King of *France*, to giue her to his sonne *Iohn*, with large conditions, then should be granted with the other: which so much alienated the heart of his sonne *Richard*, as he becomes wholly Liege-man to the King of *France*, did homage vnto him for *Aquitaine*, and they both ioyne their forces against the Father.

Earle *Richard* (with the King of *France*) combine against his father King *Henry* 2.

And here now comes this mightie King of *England* (the greatest of all the Christian World in his time, or that the kingdome euer saw to fall quite a sunder; forsaken both of his subiects, and himselfe letting downe his heart, to yeeld to any conditions whatsoeuer: he who neuer saw feare (but in the backe of his enemies) leaues now the defence of *Mans*, and flyes away with seauen hundred men (hauiug promised the City, neuer to giue it ouer, in regard his Father was there buried, and himselfe borne:) and afterward comes to this last parle, with the King of *France*, betweene *Turwin* and *Arras*: where at their first meeting (no man suspecting the wrath) a thunder-bolt, with so terrible a cracke lighted iust betweene them, as it parted their conference in a confused manner for that time.

1189. *Anno* Reg. 35.

Within a while after, they came together againe, when suddainly began as fearefull a thunder as the former, which so amazed the King of *England* (as he had falne off from his Horse) had he not beene supported by those about him. And in this sort, beganne the Proem of that Treaty, wherein, the King of *England* yeelds to whatsoeuer conditions,

ditions, the King of *France* required, did him homage againe for all his dominions on that ſide (both Kings hauing at the beginning of this Warre, renounced their mutuall obligation in that kinde;) renders vp *Alice* for whom hee had beene ſo much loden with ſcandall and turmoyle, vpon condition, ſhe ſhould be giuen in marriage to his ſonne *Richard* at his returne from the Holy Warre; and in the meane time to remayne in the cuſtody of any one of fiue whom *Richard* ſhould nominate: grants that fealty bee giuen vnto him of all his Dominions, and pardons all his partakers. Beſides, couenants *to pay the King of* France 20000. *markes of ſiluer for damnage done during theſe laſt Warr. And that if he ſhould not performe theſe Articles, his Barons ſhould ſweare to renounce him, and betake them to the part of the King of* France, *and Earle* Richard. *And for more caution, he yeeldes to deliuer vp the Cities of* Mans *and* Tureyn, *with diuers Caſtles into their hands, &c.*

And here was an end of this buſineſſe; and within three dayes after, of this Kings life: whoſe heart, not made of that temper to bow, burſt with the weight of a declining Fortune. Some few houres before he dyed, hee ſaw a liſt of their names who conſpired with the King of *France*, and Earle *Richard* againſt him; and finding therein his Sonne *Iohn* to be the firſt, fals into a grieuous paſſion, both curſing his ſonnes, and the day wherein himſelfe was borne; and in that diſtemperature departs the World, which ſo often himſelfe had diſtempered; hauing reigned thirty nine yeares, ſeauen moneths, and fiue dayes. His Death.

His Sonne *Richard* approaching the Corpes, as it was carrying to bee interred (adorned according to the vſuall manner of Kings, with all royall Ornaments open faced,) the blood guſhed out of the noſtrills of the Dead (a ſigne, vſually noted, of guiltineſſe) as if Nature yet after Death, retayned ſome intelligence in the veines, to giue notice of wrong, and checke the malice of an vnnaturall Offender: at which ſight, *Richard* ſurprized with horrour, is ſayd to haue burſt out into extreame lamentations. 1189. *Anno Reg.* 35.

Hee had iſſue by his Wife *Elianor*, foure ſonnes, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geffery*, and *Iohn*; beſides two other, *William* the eldeſt, and *Philip* the youngeſt but one, dyed young. Alſo three Daughters; *Maude* married to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*: *Elianor* the Wife of *Alfonſo* the eighth of that name, King of *Caſtile*: *Ioan* giuen in marriage vnto *William* King of *Sicile*. Hee had alſo two naturall ſonnes, by *Roſamond* daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*, *William*, ſurnamed *Longeſpee*, in *Engliſh Long-ſword*, and *Geffery* Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, who after fiue yeares baniſhment in his brother King *Iohns* time dyed, *Anno* 1213. His Iſſue. *Vide Io. Speed.*

The firſt ſonne *William* ſurnamed *Longeſpee*, Earle of *Saliſbury* (in right of *Ela* his Wife: daughter and heire of *William* Earle of that County, ſonne of Earle *Patricke*) had iſſue *William* Earle of *Saliſbury*, and *Stephen* Earle of *Vlſter*: *Ela* Counteſſe of *Warwicke*: *Ida* Lady *Beauchampe* of *Bedford*, and *Iſabell* Lady *Veſcy*. His Sonne, Earle *William* the ſecond, had Earle *William* the third, Father of *Margaret*, Wife of *Henry Lacy* Earle of *Lincolne*.

It is ſayd, King *Henry* had alſo a third naturall ſonne call *Morgan* (by the Wife of one *Rodulph Bloeth* or *Blewet* a Knight; he liued to be *Prouoſt* of *Beuerley*, and to be elected to the Biſhopricke of *Dureſme*; and comming to *Rome* for a diſpenſation (becauſe his Baſtardy made him otherwiſe vncapeable) the Pope willed him to profeſſe him ſelfe *Blewets* lawfull ſonne, and not the Kings Naturall, promiſing to Conſecrate him on that condition; but he (vſing the aduice of one *William Lane* his Clerke) told the Pope that for no worldly promotion he would renounce his Father, or deny himſelfe to be of Blood Royall.

The end of the Life, and Reigne, of Henry *the ſecond.*

THE

The Life, and Reigne, of Richard the first.

He began his reigne the 6 of July, aged 35. 1189. Anno Reg. 1.

RICHARD ſurnamed *Cœur de Lyon* (borne at *Oxford*) ſucceeding his Father, firſt ſeizes vpon his Treaſure in *France*, being in the hands of *Stephan Thurnham* Seneſchall of *Normandy*, whom hee imprisons with fetters, and manacles to extort the vttermoſt thereof. And then repayres to *Roan*, where, by *Walter* the Arch-biſhop hee is girt with the Sword of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, takes fealty both of the Clergy and Lay, and then goes to Parle and compoſe this buſineſſe with the King of *France*, which hee did by money; and obtayned reſtitution of all ſuch peeces as had beene gotten from his Father in the time of the late Warres. Beſides, for his better ſtrength, hee giues in marriage *Maude* his Neece, daughter of the Duke of *Saxony*, to *Geffery* ſonne to the Earle of *Perch*.

During this ſtay and ſetling of his Affayres in *France*, Queene *Elioner* his Mother, freed from her impriſonment (which ſhee had endured twelue yeares) hath power to diſpoſe of the buſineſſes of *England*, which eſpecially ſhee imployed in preparing the affections of the people *by Pardons, and relieuement of oppreſſions*, and then meetes her Sonne at *Wincheſter*. Where (beſides his Fathers Treaſure which was 900000. pounds in gold and ſiluer; beſides Plate, Iewels and pretious ſtones) there fell vnto him by the death of *Geffery Ridle* Biſhop of *Ely* dying inteſtate, 3060. Markes of ſiluer, and 205. gold, which came well to defray the charge of his Coronation, Celebrated the third day of *September*, 1189. at *Weſtminſter*, and imbrued with the miſerable ſlaughter of the Iewes inhabiting in, and about the City of *London*, who comming to offer their preſents, as an afflicted people, in a ſtrange Country, to a new King in hope to get his fauour; were ſet vpon by the multitude, and many loſt both their liues and ſubſtance. The example of *London* wrought the like miſchiefe vppon the Iewes in the Townes of *Norwich*, *Saint Edmondſbury*, *Lincolne*, *Stamford* and *Lynne*.

The ſlaughter of the Iewes at the Coronation.

All this great Treaſure left to this King, was not thought ſufficient for this intended action of the Holy Warre (which was ſtill on foote) but that all other wayes were deuiſed to rayſe more money, and the King ſells much Land of the Crowne, both to the Clergy and other. *Godfrey de Lucie* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* bought two Mannors *Weregraue* and *Menes*. The Abbot of Saint *Edmonſbury*, the Mannor of *Mildhall* for one thouſand Markes of ſiluer. The Biſhop of *Dureſme* the Mannor of *Sadborough* with the dignity Palatinate of his whole Prouince, which occaſioned the King ieſtingly to ſay, what a cunning worke-man hee was that *Could make of an old Biſhop a new Earle*. Beſides hee grants to *William* King of *Scots*, the Caſtles of *Berwicke* and *Roxborough* for 10000. Markes, and releaſeth him of thoſe couenants made and confirmed by his Charter vnto King *Henry* the ſecond, as extorted from him being then his Priſoner, reſeruing vnto himſelfe onely ſuch rights, as had beene and were to be performed, by his brother *Malcolm* to his Anceſtors the Kings of *England*.

Moreouer pretending to haue loſt his Signet, made a new, and Proclamation that *Whoſoeuer would ſafely enioy, what vnder the former Signet was granted, ſhould come to haue it confirmed by the new*, whereby hee rayſed great ſummes of mony to the griefe of his ſubiects. Then procures he a power from the Pope, that whoſoeuer himſelfe pleaſed to diſmiſſe from the iourney, and leaue at home, ſhould be free from taking the Croſſe; and this likewiſe got him great Treaſure, which was leuied with much expedition by reaſon the King of *France*, in *Nouember*, after the Coronation, ſent the Earle of *Perch*, with other Commiſſioners to ſignifie to King *Richard*, how in a generall Aſſembly at *Paris*, he had ſolemnly ſworne vpon the Euangeliſts to bee ready at *Tours*, with all the Princes and people of his Kingdome, who had vndertaken the Croſſe, preſently vpon *Eaſter* next following, thence to ſet forward for the Holy Land. And for the aſſurance, and teſtimony thereof, hee ſends the Charter of this Deede vnto the King of *England*, requiring him and his Nobility, vnder their hands

to

to assure him in like sort, to be ready at the same time, and place, which was in like manner concluded at a generall Councell held at *London*. And in *December* (hauing onely stayed but foure moneths in *England* after his Coronation) this King departs into *Normandie*, keepes his Christmas at *Rouen*, and presently after hath a Parle with the King of *France* and *Reimes*, where by Oath and writing vnder their hands and seales, with the faith giuen by all their Nobility on both sides, it confirmed a most strict Peace and Vnion betwixt both Kings, for the preseruation of each other and their estates, with the others concluded for their iourney. Which done, the King of *England* sends for Queene *Eleonor* his mother, his brother *Iohn*, and the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Duresme*, *Norwich*, *Bath*, *Salisbury*, *Eley*, *Chester*, and others, which came vnto him to *Rouen*: where hee commits the especiall charge of this Kingdome to *William Longshamp* Bishop of *Eley*, vnder the Title of Chiefe Iustice of *England*, and giues him one of his Seales, and the Custody of the Tower of *London*; and coufers vppon *Hugh* Bishop of *Duresme* the Iusticeshippe of the North, from *Humber* to *Scotland*, with the keeping of *Windsor* Castle, which after gaue occasion of dissention, to these two ambitious Prelates impatient of each others greatnesse. *Hugh Bardolph*, *William Marshall*, *Geffery Fitz Peter*, and *William Brewer* are ioyned in commission with the Bishop of *Eley*.

The Kings departure out of *England* toward the Holy Warre.

And lest his brother *Iohn* (whose spirit hee well vnderstood) might in *England* worke vpon the aduantage of his absence, hee first caused him to take an Oath *not to come within this Kingdome for the space of three next following*. Which after, vppon better consideration, hee released, leauing him to his liberty and naturall respect. But hereby hauing giuen him first a wound by his distrust, his after-regard could neuer heale it vp agayne, nor all the Honours and State bestowed on him, keepe him within the limits of obedience.

For, this suspition of his Faith shewed him rather the way to breake, then retayne it; whensoeuer occasion were offered: And the greater meanes hee had bestowed on him to make him content, did but arme him with greater power for his designes. For this Earle *Iohn* had conferred vppon him in *England*, the Earledomes of *Cornewall*, *Dorcet*, *Sommerset*, *Nottingham*, *Darby*, *Lancaster*; and by the Marriage with *Isabell*, Daughter to the Earle of *Gloucester*, had likewise that Earledome; moreouer the Castles of *Marlborow* and *Lutgarsall*, the Honours of *Wallingford*, *Tichill*, and *Eye*; to the valew of foure thousand Markes *per Annum*, besides the great commaunds hee held thereby: which mighty Estate was not a meanes to satisfie, but increase his desires, and make him more dangerous at home.

The great Estate left to Earle *Iohn*.

Then the more to strengthen the reputation of his Vice-roy the Bishop of *Eley*, the King gets the Pope to make him his Legate of all *England* and *Scotland*; and to the end his Gouernment might not be disturbed through the emulation of another, hee confines the elect Arch-bishop of *Yorke* (his base brother, whose turbulency hee doubted) to remayne in *Normandy* till his returne, and takes his Oath to performe the same.

Hauing thus ordered his affayres hee sends backe into *England* this Great Bishop, furnished with as great, and absolute a power, as hee could giue him, to prouide necessaries for his intended iourney. Wherein to please the King, hee offended the people, and committed great exactions, *Clerum & populum opprimebat, confundens fasque nefasque*, (sayth *Houedon.*) Hee tooke of euery City in *England* two Palfryes, and two other Horses of seruice, and of euery Abbay one of each; likewise of euery Mannor of the Kings, one of each for this seruice. And to shewe what hee would prooue, hee tooke the Castle of *Windsor* from the Bishop of *Duresme*, and confined him within his Towne of *Howedon*, questions his Authoritie, and workes him much vexation, and for all his meanes made to the King, ouertopt him.

Exactions by the Vice-roy.

The King takes order for a Nauy to conuey people and prouision to the Holy-Land, and commits the charge thereof to the Arch-bishop of *Auxere*, and the Bishop of

Bayon, Robert de Sabul, Richard Camuile; which done, both Kings, at the latter end of *Iune*, with their powers together, take their iourney to *Lyons*; where (their numbers growing ſo great, as bred many incomberments, and diſtemprings betweene the Nations) they part companies; the King of *France* takes the way of *Genoua* by Land, the King of *England*, of *Merſeilles*; where, after he had ſtayed eight dayes, expecting in vaine the comming about of his Nauy withheld by tempeſt, hee was forced to hire twenty Gallies, and ten other great veſſels, to tranſport him into the Iſle of *Sicilia*. The King of *France* takes ſhipping at *Genoua*, and by tempeſt was driuen to land in the ſame Iſle, and arriued there before the King of *England*: where, thoſe mighty companies of both theſe powerfull Kings, fell foule on each other, and themſelues taking part with their people enters in quarrell and rancor, ſo that beeing of equall power and ſtomacke, and alike emulous of honour and reuenge, they began to ſhew what ſucceſſe, their enterpriſe was likely to yeelde. The King of *France* repayring his wracked Nauy, and the King of *Englands* long ſtaying for his, forced them both to Winter in *Sicilia*, to the great peſture and diſturbance of that people, themſelues and theirs.

The Kings quarrell in the Iſle of *Sicile*.

William late King of *Sicile* who had married *Ioan*, ſiſter to the King of *England*, was dead (which made the entertaynment of the Engliſh there, the worſe) and *Tancreds* baſe ſonne of *Roger*, grand-father to *William*, was inueſted in the Kingdome, contrary to the will of the late King (dying without Iſſue,) and the fidelity of the people ſworne to *Conſtantia* the lawfull daughter of the ſayd *Roger*, married to *Henry* King of *Almaine*, ſonne to the Emperour *Frederick Barbaroſſa*; by which occaſion, *Tancreds* was forced to vſe all meanes to hold what hee had gotten by ſtrong hand, and had much to doe againſt the Emperour and his ſonne *Henry*. The King of *England* after great contention with him, to make the conditions of his ſiſters Dowery the better, enters into league with *Tancreds*, againſt all men to preſerue his eſtate, and gets in concluſion 20000. Ounces of Gold for his Siſters Dowery, and 20000. more, vpon a match to be made betweene *Arthur* Earle of *Brittaine*, ſonne to *Geffery* his next brother (who was to ſucceede him in the Crowne of *England*, if himſelfe dyed without Iſſue) and the daughter of *Tancredi*.

The Kings reconciled.

At the opening of the Spring (both Kings hauing beene reconciled, and new Articles of Peace and Concord ſigned and ſworne) the King of *France* ſets firſt forward to the Holy Land; but the King of *England* ſtayes in *Sicile*, vntill Whitſontide after. And during his abode (which might therefore bee the longer) his Mother Queene *Elioner* (who in her youth had well knowne the trauaile of the Eaſt) came vnto him, bringing with her *Berenguela*, Daughter to the King of *Nauarre*, who was there fianced vnto him. Which done, Queene *Elioner* departs home by the way of *Rome*, and the young Lady with the Queene Dowager of *Sicile*, take their iourney with the King; who ſets forth with an hundred and thirty ſhips, and fifty Gallies, and was by tempeſt driuen to the Iſle of *Cyprus*; where, being denied landing, he aſſayles the Iſle on all ſides, ſubdues it, places his Garriſons therein, and commits the cuſtody of the ſame to *Richard de Camile*, and *Robert de Turnham*, taking halfe the goods of the Inhabitants from them; in Lieu whereof hee confirmed the vſe of their owne Lawes. And heere our Hiſtories ſay, hee married the Lady *Berenguela*, and cauſed her to bee Crowned Queene.

Berengue'a fianced to King *Richard*.

Theſe miſchiefes ſuffred theſe two famous Iſles of Chriſtendome, in the paſſage of thoſe mighty Princes againſt Pagans, who peraduenture would haue as well vſed them for their goods, and treaſure as they did; *But Armies and power know no inferior friends*, it was their Fate ſo to lye in the way of great attempters, who, though in the cauſe of Piety, would not ſticke to doe any iniuſtice.

From hence paſſes this famous King to the Holy Land, with the ſpoyles and treaſure of three noble rich Iſlands, *England*, *Sicile*, and *Cyprus* (beſides what *Normandy* and *Guien* could furniſh him withall) and there conſumes that huge collected maſſe, euen as violently as it was gotten, though to the exceeding great renowne of him, and the Nation. Heere for the better vnderſtanding this buſineſſe, it is not amiſſe to deliuer in what ſort ſtood the Eſtate of thoſe Affayres in *Aſia*, which ſo much troubled theſe

theſe mighty Princes, and drew them from the vtmoſt bounds of *Europe*, thus to aduenture themſelues, and conſume their Eſtates.

It was now foure ſcore and eight yeares ſince *Godfrey* of *Bologne*, Prince of *Lorraine* with his company recouered the City of *Ieruſalem*, with the Countrey of *Paleſtina*, and a great part of *Syria*, out of the hands of the *Sarazins*, obtayned the Kingdome thereof, wat was Crowned with a Crowne of Thornes in example of our Sauiour, Reigned one yeare, dyed, and left to ſucceede him his brother *Baldwin*, who gouerned eighteene yeares, and left the Crowne to another of that name, *Baldwin de Burgo*, who reigned thirteene yeares, and left a daughter, and his Kingdome in diſſention. *Fulke* Earle of *Anion* marries this Daughter: and enioyes the Kingdome eleuen yeares, and left two young ſonnes, *Baldwin*, and *Almerique*: *Baldwin* reignes foure and twenty yeares, and after him his brother *Almerique* twelue, and leaues *Baldwin* his ſonne to ſucceede him; who being ſicke, and deſpayring of iſſue, made *Baldwin* his Nephew, ſonne to the Marqueſſe of *Monferrato* and *Sibilla* his ſiſter, his ſucceſſour, and commits the charge of him, with the adminiſtration of the Kingdome, to *Raymond* Earle of *Tripoly*, whom *Guy de Luſignan*, who had married *Sibilla* (the Widdow of *Monferrato*) put from that charge, and vſurped the Gouernment, and at length the Kingdome, not without ſuſpition of poyſoning the young King. *Raymond* making Warre vppon him, *Luſignan* drawes in *Sultan Saladin* of Egypt to his ayde, who glad of that occaſion, to augment his owne State deſtroyed them both, with their Kingdome, and won the City of *Ptolamaide*, *Aſoth*, *Berytho*, *Aſcalon*, and after one moneths ſiege, the City of *Ieruſalem*, foure ſcore and eight yeares after it had bin Conquered by *Godfrey*.

The State of *Paleſtina*.

Now to recouer this confounded State, come theſe two Great Kings from a farre and a different clyme, with an Army compoſed of ſeuerall Nations, and ſeuerall humors, Engliſh, French, Italians and Germaines; againſt a mighty Prince of an vnited power, within his owne ayre, neere at home, bred and made by the ſword, inured to victories, acquainted with the ſights, and forces of the Chriſtians, and poſſeſſed almoſt of all the beſt peeces of that Countrey.

And heere they ſit downe before the City of *Acon*, defended by the power of *Saladin*, which had beene before beſieged by the Chriſtians the ſpace of three yeares; and had coſt the liues of many worthy Princes, and great Perſonages, whoſe names are deliuered by our Writers, amongſt whom I will remember theſe few of eſpeciall note: *Conradus* Duke of *Suevia*, ſonne of *Fredericke* the Emperour (which *Fredericke* was alſo drowned comming thither) with the Earles of *Perch*, *Puntif*, and old *Theobald* Earle of *Bloys*, that famous *Stickler* betweene the Kings of *England* and *France*; *Stephen* Earle of *Sancerre*; the Earle of *Vandoſme*, *Bertoldus* a Duke of *Germaine*, *Roger* and *Ioſelin* Earles of *Apula*, *&c.* And laſtly, *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*; and of our Nation, *Baldwin* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*; *Robert* Earle of *Leiceſter*, *Ralph de Glanuile* Chiefe Iuſtice of *England*, *Richard de Clare*; *Walter de Kime*, *&c.* And notwithſtanding all the forces of theſe two Kings, they held out foure moneths after, and then rendred themſelues vpon compoſition.

The Kings of *England* and *France* beſiege *Acon*.

At their entring into the Citie, the Enſignes of *Leopold* Duke of *Auſtrich*, beeing planted on the Walles, were with great ſcorne taken downe by the commandement of King *Richard*, and thoſe of the two Kings erected; which bred great rancor, and was afterward the occaſion of much miſchiefe to the King of *England*. Beſides, during this ſiege, diuers ſtings were miniſtred, or taken of diſpleaſure, and malice betweene the two Kings, apt to be ſet on fire, by the leaſt touches of conceite.

The King of *France* full of diſdayne, for the reiection of his Siſter, and the marriage of the King of *England* with *Berengaria*; beſides competition of honour (which their equality was ſubiect vnto) made no ſmall proportion thereof, a wound without cure: And daily occaſions in ſo great hearts felt out to worke the ſame. The Article *of equall deuiding their gaines in this Voyage*, concluded betweene them is queſtioned. The King of *France*, claimes halfe the Iſle of Cyprus, the King of *England*, halfe

halfe the Treasure and goods of the Earle of Flaunders, whereon the King of *France* had seized; and therein, neyther is satisfied. Then are there two pretenders to the Crowne of *Ierusalem*, *Guy* of *Lusignan*, and *Conrade*, Marquis of *Monserrato*: *Guy* pleads the possession thereof, which hee had by his wife *Sibilla*: the King of *England* takes part with *Guy*: the King of *France*, with *Conrade*; and with these differences are they kept in imbroylements, and continually distempered, in so much, as by their owne heates and the contagion of the Country, they fell into a most dangerous sickenesse, that cost them both their haire, being more then they got by the voyage.

The Kings of *England* and *France* dangerously sicke.

But being recouered the King of *France* had no longer will to stay there, where hee saw no more likely-hood of honor or profit; and at home, hee knew was better good to be done with lesse danger, and the rather by the death of the Earle of *Flaunders*, whose state lay so neere, as it tooke vp part of his; whereof hee had a purpose to abridge his successor; and therefore, craues leaue of the King of *England* (*for without leaue of each other it was covenanted, neither of them should depart*) to returne home: which King *Richard* was hadly won to grant, in respect he knew the danger, it might worke him, in his absence, to let such an offended Lyon loose.

The King of *France* departs from the Holy VVarre.

But in the end through the earnest sollicitation of the King of *France*, and the assurance (confirmed by Oath) not doe any thing offensiue to his Dominions in *France*, during his absence, he yeelds thereunto. And so departs this great Prince, leauing the Earle of *Borgogne* Lieutenant of his forces: And King *Richard* betakes him to the siege of *Ascalon*: writes inuectiue letters against the King of *France* for leauing him: Who likewise defames King *Richard* amongst his neighbours at home. And it may be doubted whether the periury of these two Kings did not adde more to their sinne, then the action they vndertooke for the remission thereof could take away, for that *A good worke impiously managed, merits no more then an ill.*

Ten moneths the King of *England* stayes behind in these parts, consuming both his men and treasure without any great successe, though with much noble valour and exceeding courage; finding euer great peruersnesse in the Earle of *Borgogne*, who according to his maisters instructions shewed no great desire to aduance the action, where another must carry the honour; but willing alwayes to returne home (pretending his want) drew backe when any businesse of importance was to be done; and at length falls sicke, and dyes at *Acon*.

Conrade murthered.

Conrade, who was so much fauoured by the King of *France*, in his title for that Kingdome, was murthered by two *Assassini*, whereof the King of *England* was (but very wrongfully) taxed; and the Earle of *Champagne*, marrying his Widdow, sister to Queene *Sibilla*, was by King *Richard* preferred to the Crowne of *Ierusalem*, and *Guy* of *Lusignan* (the other pretender) made King of *Cyprus*, and so both contented. During this businesse abroad in the East, the state of *England* suffred much at home vnder the gouernment of *Longchamp*, who vsurping the whole authority to himselfe without communicating any thing eyther with the Nobility, or the rest of the Commissioners ioyned with him, did what hee listed, and with that insolency carried himselfe, as hee incurred the hatred of the whole Kingdome, both Clergy and Lay. His traine was sayd to be so great, and the pompe of attendants such, as where hee lay in any religious houte but one night, three yeares reuenues would scarce suffice to recouer the charge. Besides, beeing a stranger himselfe, and vsing only French men about him, made his courses the more intollerable to the English; in so much, as at length the whole Clergy, and Nobility oppose against his proceedings, and the Earle *Iohn* taking aduantage vppon these discontentments (to make himselfe more popular, and prepare the way to his intended vsurpation) ioynes with the state against this Bishop, being the man that had euer crossed his courses, hauing an especiall eye vnto him, as the most dangerous person of the Kingdome, both in respect of the Kings charge, and his owne safety.

Longchamps trayne and pompe.

1191. *Anno Reg.* 3.

And now there fell out a fit occasion to ruine the Chancellor by his meanes. *Geffery* the Elect Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, base sonne to *Henry* the second, to whose preferment in *England*, King *Richard* was auerse (and therfore had confin'd him within *Normandy*, during his absence) had by great labour to Pope *Celestine*, obtained a power to be inuested in

in that Sea: whose comming into *England* being aduertised to the Chancellor *Longshamp*, hee was at his landing at *Douer* apprehended, and drawne by force out of the Church which hee had recouered, and from the Altar in his Pontificall Habit trayled into the Castle in most vile manner. Of which violence the Earle *Iohn*, and the Bishop taking notice, they command the Chancellor not only to release him, but also to answere the matter, before the assembly of the Bishops, and Nobility at *Paul's*: where, they Article, and vrge against him many haynous actions committed, contrary to the Commission giuen him, and the Weale of the King and Kingdome.

Geffery the Elect of *Yorke* taken and imprisoned by the Chancellor.

The Arch-bishop of *Roan*, and *William* Marshal Earle of *Strigule*, shewed openly the Kings Letters Pattents, dated at *Messena* in *Sicile*, whereby they were made Commissioners with him in the gouernment of the Kingdome; which notwithstanding, hee would neuer suffer them to deale in any businesse of the same; but by his owne violent, and head-long will, doe all himselfe; wherefore in the end hee was by the Assembly deposed from his Office; and the Arch-bishop of *Rouen* (who would doe nothing without the Councell of the State) instituted therein. The Tower of *London*, and the Castle of *Windsor* are taken from him, and deliuered to the Arch-bishop. And so this great Officer presuming too much in his place (hauing enuy so neere him, and a maister so farre off) was throwne downe from his State, faine to resigne his Legantine Crosse at *Canterbury*, and to take vp that for the Holy Warre: and priuily seeking to escape ouer Sea, was, in the habite of a woman, with a webbe of Linnin cloth vnder his arme, taken vppon the shore at *Douer*, and most opprobriously made a spectacle to the people, and Conducted with all derision to the Castle; whence after eight dayes hee was by the Earle *Iohn* released, and suffered to goe on his iourney; wherein, beeing the messenger of his owne mis-vsage, hee had the aduantage of his aduersaries, and preuailed against them with the Pope, who tooke it very tenderly, the power Legantine should be so vilified.

Longshamp the Chancellor deposed from his Office.

He flyes and is taken.

The Earle *Iohn*, the Arch-bishop of *Rouen*, and the other Iustices of the King, grant vnto the City of *London their Common* (*or liberties,*) and the Citizens *swore fealty to King* Richard *and his heire; and that if hee dyed without issue, they would receiue the Earle* Iohn *for their Lord and King, and likewise swore fealty vnto him against all men, reseruing their faith to King* Richard.

In this forwardnesse was the Earle *Iohn* for his brothers Crowne, whilst hee is beleagaring *Ascalon*, and grapling with *Saladin Sultan* in the East. But hauing notice of this proceeding in *England*, and how the King of *France* had taken in *Gisors*, and the Country of *Vexin*, contrary to his Oath; hee takes the oportunity of an offer made by *Saladine* of a Truce for three yeares, vpon condition *That he should restore* Ascalon *to the same State wherein hee found it before the siege*: which hee did by the Counsell of the Templars, and the whole Army. And presently leauing Wife, Sister, and people to come after him (as they could prouide) takes a shippe with some few followers, and returnes from his action, with as great precipitation as hee vndertooke it: hauing consumed therein all that mighty Treasure left him by his Father, and all that otherwise hee could teare from his subiects, and diuers others, by violent extortion, or cunning practises.

King *Richards* departure from *Palestina*.

Pardon vs Antiquity, if we mis-censure your actions, which are euer (*as those of men*) *according to the vogue, and sway of times, and haue onely their vpholding by the opinion of the present: We deale with you but as posterity will with vs* (*which euer thinkes it selfe the wiser*) *that will iudge likewise of our errors according to the cast of their imaginations.* But for a King of *England* to returne in this fashion, cannot bee but a note of much inconsideration, and had as pitifull an euent. For hauing taking vp by the way three Gallies to Conduct him to *Ragusa* for three hundred Markes of Siluer, (disguised vnder the names of Pilgrimes,) hee was by his lauish expences, discouered to bee the King of *England*; which note once taken, it was impossible for him to lay any couering thereon, that could euer hide him more: though vppon warning thereof, hee presently left all his Company, and with one man onely takes horse, and through all the dangers of a wild Desert, and rockey Countrey, trauayling day and night, passes into

His discouerie.

into *Austrich*, where Fame, that was a speedier Post then himselfe, was before him. And comming to a Village neere to *Vienna*, and reposing himselfe in a poore hostery, was taken asleepe, by meanes of his companion going forth to prouide necessaries for him, who as hee was changing money was knowne, taken, and brought before the Duke of *Austrich*, and vpon examination confessed where his maister was; of which prize the Duke was most ioyfull, in respect of his reuenge for the disgrace hee did him at the entring of *Acon*, and presently sends him to the Emperour *Henry* the sixt, whom likewise hee had offended for ayding *Tancredi* the base sonne of *Roger*, in the vsurpation of the Crowne of *Sicilia*, against *Constantia* the lawfull daughter of the same *Roger* whom this Emperour had married.

King *Richard* taken prisoner.

Newes heereof is presently sent by the Emperour to the King of *France* that he might likewise reioyce at this Fortune, and hee tells him, *That now the Enemy of his Empire, and the disturber of the Kingdome of* France, *was fast in hold, and all the manner how.* The State of *England* is likewise soone certified of this heauy disaster, and great meanes is made to redeeme their King out of Captiuity, who is sayd to haue borne his Fortune with that magnanimity, and cleared himselfe of the scandalls layd on him for the death of *Conrade* the Emperours kinsman, and other his actions in the East, in such sort, as hee won the affection of the Emperor, so that hee professed a great desire to restore him, and reconcile him to the King of *France*. But yet we find, *That King* Richard *deposed himselfe of the Kingdome of* England, *and deliuered the same to the Emperor as his supreame Lord, and inuested him therein by the deliuering vp his hat*, which the Emperor returned vnto him in the presence of the Nobility of *Germany* and *England*, to hold this Kingdom from him for fifty thousand pounds sterling to bee payde as an annuall tribute.

King *Richard* deposed himselfe of the Kingdome of *England*.

And yet notwithstanding all this, the King of *France*, combining with the Earle *Iohn*, preuayled so much with the Emperour, as hee held him Prisoner a whole yeare, and sixe weekes, through the offer of mighty summes they made vnto him. For he, and the Earle *Iohn* fully accounted that hee should haue beene held a perpetuall prisoner, and vpon that reckoning the Earle *Iohn* did homage to the king of *France* for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and all the rest of those transmarine Territories, and for *England* as it is sayd; and besides resignes vnto him *Gisors*, with the Country of *Vexin*, sweares to marry his sister *Alice*, and to bee diuorced from his other Wife, the Daughter of the Earle of *Gloecester*. The king of *France* couenants to giue him with his sister, that part of *Flanders* which he had taken from that Earledome, and sweares to ayde him in the attayning both of *England* and whatsoeuer else the Lands of his brother.

Earle *Iohn* doth homage to the King of *France* for *Normandy*.

Then goes the Earle *Iohn* ouer into *England*, carrying many strangers with him, and presently, the Castles of *Wallingford* and *Windsor*, are rendered vnto him: then comes hee to *London* and requires of the Arch-bishop of *Rouen*, and other the Commissioners, the kingdome of *England*, and that fealty bee made vnto him, affirming his brother was dead; but they not giuing credit vnto him, and denying his desire; with rage and strong hand, hee fortifies his Castles, and in hostile manner inuades the Lands of his brother, finding many partakers to ioyne with him.

The Queene mother, the Iustices of *England*, and all the faithfull seruants of the King, guard and defend the ports, against the inuasion of the French and *Flemings*, who in great numbers seekes to ayde the Earle *Iohn*; and also they labour the redemption of the king, whose ransome the Emperour rates at one hundred thousand Markes, with the finding of fifty Gallies ready furnished, and two hundred souldiers to attend his seruice in the Holy Warres for one yeare.

In *Normandy* the Officers and Seruants of the king of *England*, defend with no lesse Faith and Courage, the right of their Maister against the king of *France*, who with all his power, labours to subdue them, and by his large offers to the Emperour prolongs his redemption, and inhaunces his ransome. This toyle and charge is the World put into, through the misfortune and weakenesse of their hardy king, who, onely in respect of his Valour, (beeing otherwise not worth so much,) and the Holy Worke hee vndertooke, (whereby hee obliged the Clergy, which then managed all,) got the opinion and loue of his subiects, in such sort, as they strayne

euen

euen beyond their ability to recouer and preſerue him, and ſo wrought in the end that the Emperour compounds with King *Richard* in this manner: *That hee ſhould ſend his Commiſſioners to* London, *and receiue an hundred thouſand Markes of pure ſiluer of* Cologne *weight, to be ſealed vp and ſafely conducted to the bounds of the Empire, at the perill of the King of* England; *and other fifty thouſand Markes of ſiluer (whereof twenty thouſand for the Duke of* Auſtrich, *and thirty thouſand for the Emperour, to be payd at ſeuen moneths after, and pledges to be giuen: threeſcore to the Emperour, and ſeuen to the Duke.* Beſides, the King of *England* ſweares to ſend his Neece, *the ſiſter of* Arthur *Earle of* Brittaine, *to be married to the Duke of* Auſtrich, *&c.*

The Emperors compoſition with *Richard.*

And the Emperour granted to the King of *England* by his Charter *the ſouereignty of* Prouince, *Vienne,* and *Viennoys, Marſelles, Narbona, Arls, Lyons, and whatſoeuer hee had in* Burgogne, *with the homages of the King of* Arragon, *the Earles of* Dijon, *and Saint Giles.* In which Countries were fiue Arch-biſhopricks, thirty three Biſhopricks; but the Emperour could neuer haue domination ouer them, nor they receiue any Lord that he preſented them. So that this great gift conſiſted but in Title, which yet pleaſed King *Richard,* that hee might not ſeeme to part with all his ſubſtance for nothing. And the ſame wind hee ſends to *Hubert* the new Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury,* late made his Vicegerent in *England,* to be blowne ouer all the Kingdome, by a letter wrote vnto him; wherin he hath theſe words. *For that ſure I am, you much deſire our deliuerance and greatly reioyce therin, we will that you be partaker of our ioy, and thought fit to ſignifie to your beloued-neſſe, that the Lord the Emperor hath prefixed the day thereof, to be vpon Munday after the feaſt of the* Natiuity, *and the Sunday after we ſhall receiue the Crowne of the Kingdome of* Prouince, *which he hath giuen vs, whereof we ſend his Letters Patents vnto you, and other our friends and well willers; and do you in the meane time, as much as in you lyeth, comfort thoſe you know loue vs; and deſire our promotion.* Teſte me ipſo apud Spiram 22. Sept.

King *Richards* letters into *England.*

1192. *Anno Reg.* 4.

The Emperor likewiſe writes to the Biſhops, Earles, Barons, and other the ſubiects of England, *how hee purpoſed to aduance and magnificently to honor his eſpeciall friend their Kin[g]. this Coyne are they payd at home for what they were to lay out.*

Richard ſends after this, for his Mother Queene *Elioner* (who is ſtill a Trauailer) and fo[r] Arch-biſhop of *Rouen* with many others to come vnto him, about the time and buſineſſe of his deliuerance, for which, there is *impoſed vpon euery Knights Fee twenty ſhillings, the fourth part of all Laymens reuenues, and the fourth part of all the reuenues of the Clergy, with a tenth of their goods* is enioyned to be payd. *The Chalices and Treaſure of all Churches are taken to make vp the ſumme,* the like is done in all his Territories beyond the Seas, ſo dearely coſt the returne of this King for his *Eaſterne Voyage.*

And his Queene *Berenguela* had likewiſe her part of affliction in this iourney, for ſhe with her ſiſter in Law the Queene Dowager of *Sicilia,* fearing the Emperours malice, were a whole yeare in trauailing from *Paleſtina,* and at length were Conducted vnto *Poitou.* The King of *France* hearing of this concluſion made betwixt King *Richard* and the Emperor, writes *to the Earle* Iohn *how the diuell was got looſe, willing him now to look to himſelf; and it vexed them exceedingly both, being diſappointed them of their hopes;* and thereupon, the Earle *Iohn* leauing his Caſtles in *England* well defenced, and incouraging his Souldiers to hold out, and credit no reports, departs into *Normandy,* where hee with the King of *France,* whilſt King *Richard* is yet in the Emperours hands, ſolicites him, *with the proffer of a hundred and fifty thouſand Markes, or elſe a thouſand pound a moneth, ſo long as he held him his Priſoner.* But it preuailed not, though it ſtaggered the Emperour for a time, who in the end ſhewed this letter to King *Richard* (that hee might ſee what care was taken for him) and then deliuers him to his mothers *Elioner,* receiuing the pledges for obſeruation of peace, (and the reſt of the ranſome vnpaid) *the Arch-biſhop of* Rouen, *the Biſhop of* Bath, *with the ſons of many principall Earles and Barons.* And ſo in *February,* one yeare and ſixe weekes after his Captiuity, in the fourth yeare of his reigne hee returnes into *England,* where the Biſhops (in whoſe grace eſpecially he was) had excommunicated the Earle *Iohn,* and all his adherents, and taken in his Caſtles of *Marleborow, Lancaſter,* and a Fortreſſe at St. *Michels* mount in *Cornewall,* defended by *Henry de Pumeroy.* But his Caſtle of *Nottingham,* though ſtrongly aſſailed by *Ralph* Earle of *Cheſter* and

The King of *France* and Earle *Iohn* proffers great ſummes to hold king *Richard* priſoner.

King *Richards* returne into *England.*

and the Earle *Ferrers*, and the Caſtle of *Tichill* by the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, held out for the Earle *Iohn*, and found the King ſome worke to doe vppon his returne; who preſently without any ſtay other where, came before *Nottingham* Caſtle with all the ſhew of ſtate and greatneſſe hee could make; which yet could not ſo terrifie the defendants, as to make them yeeld, confident eyther in their owne ſtrength, or in opinion that there was no King euer to returne to aſſault them, and ſuppoſing it but a meere ſhew, reſolued to hold out for their maiſter; which put the King to much trauayle, and great expence of blood before they rendred themſelues, which was alſo vpon pardon. Thoſe of the Caſtle of *Tichil* yeelded to the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, *their perſons and goods ſaued.*

1193. *Anno Reg.* 5.

A Parliament at *Nottingham.*

The King aſſembles a Parliament at *Nottingham*, where Queene *Eleonor* was preſent, and ſate on his right hand. The firſt day of the Seſſion, *he deſſeiſeth* Girard de Canuile *of the Caſtle of* Lincolne, *and the Shriefwick of that ſhire: from* Hugh Bardolph *he takes the Shriefwicke of* Yorkeſhire, *the Caſtles of* Yorke, Scarborow, *and the cuſtody of* Weſtmerland, *and expoſes them all to ſale. The Arch-biſhop of* Yorke *gaines for the Shriefwicke of* Yorkeſhire, *three thouſand Markes, with one hundred Markes of annuall rent.*

The ſecond day of the Seſſion the King requires iudgment vpon the Earle *Iohn, for hauing contrary to his Oath of fealty, vſurped his Caſtles, &c. and contracted confederacy with the King of* France *againſt him. And likewiſe iudgment againſt* Hugh de Nauant *Biſhop of* Couentry, *for adhering to the Earle* Iohn, *and the kings enemies.* And it was adiudged, *they ſhould both appeare at a peremptory day to ſtand to the Law. Which if they did not, the Earle* Iohn *to be baniſhed, and the Biſhop to vndergoe the iudgement, both of the Clergy, as being a Biſhop, and of Layety, being the Kings Shriefe*; But this Biſhop two yeares after, was reſtored to the Kings fauour, and his Biſhopricke, for fiue thouſand Markes. The third day of this Seſſion was granted to the King, *Of euery plough-land throughout* England, *two ſhillings: beſides, the King required the third part of the ſeruice, of euery Knights fee, for his attendance in* Normandy; *and all the Wooll that yeare of the Monkes Ciſteaux. Which for that it was grieuous and inſupportable vnto them, they fine for money.*

The fourth and laſt day, was for *the hearing of grieuances and accuſations* [illegible] this aſſembly brake vp. But here eyther to adde more Maieſty after calamity [illegible] nullifie his act done to the Emperour, is appoynted the Kings recoronation [illegible] ſolemnized at *Wincheſter*, preſently vpon the Feaſt of *Eaſter* next following. Whilſt the King was in theſe parts, *William* King of *Scots*, repaires to him, and required *the dignities and honor his predeceſſors of right had in* England, *and withal, the Counties of* Northumberland Cumberland, Weſtmerland, *and* Lancaſter. To whom the King of *England* firſt anſwered, *that he would ſatisfie him by the aduice of his Councell*, which ſhortly after was aſſembled at *Northampton*; where after deliberation, he told him, *that his petition ought not in reaſon, to be granted at that time, when almoſt all the Princes of* France *were his enemies, for it would be thought rather an act of feare, then any true affection*, and ſo put it off for that time with faire promiſes; yet grants he by the aduice and conſent of the Councell, vnder his Charter, to *William* King of *Scots* and his heires for euer; *That when by ſommons they ſhould come to the Court of the King of* England, *the Biſhop of* Dureſme, *and the Shriefe of* Northumberland *ſhould receiue them at the riuer of* Tweed, *and bring them vnder ſafe conduct to the riuer of* Teis, *and there the Arch-biſhop of* Yorke, *and the Shriefe of* Yorkeſhire *ſhould receiue and conduct them to the bounds of that County; and ſo the Biſhops and Shriefes of other ſhires till they came to the Court of the King of* England; *and from the time that the King of* Scots *firſt entred into this Realme, he ſhould haue an hundred ſhillings a day allowed of gift for his charge, and after he came to the Court, thirty ſhillings a day, and twelue Waſtels, and twelue Simnels of the Kings, foure quarts of the Kings beſt wine, and ſix of ordinary wine, two pounds of pepper, and foure pounds of Cinamon; two pounds of Wax, or foure Wax lights, forty great long perchers of the Kings beſt candles, and twenty foure of other ordinary; and at his returne to be ſafely conducted as he came, and with the ſame allowance.*

Richard againe Crowned at *Wincheſter.*

Reſumptions.

From *Northampton*, both the Kings go to *Woodſtocke*, and thence to *Wincheſter*, where the Coronation is ſumptuouſly ſolemnized. And there King *Richard* reſumes the two Mannors he ſold to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, at his going to the Holy Warre, and likewiſe the Caſtle of *Wincheſter* and that County, with whatſoeuer ſales he had made elſe

of

of the *Demaines* of the Crowne, alledging *that it was not in his power to alienc any thing appertayning to the ſame whereby his State was to ſubſiſt.* The Biſhop of *Dureſme* ſeeing theſe reuocations, did voluntarily, deliuer vp the Caſtle of *Dureſme*, with the Country of *Northumberland*, which the King willed to be deliuered to *Hugh Bardolph.* *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincolne* gaue for the liberty of his Church one thouſand Makes of ſiluer, redeeming thereby the cuſtome of giuing to the King of *England* euery yeare a cloake furred with *Sabells.*

Heere all ſuch who had taken part with the Earle *Iohn*, and defended his Caſtles, were ſommoned to appeare, and all the rich were put to their ranſome, the poorer ſort let goe at liberty, but vnder ſureties of a hundred Markes a peece, to anſwere in the Kings Court whenſoeuer they ſhould be called. The King of *Scots*, ſeeing the King of *England* vſe all meanes for money, offers fifteene thouſand Markes for *Northumberland*, with the appurtenances, alledging *how King* Henry *the ſecond gaue the ſame to* Henry *his Father, and that after him, King* Malcolm *enioyed it fiue yeares.* This large offer of money tempted King *Richard* ſo, as againe hee conſulted with his Councell about the matter, and in concluſion was willing to yeeld the ſame to the King of *Scots*, reſeruing to himſelfe the Caſtles; but that, the King of *Scots* would not accept, and ſo with much diſcontent departs into *Scotland*: yet two yeares after this, King *Richard* ſends *Hubert Walter* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* to *Yorke*, there to treate with the King of *Scots* of a marriage betweene *Otho* his Nephew, and *Margaret* daughter to the ſayd King, to haue for her Dowery *all* Lynox, *and he would giue with his Nephew*, Northumberland, *and the Earledome of* Carlile, *with all the Caſtles*; but the Queene of *Scots* in the time of this treaty, beeing knowne to bee with Childe, it tooke no effect.

From *Wincheſter*, King *Richard* departs into *Normandy* with an hundred ſhips, ſo that his ſtay in *England* was but from the latter ende of February to the tenth of May, and that time onely ſpent in gleaning out what poſſible this kingdome could yeeld, to conſume the ſame in his buſineſſe of *France*, which tooke vp all the reſt of his Reigne, being in the whole but nine yeares, and nine moneths, whereof hee was neuer aboue eight moneths in *England.* Nor doe wee finde that euer his wife *Berenguela* was heere, or had any Dowerie or honour of a Queene of *England*, or otherwiſe of any regard with him, how much ſoeuer ſhee had deſerued.

King *Richard* departs into *Normandy* with 100. ſhips.

And now all affaires that either concerned the State in generall, or any mans particular, was (to the great charge and trauayle of the ſubiects of *England*, to be diſpatched in *Normandie*; and that gaine wee had by our large Dominions abroad. The firſt action that King *Richard* vndertooke vpon his comming ouer, was, the relieuing of *Vernoult* beſieged by the King of *France*; and there his brother *Iohn*, by the mediation of their mother Queene *Elionor* is reconciled vnto him, and abiures the part of the king of *France.* And to make his party the ſtronger in thoſe Countryes, he firſt giues his ſiſter *Ioan*, Queene Dowager of *Sicile*, to *Raymond* Earle of *Tholouſe*, being the neereſt neighbour of power to his Dutchy of *Guien*, and might moſt offend him. Then enters league with *Baldwin* Earle of *Flanders* from whom the king of *France* had taken *Arroys*, and *Vermandois*, and on all ſides ſeekes to imbroyle his enemy. Foure yeares at leaſt, held this miſerable turmoyle betwixt theſe two kings, ſurpriſing, recouering, ruining and ſpoyling each others Eſtate, often deceiuing both the world, and themſelues with ſhewe of couenants reconciliatory, which were euermore broken againe vppon all aduantages according to the Myſtery of Warre and ambition.

King *Philip* of *France* to ſtrengthen himſelfe with ſhipping to oppoſe the Engliſh, marries *Botilda* the ſiſter of *Knut* king of *Denmarke*; but this match, made for his endes, and not affection, turned to his more trouble, for the next day after his wedding hee put her away, pretending (beſides other things) propinquity of blood, and for this had hee long and great contention with the Church and the king of *Denmarke.* The Emperour ſends to the king of *England* a maſſie Crowne of gold, and offers to come and ayde him againſt the king of *France*, and to inuade his kingdome; but the king returnes him onely thankes, not willing to haue him ſtirre in this buſineſſe, in regard hee ſuſpected the Emperour affected to adde *France* to the Empire, which would not be ſafe for him: or that

1194. *Anno Reg.* 6.

that the King of *France* dealing with the Emperour might win him with money, and so in the end, ioyne both together against him. Now to supply the charge of this great worke, *England* was fure ſtill to beare the heauieſt part; and no ſhift is left vnſought, that might any way raiſe meanes to the King from hence. Witneſſe *the Commiſſion giuen to the Iuſtices itinerants ſent into euery ſhiere of* England, *for exaction vpon pleas of the Crowne, for Eſcheates, Wardſhips, Marriages, &c. with the improuement of the Demaines, and the order taken for the exact knowing of the eſtates of men, and eſpecially of the Iewes, on whom the King would haue none to prey but himſelfe: Then the raiſing an impoſition vpon allowance of Turnements, which was for euery Earle twenty Markes of ſiluer: euery Baron, ten, euery Knight hauing lands, foure; and for ſuch as had none, two Markes for a Licence.* The Collection whereof the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* commits to his brother *Theobald Walter. Beſides another new ſeale, the old being loſt by the Vice-Chancelor at the taking of* Cyprus, brings in a new exaction.

Meanes vſed for money.

But the proceeding in the pleas of the Crowne and extorting of penalties, *Anno Reg.* 9. by *Hugh Bardolph, Roger Arundle and Geffery Hatchet*, Iuſtices Itinerants for *Lincolneſhire, Nottinghamſhire, Darbyſhire, Yorkeſhire, Northumberland, Cumberland* and *Lancaſter*, was of a higher ſtrayne of exaction, and more profound, as hauing more of time, and preſumption vpon the peoples ſufferance; of whom, when once triall was made that they would beare, were ſure to haue more layd on them then they were able to vndergoe. And with theſe vexations (ſayth *Houeden*) all *England* from Sea to Sea was reduced to extreame pouerty, and yet it ended not heere: another torment is added to the confuſion of the Subiects by the Iuſtices of the Forreſts, *Hugh Neuile*, Chiefe Iuſtice, *Hugh Wac*, and *Erniſe de Neuile*, who not only execute thoſe hideous Lawes introduced by the Norman, but impoſe others of more tyrannicall ſeuerity, as the memory thereof being odious, deſerues to be vtterly forgotten, hauing afterwards by the hard labour of our noble anceſtors, and the goodneſſe of more regular Princes, beene aſſwaged and now out of vſe.

Beſides in the ſame yeare, this King *impoſes 5 ſhil. vpon euery hide or plough-land, (which contayned an hundred Acres:)* for the leauying whereof a moſt ſtrict courſe was taken: Likewiſe he required by the Vicegerent the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, that *the people of* England *ſhould find* 300. *Knights for one yeare to remaine in his ſeruice, or ſo much money, allowing for euery Knight, three ſhil.* per diem. Againſt which, *Hugh* Biſhop of *Lincolne* oppoſes, and ſayes, that *he would neuer yeeld to the Kings will in this, for the detriment it might be to the Church, and example to poſterity, that ſhould not complaine thereof, and ſay: Our Fathers haue eaten ſower grapes, and the childrens teeth are ſet on edge*; and turning to the Arch-biſhop, *wiſhed him, that he would do nothing whereof he might be aſhamed.*

Vndecies centena millia Mory Houed.

This Arch-biſhop ſo husbanded the Kings buſineſſe, that in *Anno Reg.* 7. hee yeelded an accompt vnto him, that hee had leauied of the Kingdome within the ſpace of two yeares, eleuen hundred thouſand Markes of ſiluer; which, conſidering that time, is a moſt remarkeable ſumme. And now, as the firſt act of this King was his violent proceeding in a buſineſſe of Treaſure with *Stephen Thruſtan Seneſchall* of *Normandy*, ſo was it likewiſe the laſt, and the cauſe of his deſtruction: for *Widomare*, Viſcount of *Limoges*, hauing found a great Treaſure of ſiluer and gold in the ground, ſends a good part thereof to the King, which he refuſes, laying clayme to the whole; *Widomare* denying the ſame, the King layes ſiege to his Caſtle where he imagined the Treaſure was hid; they of the Caſtle being but weake, offered to render the ſame, their liues, members, and armour ſaued; which the King would not yeeld vnto, but ſwore that hee would ſacke the Caſtle, and hang them all. Whereupon deſperatly they reſolued to ſtand to their defence. King *Richard* with *Marchard*, Generall of the *Brabanſons* going about the Caſtle to view what place was fitteſt for an aſſault; *Bertrand de Gurdun*, from the walls ſhot a barbed arrow that hit the King in the arme, with ſuch a deadly blow, as hee was preſently ſent to his lodging: notwithſtanding commaunds hee his forces to proſecute the aſſault, without intermiſſion; which they did, and tooke the Caſtle, putting to execution all the Defendants except *Bertram*, who by the Kings commaund was reſerued.

But

But the arrow drawne out with great torture, left the head behinde, which being by a rude Chirurgion, after much mangling the flesh hardly cut out, brought the King to despaires of life, and to dispose of his Estate, leauing to his brother *Iohn* three parts of his Treasure, and the fourth to his seruants.

Which done, he willed *Bertram Gurdun* to be brought vnto him, of whom he demanded, what hurt he had done him, that prouoked him to doe this mischiefe: to whom *Bertram* replies: *Thou hast killed my father and my two brothers with thine owne hand, and now wouldest haue slaine mee, take what reuenge thou wilt. I willingly endure whatsoeuer torture thou canst inflict vpon me: in respect I haue slaine thee, who hast done such and so great mischiefe to the World.* The King notwithstanding this rough and desperate answere, caused him to be let loose, and not onely forgaue him his death, but commanded 100. shillings sterling to be giuen vnto him, but *Marchard* after the King was dead, caused him to be hanged and flayed. The Death of King *Richard.*

This was the end of this Lyon-like King, when he had reigned nine yeares, and nine moneths, wherein hee exacted, and consumed more of this Kingdome, then all his predecessors from the Norman had done before him, and yet lesse deserued then any, hauing neyther liued here, neither left behind him Monument of Piety, or of any other publique worke, or euer shewed loue or care to this Common-wealth, but onely to get what hee could from it. Neuer had Prince more giuen with lesse adoe, and lesse noyse then hee. The reason whereof, as I haue sayd, was his vndertaking the Holy wars, and the cause of Christ, with his suffering therein; and that made the Clergy, which then might doe all, to deny him nothing; and the people, fed with the report of his miraculous valour, horrible incounters in his voyage abroad, (and then some victory in *France*) were brought to beare more then euer otherwise they would haue done. 1199. *Anno Reg.* 10.

Then had he such Ministers here to serue his turne as preferred his, before the seruice of God, and did more for him in his absence, then euer peraduenture hee would, or could haue done for himselfe by being here present. For, both, to hold their places and his good opinion, they deuise more shifts of rapine, then had euer beene practised before in this Kingdome, and cared not so he were satisfied, what burthen they layd on the Subiect; which rent and torne by continuall exactions was made the more miserable, in that they came betrayed with the shew of *Religion* and *Law*, the maine supporters of humane society, ordayned to preserue the state of a people, and not to confound it. But the insolent ouercharging the State in these times, gaue occasion to the future, to prouide for themselues; excesses euer procure alteration. And the Successors of this King were but little beholding vnto him; for out of his and his brothers irregularity, their boundlesnes came to be brought within some limits. Yet what this King would haue proued, had his dayes allowed him other then this rough part of War, we know not; but by the operation of a poore Hermits speech made vnto him, we are shewed that he was conuertible. For being by him vehemently vrged to be mindfull of the subuersion of *Sodome*, and to abstayne from things vnlawfull, thereby, to auoyd the vengeance of God, he vpon an insuing sicknes (a sounder Counsailor then health) remembring this aduertisment, vowes a reformation of his life; and did afterward vpon his recouery, euery morning rise early to heare Diuine seruice. For which *Houeden* hath his note: *How glorious it is for a Prince to begin and end his actions in him, who is beginning without beginning, and iudges the ends of the Earth.* Besides, he growes hospitable to the poore, and made restitution of much Church vessell, that had beene taken and sold for ransome.

His issue.

Though this King had no issue, yet was he told by a Priest in France, *that he had three euill daughters, and admonished to put them away, and bestow them abroad to auoid the punishment of God. The King gaue him the lie and sayd,* he knew none he had, Yes Sir, *replied the Priest,* three daughters you haue, and they are these, Pride, Couetousnesse, and Letchery. *The King calling those who were present about him, and relating what the Priest had said, willed them to be witnesses how he would bestow these his three daughters, which the Priest charged him withall.* The 1. which is Pride, I giue to the Templars and Hospitallers, Couetousnesse; to the Monkes of Cisteaux Order, and Letchery to the Clergy: *This sudaine retortion shewes vs his quicknes, and what kind of men were then maligned, and out of his grace.*

The end of the Life, and Reigne, of Richard *the first.*

The Life, and Reigne, of King Iohn.

1199. *Anno Reg.* 1.

IOHN hauing his brothers Army in the field, with all his Seruants and Followers, entertaynes them generally with promiſes of large rewards, and thereby had the aduantages *of time, power,* and *opinion,* to helpe him on to his deſires. *Hubert* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* being vpon buſines in thoſe parts, and the moſt potent Miniſter hee could wiſh, for ſo mighty a worke, he preſently diſpatches for *England,* with *William Marſhall* Earle of *Striguill, Geffery Fitz Peter,* &c. to prepare the people to receiue him for their King: who, eſpecially dealing with thoſe were moſt doubted would oppoſe him, and vndertaking for him that he ſhould reſtore vnto them their rights, and gouerne the Kingdome, as hee ought, with moderation; wrought ſo as they were all content vppon thoſe conditions, to ſweare Fealty vnto him againſt all men. Theſe vndertakers, likewiſe, ſend word to *William* King of *Scots* (to hold him in, from any attempt) that hee ſhould alſo haue full ſatisfaction for what hee claymed in *England*, vppon the returne of their new Maiſter. And ſo were all things made cleare on this ſide. But on the other, the right of ſucceſſion, which was in *Arthur* the elder brothers Sonne, ſtirred affections of another nature, the nobility of *Anion, Maine,* and *Turein,* maintayning the vſuall cuſtome of inheritance, adhere to *Arthur,* whom his mother *Conſtance* puts vnder the Protection of the King of *France,* who receiues him and vndertakes the defence of his right.

King *Iohns* Coronation.

Iohn hauing his chiefe ayme at the Crowne of *England,* could haue no time of ſtay to cloſe thoſe ruptures that ſo violently brake out there, but hauing receiued the inueſtiture of the Dutchy of *Normandy,* and performed all thoſe rites, he ſpeedily, with his mother *Elioner* (who muſt haue her part in euery act of her Sonnes) paſſes ouer into *England*, and by way of Election receiues the Crowne vppon the *Aſcention* day, at the hands of *Hubert* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, who in his Oration, (as it is recorded in *Mat. Pa.*) before the whole aſſembly of the State ſhewed, *That by all reaſon, diuine and humaine, none ought to ſucceed in the Kingdome, but who ſhould be for the worthineſſe of his vertues, vniuerſally choſen by the ſtate, as was this man,* &c. which then, ſeemes eſpecially vrged in reſpect his title of ſucceſſion would not carry it. And the Arch-biſhop afterward, vpon this poynt, being queſtioned, confeſſed to his friends, *That hee foreſaw this man would, (what blood and miſchiefe ſoeuer it ſhould coſt) in the end obtayne the Crowne. And therefore the ſafer way was, to preuent confuſion, that the Land ſhould rather make him King, then he make himſelfe, and that this election would be ſome tye vpon him.*

So came *Iohn* to the Crowne of *England* which he gouerned with as great iniuſtice as he gat it, and imbarked the ſtate and himſelfe, in whole miſerable imcombrances, thorow his violences and oppreſſion, as produced deſperate effects, and made way to thoſe great alterations in the gouernment which followed. The Queene Mother, a woman of an high and working ſpirit, was an eſpeciall agent in this preſermeot of her ſonne *Iohn*, in reſpect of her owne greatneſſe, knowing how ſhee ſhould bee more by him, then ſhe could bee by her grand-childe *Arthur*, who had a mother would looke to become Regent here, and ſo ouer-ſhadow her eſtate, which was a thing not to be endured. Beſides, *Arthur* was a childe, borne and bred a ſtranger, and neuer ſhewed vnto the Kingdome, ſo that hee had nothing but his right to draw a party, which could not bee ſuch (in regard of the danger of the aduenture, things ſtanding as they did) that could doe him any great good. Men beeing content rather to embrace the preſent, though wrong, with ſafety, then ſeeke to eſtabliſh anothers right, with the hazard of their owne confuſion.

Englands ſecured to King *Iohn.*

The State of *England* ſecured; King *Iohn* returnes into *Normandy* vpon notice giuen of the defection wrought in thoſe parts by *Phillip* the French King, who had giuen the order of Knight-hood to *Arthur*, and taken his homage for *Anion, Poictou, Main, Turein* and alſo for *Normandy* (in regard as hee pretended) that King *Iohn* had neglected to come, and do him homage for the ſame, as members held of the Crowne of *France*. King

Iohn

Iohn, not willing vpon his new and doubtfull admiſſion to the gouernment to ingulph himſelfe into a ſuddaine Warre, mediates a parle with the King of *France*, who well vnderſtanding the time, and his owne aduantages, requires ſo vnreaſonable conditions, as King *Iohn* could not, without great diſhonour yeeld vnto, and ſo they fall to the ſword. The King of *France* vnder pretence of working for *Arthur* gets for himſelfe; which being diſcouered, *Arthur* with his mother *Conſtance*, are brought (by the perſwaſion of their chiefe Miniſter *William de la Roche*) to commit themſelues to the protection of King *Iohn*, of whom likewiſe conceiuing a ſudaine iealouſly, (or elſe informed of his purpoſe to impriſon them (the next night after their comming) got ſecretly away and fled to *Angiers*. So this yong Prince, borne to be cruſht betweene theſe two potent Kings (intending onely their owne ends) gaue occaſion by leauing them both, to make both his enemies. After many attempts, and little gaine on either ſide, another treaty is mediated by the Popes Legats, wherein King *Iohn* buyes his peace vppon theſe yeelding conditions: *That* Louys, *eldeſt ſonne to King* Phillip, *ſhould marry his Neece* Blanch, *daughter of* Alphonſo *king of* Caſtile, *and haue with her in Dowre the City and County of* Eureux, *with ſundry Caſtles in* Normandy, *and* 30000. *Markes in ſiluer. Beſides, promiſes, if he died without iſſue, to leaue vnto him al his territories in* France. *And that he would not aid his nephew* Otho, (*lately elected Emperor*) *againſt* Phillip *brother to the late Emperor* Henry 6. whom the King of *France* fauoured, in oppoſition of Pope *Innocent*, who tooke the part of *Otho*.

1200. *Anno Reg.* 2.

Prince *Arthur* and his mother flie to *Angiers*.

After this peace made, *Otho* taking it vnkindly to be thus forſaken of his Vncle *Iohn*, ſends his two brothers, *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*, and *William Winton* (ſo titled, for hauing beene borne at *Wincheſter*) to require the City of *Eureux* and the County of *Poictou*, and two parts of the Treaſure which his Vncle King *Richard* had bequeathed vnto him, beſides other moueables; but they come too late, the obligation of blood, and rendring of dues is held to bee of an inferiour nature to the preſent intereſts of State. To this vnkind and vnnaturall act hee preſently addes another: Repudiates his Wife (daughter to the Earle of *Gloceſter*, alleadging *conſanguinity in the third degree*) and marries *Iſabell* daughter and inheretrix to the Earle of *Angloſme* fiancéd before to *Hugh le Brun*, Earle of *March* (a Peere of great eſtate and alliance in *France*) by conſent of King *Richard*, in whoſe cuſtody ſhe then was. And hauing finiſhed theſe diſtaſtefull buſineſſes, hee returnes to giue as little contentment into *England* where he impoſes three ſhillings vpon euery Plough-land, to diſcharge the great dowry of 30000. Markes he was to giue with his Neece *Blanch*, the collection wherof *Geffery* Archbiſhop of *Yorke* oppoſes within his Prouince. For which, and for refuſing, vpon ſummons to come vnto this late Treaty in *France*, the Kings cauſes his Shriefe *Iames Potern*, to ſeaze vpon all his temporalities. The Archbiſhop interdicts the whole prouince of *York*, and excommunicates the Shrief. King *Iohn* ſhortly after, makes a Progreſſe with his wife Queene *Iſabel*, ouer all the North parts vnto *Scotland*, and *exacts great fines of offenders in his Forreſts*. In his paſſing thorough *Yorkeſhire*, his brother the Archbiſhop, refuſed him wine, and the honor of the bels at *Beuerley*, but by the mediation of foure B B. and foure Barons, and a great ſum of mony, a reconciliation is made betweene them, with promiſe of reformation of exceſſes on eyther part. Vpon Eaſter day (after his returne from the North) the King againe is crowned at *Canterbury*, and with him *Iſabel* his Queene, by the Arch-biſhop *Hubert*. And there are the Earles and Barons of *England*, ſummoned to be ready with horſe and armor to paſſe the Seas with him preſently vppon Whitſontide; but they holding a conference together at *Leiceſter*, by a generall conſent ſend him word, *That vnleſſe he would render them their rights and liberties, they would not attend him out of the kingdome*. The King, ſaith *Houeden*, vſing ill counſell, required of them their Caſtles, and begins with *William de Aubeny*, demanded to haue his Caſtle of *Beauoyr*; *William* deliuers his ſonne in pledge, but kept his Caſtle. Notwithſtanding this refuſall of the Lords, hauing taken order for the gouernment, he paſſes ouer with his Queene into *Normandy*, where his preſence, with the great ſhew of his preparations, cauſed the reuolters to forbeare their enterprizes for that time; and a farther ratification, with as ſtrong couenants, and cautions as could be deuiſed, is made of the Agreements with King *Phillip* of *France*, who Feaſts the King of *England* and his Queene at *Paris*, with all complements of amity.

King *Iohn* puts away his Wife.

1201. *Anno Reg.* 3.

An impoſition of three ſhil. vpon euery Plough land.

His ſecond Coronation.

1202. *Anno Reg.* 4.

And here both Kings, ſolicited by the Popes Legat grant a Subſidy of the fortieth part of all their Subiects reuenues for one yeare (by way of Almes) to ſuccor the Holy Land. For the leauying whereof in *England*, *Geffery Fitz Peter* Chiefe Iuſticiar ſends out his Writs by way of requeſt and perſwaſion, *and not as of due or coaction, to auoid example.*

But many moneths paſſed not, ere a new Conſpiracy brake out by the inſtigation of *Hugh le Brun*, who ſtung with the rapture of his wife (a wrong of the moſt ſenſible touch in nature) combines with *Arthur*, the Barons of *Poictu* and *Brittaine*, and raiſed a ſtrong ſide, which the King of *France* (notwithſtanding all thoſe tyes wherein hee ſtood ingaged to the King of *England*) betakes himſelfe vnto, in regard of his owne intereſts and aduantages, from which no bands could with-hold him; and againe both theſe Kings are in Armes. The King of *France* declares himſelfe for *Arthur*, to whom he marries his youngeſt daughter: requires King *Iohn* to deliuer vp vnto him all his territories in *France*, and by a peremptory day ſummons him to appeare perſonally at *Paris* to anſwere what ſhould be layd to his charge, and abide the Areſt of his Court, which King *Iohn* refuſing, was by ſentence adiudged to loſe all he held of that Crowne.

He takes his Nephew *Arthur* priſoner.

Then is he aſſailed on one ſide by the King of *France* in *Normandy*, on the other by *Arthur*, and the Barons in *Anion*, who lay ſiege to *Mirabel*, defended by *Elioner* the Queene mother, and were vpon the point of taking it; when King *Iohn*, with greater expedition and force then was expected, came and defeited the whole Army of the aſſaylants, tooke Priſoner the Earle *Arthur*, *Hugh le Brun* with the Barons of *Poictou*, and aboue 200. Knights, and men of commaund, all which hee carried away bound in Carts, and diſperſed into diuers Caſtles both of *Normandy* and *England*.

Arthur murthered.

This Victory, which might ſeeme enough to haue eſtabliſhed his Eſtate, vndid him; for by the ill vſing thereof he loſt himſelfe, and his reputation for euer. *Arthur* is ſhortly after murthered in priſon, and the deede layd to his charge, which, with the cruell execution of many his Priſoners and Oſtages, ſo exaſperates the Nobility of *Brittaine*, *Anion*, and *Poictou*, as they all take Armes againſt him, and ſommoned he is to anſwere in the Court of Iuſtice of the King of *France*, to whom they appeale: which, he refuſing, is condemned both to loſe the Dutchy of *Normandy* (which his Anceſtors had held by the ſpace of 300. yeares) and all his other Prouinces in *France*, whereof the next yeare after, eyther though his negligence, beeing (as they write) giuen ouer to the pleaſures of his young wife, or by the reuolt of his owne Miniſters (incenſed likewiſe againſt him) he became wholly diſpoſſeſſed.

1203. *Anno Reg. 5.*

And in this diſaſtrous eſtate, hee returnes into *England*, and charges the Earles and Barons with the reproach of his loſſes in *France*, and fines them to pay the ſeuenth part of all their goods for refuſing him ayde. Neyther ſpared hee the Church, or the Commons in this impoſition. *Of which rapine (ſaith Mat. Par.) were executors*, Hubert *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *for the Clergy*, *and* Geffery Fitz Peter *Iuſticiar of* England *for the Layety.* But all this treaſure collected, amounted not to anſwere his wants, or the Furniſhing of freſh ſupplies for the recouery of his loſſes (for which he vrges the ſame to be rayſed) and therefore againe in leſſe then the ſpace of an yeare, another leauy (but by a fayrer way) is made. A Parliament is conuoked at *Oxford*, wherein is granted two Markes and a halfe of euery Knights Fee for military ayde: neyther departed the Clergy from thence, till they had likewiſe promiſed their part. No ſooner is this money gathered, but a way is opened, into that all-deuouring Gulphe of *France* to iſſue it, through a reuolt begunne in *Brittaine*, by *Guido* (now husband to *Conſtance*, mother of *Arthur*) *Saueri de Malleon*, and *Almeric Luſignan*, Confederats with many others; who receiuing not that ſatisfaction, expected from their new Maiſter, call in their olde againe, to ſhew vs, that mens priuate intereſts, howſoeuer Honour and Iuſtice are pretended, onely ſway their affections, in ſuch actions as theſe.

King *Iohn* fines the Barons.

1205. *Anno Reg. 7.*

A Parliament at *Oxford.*

And ouer haſtes King *Iohn*, and by the power hee brought, and what he found there, won the ſtrong Caſtle of *Mon Alban*, and after the City of *Angiers*; and was in a faire way to haue recouered more; but that the King of *France*, by the Fortune of one day (wherein he ouerthrew and took priſoners the chiefe confederats, *Guido*, *Almeric*, and *Sauari*) forced him to take truce for two yeares, and returne into *England* for more ſupplies.

And

And here another impoſition is layd of the thirteene part of all mooueables, and other goods both of the Clergy and Layety: who now ſeeing their ſubſtances thus conſumed without ſucceſſe, and likely euer to be made lyable to the Kings deſperate courſes, beginne to caſt for the recouery of their ancient immunities, which vppon their former ſufferance had bin vſurped by their late Kings, and to eaſe themſelues of theſe burthens indirectly layd vpon them. And the firſt man that oppoſed the collection of this impoſition, was againe the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, who ſolemnly accurſed the receiuers thereof within his Prouince, and ſecretly conueyd himſelf out of the kingdom, deſirous rather to liue as an exile abroad, then to endure the miſery of oppreſſion at home: *men accounting themſelues leſſe iniuriouſly rifled in a Wood, then in a place where they preſume of ſafety.*

1206. *Anno Reg.* 8. The cauſe of the breach betweene the king and his people.

And hence grew the beginning of a miſerable breach, betweene a King and his people, being both out of proportion, and diſ-joynted in thoſe iuſt Ligaments of Commaund and Obedience that ſhould hold them together; the reducing whereof into due forme and order againe, coſt more adoe, and more noble blood, then all the warres Forraigne had done ſince the Conqueſt. For this contention ceaſed not (though it often had ſome faire intermiſſions) till the great Charter made to keepe the beame right betwixt ſoueraignty, and ſubjection (firſt obtayned of this King *Iohn*, after, of his ſonne *Henry* the third (though obſerued truely of neither) was in the maturity of a iudiciall Prince, *Edward* the firſt, freely ratified *Anno Reg.* 27. which was aboue foure ſcore yeares. And was the firſt ciuill diſſention that euer wee finde, ſince the eſtabliſhing of the Engliſh Kingdome, betweene the King and his Nobles, of this nature. For the better knowledge whereof, wee are to take a view of the face of thoſe time, the better to iudge of the occaſions giuen and taken of theſe turbulencies.

1207. *Anno Reg.* 9.

It was this time, about 130. yeares ſince *William* the firſt had heere planted the *Norman* Nobility, whoſe iſſue beeing now become meere Engliſh, were growne to be of great numbers, of great meanes, and great ſpirits, euer exerciſed in the Warres of *France*, where moſt of them were commanders of Caſtles, or owners of other Eſtates, beſides what they held in *England*; and beeing by this violent and vnſucceſſull King ſhut out from action, and their meanes abroad, they practiſe to preſerue what was left, and to make themſelues as much as they could at home. Which, by their martiall freedome, and the priuiledges of the Kingdome (neceſſity now driuing them to looke into it) they more boldly preſume to attempt, in regard they ſaw themſelues, and the Kingdome brought to be perpetually haraſſed at the Kings will, and that violence and corruption hath no faculty to preſcribe vpon them: wherein their cauſe was much better then their proſecution. For whilſt they ſtriue to recouer what they had loſt, and the King to keepe what hee by aduantage of time and ſufferance had gotten, many vniuſt and inſolent courſes are vſed on eyther ſide, which leaue their ſtayne to poſterity, and make foule the memory of thoſe times. We can excuſe no part heerein, all was ill, and out of order. A diſeaſed head firſt made a diſtempered body, which being not to be recouered apart, rendred the ſickneſſe ſo long and tedious as it was. Beſides, the ſtrange corruption of the ſeaſon concurred, to adde to this miſchiefe; An ambitious Clergy polluted with auarice, brought Piety in ſhew to be a preſumptiue party herein, and takes aduantages vpon the weakeneſſes they found, for which, the *Roman* Church heares ill to this day. And the occaſion of their interpoſition in this buſineſſe began about the election of a new Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (*Hubert* being lately dead) which the Monkes of that Couent had made ſecretly in the night, of one *Reginald* their Subprior; to preuent the King whom they would not, ſhould haue a hand in the buſines, which they pretended to appertayne freely to themſelues by their ancient priuiledges. And this *Reginald* (thus elected) they inſtantly diſpatch towards *Rome*, taking his Oath of ſecreſie before hand. But the fulneſſe of his ioy burſt open that locke, and out comes the report of his aduancement; vppon his landing in *Flanders*; which the Monkes hearing, and fearing what would follow, ſend to the King to craue leaue to elect a fit man for that Sea. The King nominates vnto them *Iohn Gray* Biſhop of *Norwich*, whom hee eſpecially fauoured, and perſwaded them (vpon great promiſes of their good) to preferre: the Kings deſire is propounded to the Couent, and after much debate, is *Iohn Gray* aduanced to the Chayre.

Reginald firſt choſen Archbiſhop by the Monkes.

Wherein their laſt error (ſayth Mat. Par.) was worſt then their firſt, and beganne that diſcord, which after prooued an vnreparable dammage to the Kingdome.

The King ſends to *Rome* certayne of the Monkes of *Canterbury* (amongſt whom was one *Helias de Brandfield*, a moſt truſty ſeruant of his) with bountifull allowance, to obtayne the Popes confirmation of this Election. And about the ſame time likewiſe ſend the Biſhops ſuffragans (of the Church of *Canterbury*) their complaynts to the Pope againſt the Monkes, for preſuming to make election without their aſſiſtance, as by Right and Cuſtome they ought: Alledging examples of three Arch-biſhops ſo elected. The Monkes oppoſe this allegation, offering to bring prooſe that they onely, by the ſpeciall priuiledge of the Roman Biſhops, were accuſtomed to make this election. The Pope appoints a peremptory day, for deciding this Controuerſie; wherein the firſt Election for being made in the night, out of due time, and without ſolemne Ceremony, is oppugned by the Kings procurators: The laſt was argued by ſome of the Monkes to be ill, by reaſon there was no caſſation of the firſt, which iuſt or vniuſt, ought to haue beene, before any other election, could iuridically be made.

Innocent the ninth.

The Pope ſeeing the procurators not to agree vpon one perſon, by the Councell of the Cardinalls adiudged both elections voyde, and preſents vnto them a third man, which was *Stephan de Lanſton*, a Cardinall of great ſpirit, and an Engliſh-man borne, who had all the voyces of thoſe Monkes which were there, through the perſwaſion of the Pope, alledging it was in their power by his prerogatiue to make good this choyce.

Stephen Lanſton Elected Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*.

Stephan Lanſton thus elected, and after Conſecrated at *Viterbo*, the Pope diſmiſſes the Monkes and the reſt of the Agents with Letters to King *Iohn*, exhorting him, *benignly to receiue this Arch-biſhop Canonically elected natiue of his Kingdom, learned in al the Sciences, a Doctor of Theologie; and, which exceeded his learning, of a good life and conuerſation: a man fit, both for his body and his ſoule, &c.* Withall hee writes to the Prior, and Monkes of *Canterbury*, charging them *by the vertue of Holy Obedience to receiue the Arch-biſhop to their Paſtor, and humbly to obey him in all Spirituall and Temporall matters.*

Theſe letters, with the notice of what was done at *Rome*, ſo intraged the King, as with all precipitation he ſends *Feulke de Cantle*, and *Henry de Cornhil*, two fierce Knights, with armed men, to expell the Monkes of *Canterbury*, as Traytors, out of the Kingdome, and to ſeaſe vpon all they had; which preſently was as violently executed as commaunded, and away packe the Prior and all the Monkes into *Flaunders* (except ſuch as were ſicke and not able to goe) and all their goods confiſcated.

King *Iohn* offended with this election, writes to the Pope.

Herewithall he writes a ſharpe letter to the Pope, *accuſing him of the wrong he did in caſſing the election of* Norwich, *whom he eſpeciall fauored, and aduancing* Stephan Lanſton, *a man vnknown to him, bred euer in the kingdom of* France, *and among his enemies; and what was more to his preiudice, and ſubuerſion of the liberties appertaining to his crown, without his conſent (giuen to the Monkes) which ſhould firſt haue bin required, he had preſumed raſhly to prefer him: ſo that he much meruailed that the Pope and the vniuerſall Court of* Rome, *would not call to minde how neceſſary his friendſhip had hitherto been to that Sea; and conſider, that the Kingdome of* England *yeelded the ſame greater profit, and commodity, then all the Kingdomes elſe on this ſide the* Alpes. *Beſides, that he would ſtand to the liberty of his Crowne to the death:* conſtantly affirming, *that he could not be reuoked from the Election and preferment of the Biſhop of* Norwich, *whom he knew euery way fit for the place.* And in concluſion threatens, *that if he be not righted in the Premiſes, he would ſtop vp the paſſages of his people to* Rome; *and that if neceſſity required, he had in the Kingdome of* England, *and other his Dominions, Arch-biſhops, Biſhops and other Prelates of ſo ſufficient learning, as they needed not to begge iuſtice, and iudgement of ſtrangers.* The Pope returnes anſwere to the Kings Letter, and beginnes with theſe Words, *When about the buſineſſe of the Church of* Canterbury, *we wrote vnto you, exhorting and requeſting you humbly, earneſtly, and benignly, you againe wrote backe to vs (as I may ſay, by your leaue) in a faſhion threatning, reproouing, contumacious, and very ſtubbornely; and whileſt wee tooke care, to giue you aboue your right, you regard not to giue vs according to our right, reſpecting vs leſſe then becomes you. And if your deuotion be moſt neceſſary for vs, ſo is ours no leſſe fit for you. When we, in ſuch a caſe haue honoured no Prince ſo much as you you ſtucke not*

to

to derogate from our honor, more then any Prince in ſuch a caſe would haue done: pretending certain friuolous occaſions, wherin you alledge that you cannot conſent to the election of our beloued ſonne Mr. Stephan Presbiter *by the title of Saint* Chryſogonus *Cardinall, celebrated by the Monkes of* Canterbury, *for that he hath bin bred amongſt your enemies, and his perſon is altogether vnknowne to you.* Then argues he, *That it was not to be imputed vnto him for a fault, but was his glory to haue liued long at* Paris, *where he ſo profited in ſtudy as he deſerued to be Doctor, not only in the liberall Sciences, but alſo in Theologie; and his life agreeable to his learning was thought fit to obtaine a Prebend in* Paris. *Wherefore hee held it a marueile if a man of ſo great note, natiue of* England, *could be vnknowne vnto him, at leaſt in fame, ſince* (ſaith he) *you wrote thrice vnto him after he was by vs preferred to be Cardinall; that though you had a deſire to call him to your familiar attendance, yet you reioyced that he was exalted to a higher Office, &c.*

Then excuſes hee the poynt, that the Kings conſent was not required, in regard that they who ſhould haue required the ſame, affirmed how their letters neuer came to his hands, &c. *Although (ſayth he) in elections celebrated at the Apoſtolique Sea, the conſent of Princes is not to be expected: Yet were two Monkes deputed to come to require your conſent, who were ſtayed at* Douer, *ſo that they could not performe their meſſage intoyned them*: with other allegations to this effect, ſo that at length, (ſayth hee) *we were diſpoſed to doe what the Canonicall* Sanctions *ordayned to bee done, without declining eyther to the right hand or to the left, that there might be no delay or difficulty in right intentions, leſt the Lords flocke ſhould bee long without Paſtorall cure; and therefore reuoked it cannot bee.* In concluſion hee vſeth theſe Words, *As wee haue had care of your Honour beyond right, endeauour to giue vs ours according vnto right, that you may more plentifully deſerue Gods Grace, and ours, leſt if you doe otherwiſe, you caſt your ſelfe into thoſe difficulties, whence you cannot eaſily get out: Since hee in the end muſt ouercome, to whom all knees bow in Heauen, Earth and Hell; whoſe Vice-gerency heere below (though vnworthy) wee execiſe. Yeelde not therefore to their Counſells, who deſire your diſturbance, that themſelues might fiſh in troubled Waters; but commit your ſelfe to our pleaſure, which will redound to your Praiſe, Glorie and Honour. Neither is it ſafe for you to repugne againſt God and the Church, for which, the bleſſed Martyr and glorious Biſhop* Thomas *lately ſhed his blood, eſpecially ſince your Father and brother of cleare memory, late Kings of* England, *haue in the hands of the Legats of the Apoſtolique Sea, abiured that impious Cuſtome. We, if you acquite your ſelfe, will ſufficiently take care for you and yours, that no preiudice ſhall ariſe vnto you hereby.* Dated at *Lateran* the 10th. yeare of our Pontificat.

Thus wee ſee how theſe two mighty powers ſtriue to make good each others prerogatine, and defend their intereſts with Words. But when the Pope vnderſtood how the King of *England* had proceeded againſt the Church of *Canterbury*, hee ſends preſently his Mandate to the Biſhops of *London*, *Eley*, and *Worceſter*, to deale with the King by way of exhortation, to reforme himſelfe; and if they found him ſtill contumacious, they ſhould interdict the whole Kingdome of *England*. If that would not correct him, then himſelfe would lay a ſeuere hand vpon him; and with all charged the Biſhops Suffragans of the Church of *Canterbury*, by vertue of their obedience to receiue for Father the Arch-biſhop *Stephan*, and to obey him with all reſpect. The Biſhops as they were enioyned, repayre to the King: Shew the Popes Mandat, and with teares beſought him, *As he had God before his eyes, to call home the Arch-biſhop, and the Monkes of* Canterbury *to their Church, and vouchſafe to vſe them with Honour and Charitie, thereby to auoide the ſcandall of interdiction, &c.*

The Popes Mandat to the B B.

The King interrupting the Biſhops ſpeech, breakes out into violent rage againſt the Pope, and the Cardinall, ſwearing by the teeth of God, *That if they or any other ſhould dare to put the kingdom vnder interdiction, he would preſently ſend all the Clergy of* England *to the Pope, and confiſcat their goods.* Beſides, *if any of* Rome *were found within any part of his Land, he would cauſe their eyes to be put out, their noſes cut, and ſo ſent home that by theſe markes they might be knowne of other Natiõs.* Charging moreouer the Biſhops preſently *to auoide his preſence, as they would auoide their owne danger.*

King *Iohns* anſwer to the B B.

1208. *Anno Reg.* 11.

Of this their ill ſatisfaction, the Biſhop certifies the Pope; and ſhortly after the whole Kingdome of *England* is interdicted: all Eccleſiaſticall Sacraments ceaſe, except Confeſſion, Extreame Vnction, and Baptiſme of Children: the dead are carried out and put into the earth without Prieſt or Prayer. The Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Worceſter*, *Bathe*, and *Hereford*, ſecretly get out of the Kingdome.

To anſwere this violence with the like, the King ſends preſently his Shrieſes, and other his Miniſters to command all Prelates, and their ſeruants forth-with to depart out of the Kingdome; deputes the Biſhoprickes, Abbayes and Priories into the hands of Lay-men, confiſcating all their reuenues; but the Prelates themſelues get into Monaſteries, and would not out, except expelled by force; which the Officers would not do, hauing no Commiſſion for the ſame, but they ſeize on all their goods to the Kings vſe.

Heere the Monaſticall Writers of that time) by whom onely we haue notice of theſe proceedings) aggraiuate the rigorous courſe taken in this buſineſſe, telling vs that religious men, of what order ſoeuer, found trauaiing, were pulled from their Horſes, robbed, and vily treated by the Kings ſeruants, and none to do them Iuſtice. And how the ſeruants of a Shriefe bringing bound vnto the King a theefe (who had robbed and killed a Prieſt) to know what ſhould be done with him: the King ſayd, *Looſe him and let him go, he hath killed our enemy*. But howſoeuer this were, there were Exceſſes too many committed in a time ſo vntied as this was.

The King takes pledges of his Nobles for their fidelity.

The King to preuent the defection of his ſubiects, which hee daily doubted would follow vpon this his breach with the Church, ſends with a military power, to all the potent men of the Kingdome, to require pledges for the aſſurance of their fidelity; wherein many of them ſatisfied the King, will ſending ſome their ſonnes, ſome their nephewes, other the neareſt of their kinne. *William de Brauſe* a Noble man beeing required to deliuer his pledge his wife preuenting her husbands anſwere, tells the Commiſſioners, *That the King ſhould haue none of her ſonnes to keepe, that was ſo ill a keeper of his owne brothers ſon, Arthur*; for which ſuddaine and intemperate ſpeech, the Baron ſharply reprehending his wife before the Kings ſeruants, told them he was ready, if he had offended, to ſatisfie the King, without any pledge, according to the iudgement of his Court, or that of his Peeres, at any time or place whereſoeuer.

His cruelty ſhewed to the wife and children of *William de Brauſe*.

Vpon the report of this anſwer the King ſends downe priuily to apprehend the Baron, but he hauing notice or doubting what would follow; fled with his Wife and Children into *Ireland*; where, afterward this afflicted Lady to recouer mercy of the King, is ſaid to haue ſent Queene *Iſabel* foure hundred Kine, and a Bull, which yet could not mediate her pardon, or pacifie his wrath. But in the end ſhe was there taken with her two ſonnes (the husband eſcaping into *France*) and ſent Priſoner to the Caſtle of *Windſor*, where ſhe with her two innocent children were famiſhed to death; ſo dearely payd ſhee, for the offence of her raſh tongue.

The Exchequer remooued to *Northampton*.

The King diſpleaſed with the *Londoners*, remoued his Exchequer to *Northampton*, and with a great army marches towards *Scotland*, to make Warre vpon that King for receiuing his enemies, and ayding them againſt him. But by mediation an accord is made, in this ſort, that the King of *Scots* ſhould pay eleuen thouſand markes of ſiluer, and deliuer vp his two daughters pledges for ſecuring the peace. Returning backe, hee cauſed all incloſures within his Forreſts to be layde open, a worke of great griefe to his ſubiects; whom, though in nothing he ſought to ſatisfie, yet ſeekes hee what hee may to faſten them in their obedience (whereof loue, and not rigour is the ſureſt bond) and takes homage of all Free Tenants, yea euen of children of twelue yeares of age, throughout the Kingdome.

King *Iohn* excommunicated.

Two yeares, to the great diſtraction of the State, the interdiction held, when the Pope, ſeeing no yeelding in the King, proceedes to the excommunication of his perſon, that extreame curſe of abſciſſion, which his Predeceſſor *Alexander*, better aduiſed, forbare to take vpon a ſuggeſtion of a more haynous act committed by *Henry* the ſecond, vpon the perſon of *Thomas Becket*; and by this violence, thinking to quaile the heart of a moſt vnmaiſterable King, put him into more deſperate rage with the Clergy, who notwithſtanding the Popes mandate, durſt not execute the ſame for many dayes after.

And

And first one *Geffery*, Arch-deacon of *Norwich*, seruing in the Kings Exchequer, conferring with the rest of his assistants, about this Sentence, affirmed, it was not safe for men beneficed to remaine in the obedience of an excommunicated King; and so without leaue retired himselfe home; and was the first subiect of his maisters wrath. Who presently sent Sir *William Talbot* with force to apprehend him, and lay him fast in Fetters in a most streight prison, and afterward, vpon the Kings Commandment, hee was put into a sheete of Lead, wherein, with the weight, and want of victualls hee soone perished.

The Arch-deacon of *Norwich* forsakes the kings seruice, his torture and death.

This excommunication of the King of *England*, was accompanied the same yeare with that of the Emperour *Otho* his Nephew, and are noted to bee staines of an vniust nature, *especially for being both done in cases of the Popes owne particular interest, seeking to extend a predomination beyond the bounds allowed vnto piety, which was, onely to deale with mens soules, and not their estates.* For in the aduancement of this Emperour *Otho* the third, the Pope had an especiall hand, opposing, for his owne ends the Election of *Philip* Sonne to the Emperour *Fredericke Barbarossa*. And in the vacancy of the Empire had seized vppon certaine peeces in *Italy* appertayning thereunto; which, *Otho* seeking to reuoke, procured vndeseruedly the Popes displeasure, who sent vnto him diuers messages, willing him to desist both from the prosecution of this recouery, as also from that which *Fredericke* King of *Sicile* (who was vnder the tuition of the Apostolike See) had seized vpon.

The Emperour *Otho* excommunicated.

The Emperour, is sayd to haue answered the *Popes* Nuncij, in this manner: *If the Pope vniustly desires to vsurpe what appertaines to the Empire, let him absolue me from the oath he caused me to take at my Coronation*; which was, *that I should reuoke whatsoeuer rights were distracted from the same; and I will desist*. But the Pope refusing the one, and the Emperor not yeelding vnto the other, the sentence of excommunication is pronounced against him. And all the States, as well of *Germanie* as the rest of the Roman Empire, are absolued of their fealty vnto him. Thus were these two mighty Princes, the greatest of all the Christian World, left to the mercy of their subiects; who, though they were, by this meanes, all vntyed from obedience, yet many were not so from their affections, or other obligations that held them firme vnto their Soueraignes. For there are so many ligaments in a state that tye it together, as it is a hard thing to dissolue them altogether, vnlesse it be by an vniuersall concurrency of causes that produceth a generall alteration thereof. And it is seldome seene of what temper soeuer Kings are, but they finde an eminent party in the greatest defection of their people. As this King (the first of *England*, we find put to this streight) had yet many noble members of power, besides the chiefe Officers of the Kingdome (whom their places confirme) that stucke vnto him. Whose names are recorded in *Mat. Par.* and other Writers.

1210. *Anno Reg.* 12. King *Iohn* reformes *Ireland*.

And the better to hold his reputation, and his people in action, hauing now no employment abroad, hee seekes to secure all other members of the Crowne of *England*, which were vnder his Dominion. And hauing ransackt great Treasure from the Iewes, makes an expedition into *Ireland*, vpon intelligence of some reuolt and disorder there. And at his first ariuall, all the great men which held the maritime Castles and the Champion Countries came in, and did homage and fealty vnto him at *Dublin*: such as inhabited the remote parts, and fastnesses o. the Kingdome, kept themselues away, and refused to come. Heere to reduce the Country into better order, hee ordaines the same to bee gouerned by the Lawes and Customes of *England*, causes English mony to be coyned there; and to be of equall value with that of this Kingdome, and currant alike in both: With many other orders, which had they bin with that care continued as they were aduisedly begun, would (as wise men deeme) haue setled that Kingdom in an intire obedience, and saued all that great toyle, and expence, which the neglect thereof cost this State in succeeding ages. And now hauing deputed *Iohn Gray*, Bishop of *Norwich*, Iusticier there, after onely three moneths stay, he returnes into *England*, where presuming now vppon his new gathered strength, hee summons all the Prelates of the Kingdome to appeare before him at *London*; of whom sayth *Mat. Par.* he extorted for their redemption, the summe of an hundred thousand pound sterling.

The Clergy pay to the king 100000. l. ster.

And the next yeare, beeing the twelft of his Reigne, with this Treasure hee reduces *Wales*

1211. Anno Reg. 13.

Wales (that had rebelled) to his Obedience, and takes eight and twenty children of the beſt families for pledges of their future ſubiection. Returning thence, exacts of euery Knight, that attended not his Army in that expedition, two markes; and at *Northampton* is pleaſed to receiue the Popes Agents, *Pandolphus* and *Durandus* (ſent to make peace betweene the Kingdome and Prieſt-hood) by whoſe exhortation, and the conſideration of the State of his Kingdome, hee conſented that the Arch-biſhop and the Monkes of *Canterbury*, with all the exiled Biſhops, ſhould in peace returne to their owne. But refuſing to make ſatisfaction for their goods confiſcated, the Agents depart vnſatisfied, to the greater preiudice of the King; whom now the Pope finding to bee yeelding in any thing, falles to bee more imperious to conſtrayne him to all whatſoeuer hee deſired: And abſolues all the Kings ſubiects of what condition ſoeuer from their obedience, ſtrictly forbidding them, vnder paine of excommunication, his Board, Counſell, and Conference. Which notwithſtanding preuailed not to diuert the Subiects from the ſeruice of their King. Who about this time takes occaſion, vppon the breaking out of certaine poore Mountainers of *Wales*, that makes pillage vpon the Borders, to rayſe another Army to inuade the whole Countrey. And being at *Nottingham*, prepared for this action (before he would ſit downe to dinner) cauſed thoſe eight and twenty children, the innocent pledges of the *Welch*, to be all hanged in his preſence. But before hee had dyned, Letters came that gaue him intelligence of a Conſpiracy intended for his owne deſtruction; and that if hee went forward in this Warre, he would be eyther ſlaine of his owne people, or betrayed to the enemy. Whereupon he returnes to *London*, againe requires, and hath pledges of thoſe Nobles hee ſuſpected, and heere *Euſtace de Veſey*, and *Robert Fitz Walter*, are accuſed of the Conſpiracy, who fled, the one into *Scotland*, the other into *France*.

1212. Anno Reg. 14.

1213. Anno Reg. 15.

The pope giues the kingdome of *England* to the king of *France*.

But now the Pope, for the laſt, and greateſt ſentence that euer yet was giuen againſt any Soueraigne King of this Kingdome, pronounces his abſolute depoſition from the Royall gouernment thereof and writes to the King of *France*, *That as he looked to haue remiſſion of his ſinnes, he ſhould take the charge vpon him, and expell King* Iohn *out of the Kingdome of* England, *and poſſeſſe the ſame for him, and his heires for euer.* To the ſame effect ſends he likewiſe his Letters to the Princes, and great men of other Nations, *That they ſhould aide the King of* France *in the deiection of this contumacious King of* England, *in reuenge of the iniuries done to the Vniuerſall Church; granting like remiſſion of their ſins, as if they vndertooke the Holie Warre.*

And with this Commiſſion is the Arch-biſhop of *Canterburie*, and the other exiled Biſhops of *England* with *Pandolphus*, diſpatched to the King of *France* for the execution thereof. Which, notwithſtanding, ſeemes rather done to terrifie King *Iohn*, then any way to aduance the King of *France*, whom the Pope deſired not to make greater then he was: howſoeuer, to amuſe the world, hee made ſhew to ingage him in this buſineſſe. For he gaue a ſecret charge to *Pandolphus* apart, that if *vpon the preparation, and forces gathered by the King of* France *for this deiection, he could worke the King of* England, *to ſuch conditions as he ſhould propound; abſolution and reſtorement ſhould be granted vnto him.*

The King of *France* aſſembles his forces for *England*.

The King of *France*, vpon this act of the Pope, and the ſollicitation of his Miniſters, commands all the Princes and Nobility within his Dominions to aſſemble their forces with Horſe, Armour, and all Munition to aſſiſt him in this buſineſſe, and bee ready, vnder paine of exheredation, at the Spring of the yeare: preparing likewiſe a great Nauy for the tranſportation of theſe forces into *England*. King *Iohn*, vpon intelligence hereof ſends to all the ports of his Kingdome commandement, to haue all ſhipping whatſoeuer poſſible to be made ready with all expedition: Summoning likewiſe *all Earles, Barons, Knights, and who elſe could beare Armes of any condition, to be ready at* Douer, *preſently vpon Eaſter, furniſhed with Horſe, Armour, and all militarie prouiſion to defend him, themſelues, and the Kingdome of* England *againſt this intended Innaſion, vnder paine of* Culuertage, *and perpetuall ſeruitude.*

King *Iohns* preparations for defence.

Whereupon ſo great numbers reſorted to *Douer*, *Feuerſham*, *Ipſwich*, and to other places ſuſpected, as exceeded the meanes both of furniſhment, and prouiſion to entertayne

tertayne them. So that multitudes were ſent home againe of vnneceſſary men, and onely a choyce reſerued of the abler ſort; which aroſe to the number of ſixty thouſand well appoynted for battaile. Beſides, ſo mighty a Nauy was made ready, as exceeded that of *France*.

And thus prepared, King *Iohn* expects his enemies, who ſecretly, two Knights, Templars, ſent by *Pandolphus*, ſo wrought with him, as notwithſtanding all this great power of his, he deſcends to accept of a treaty with him. Whereof *Pandolphus* is preſently aduertiſed, and withdrawes himſelfe out of the French Kings Army, comes ouer, and ſo terrifies King *Iohn*, with the mighty forces bent againſt him, and the eminent danger wherein he ſtood, as hee yeeldes to any conditions whatſoeuer propounded vnto him. And not onely grants reſtitution and ſatisfaction of what euer had bin taken from the Arch-biſhop, and the Monkes of *Canterbury*; the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely*, *Bath*, and *Lincolne*, (who were fled to the Arch-biſhop:) but alſo layes downe his Crowne, Scepter, Mantle, Sword, and Ring, *the enſignes of his royalty*, at the feete of *Pandolphus*, deliuering vp therewithall the Kingdome of *England* to the Pope, and ſubmits himſelfe to the iudgement and mercy of the Church.

King *Iohn* deliuers vp the kingdome of *England* with his Crowne to *Pandolphus*.

Two dayes (ſome write ſixe) it was before the Legate reſtored him his Crowne: at the receiuing whereof, he ſwore (and his Earles vndertaking for him) *that he and his ſucceſſours ſhould hold the Kingdome of* England, *and Lordſhip of* Ireland, *from the Sea of* Rome, *at the annuall tribute of a thouſand Markes of Siluer*. And this, with his homage and fealty, hee confirmed by his Charter at a houſe of the Templars, neere *Douer*. The eſpeciall weights that moued King *Iohn* to this extreame lowneſſe, they of thoſe times, note to be. Firſt, the conſideration of his offences to God, hauing liued fiue yeares excommunicated, to the great deformity of his Kingdome. Secondly, the greatneſſe of his enemy the King of *France*, and his adherence. Thirdly, the doubtfull faith of his Nobilities, whom he had offended. Fourthly, for that the *Aſcention* day was at hand; after which, one *Peter* a Hermit and Southſayer had propheſied, hee ſhould be no more King of *England*. Which, though miſtaken in the manner, was fulfilled in a ſort by this reſignation, and a new condition of Eſtate. But the Southſayer with his Sonne, ſuffered ſhortly after the penalty of death, for his otherwiſe interpreted diuination.

The cauſes that mooued king *Iohn* to this act.

Now, notwithſtanding this act and ſubmiſſion of King *Iohn*, the interdiction of the Kingdome continues, and his owne abſolution deferred, till reſtitution, and full ſatisfaction were performed to the Clergy; of which, eight thouſand markes of ſiluer was preſently deliuered to *Pandolphus*; who at the receiuing thereof, tramples it vnder his feete, as contemning that baſe matter, in reſpect of the grace conferred vppon the Tranſgreſſor; and returnes with the ſame into *France*. Where he declares what had paſſed in *England*; *and forbids the King of* France, *vpon paine of excommunication, to proceed any further in this enterpriſe, ſeeing King* Iohn *had thus ſubmitted himſelfe to the Church*.

Pandolphus forbids the *French* Kings proceedings.

The King of *France*, now all in readineſſe for this great inuaſion, and full with hope of Victory, receiuing this ſuddain, and vnexpected Meſſage, grew into great rage, and was, in regard of his honour, and infinite charge, hardly diuerted from this enterpriſe. Yet in the end, ſeeing his Confederates and followers quailed with this menace of the Church, extreamely diſcontent, hee giues it ouer.

Notwithſtanding, for his owne reputation and deſire of reuenge, hauing all theſe great forces on foote, and his Nauy ready in the mouth of *Seine*, would vndertake ſomething to giue ſatisfaction both to the Aduenturers, and his owne people intereſſed in this action. And for that, *Ferrand* Earle of *Flaunders*, adhering to King *Iohn*, refuſed to follow him in this expedition, on him hee fals (as being next him) enters into his Port of Dam, *vowing that* Flanders *ſhould either be* France, *or* France, Flanders. *Ferrand*, ſeeing this tempeſt come to light vpon him, ſends for ayde to King *Iohn*, who glad, hauing eſcaped at home the occaſion of a defenſiue Warre, to enter into an offenſiue abroad, both to employ this great collected Nauy of his, and alſo put his people in action, whoſe diſmiſſion, without ſome ſatisfaction, hee knew would breed no ſafe humor; diſpatches fiue hundred Sayle, with ſeuen hundred Knights into *Flanders*, vnder the conduct of his baſe brother *William Long-ſword* Earle of *Sallisbury*, *Reginald* Earle of *Bologn*, whom hee

The *French* king ſets vpon *Flanders*.

he had lately entertayned with a penſion, being for ſome demerit driuen out of *France*. And theſe arriuing at the Port of *Dam*, where they found the French Nauy vnorderly diſperſed, and without defence (their forces going out to inuade the Country) ſet vpon, and vtterly deſeited the ſame, and afterward ioyning their power with that of *Ferrand*, draue the King of *France* home with great diſhonour, and exceeding loſſe.

King *Iohn* rayſed with this victory, and his peace with the Church, ſets vpon great deſignes, taking opportunity of this diſaſter of the King of *France*, whom, in reuenge of his iniury, and hope of recouering his tranſmarine Dominions, hee plots to aſſayle on all ſides: ſtirring vp his Nephew *Otho* to ayde the Earle of *Flanders*, for an inuaſion vppon the Eaſt part, whilſt himſelfe with all his power ſhould enter vppon the Weſt. For execution whereof, firſt hee ſends ſupplies of Treaſure to his Chieftaines in *Flanders*, then aſſembles a great Army at *Portſmouth*, wherewith, hee reſolues to paſſe the Seas.

The Nobility refuſed to ayde King *Iohn*.

But his deſigne contrary to his deſire and haſte, came to bee delayed by the withdrawing of his Nobility, who refuſed to ayde or attend him, vntill hee were abſolued, and had confirmed vnto them their liberties: wherewith much inraged, ſeeing no other remedy, hee ſpeedily ſends for the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and the other Biſhops, which were yet in *France*, promiſing them preſent reſtitution, and ſatisfaction, vnder the hands and ſeales of foure and twenty Earle and Barons, vndertaking for the performance thereof, according to the forme of his Charter granted in this behalfe. *Pandolphus* with the Biſhop and the reſt of the exiled Clergy, forth-with come ouer, and finde the King at *Wincheſter*, where hee goeth foorth to meete them, and on his knees, with teares, receiues them, *Beſeeching them to haue compaſſion on him, and the Kingdome of* England. Abſolued hee is with great penitence, and compaſſion expreſt with teares of all the beholders, and ſweares vpon the Euangeliſts, *to loue, defend, and maintaine Holy Church, and the Miniſters thereof, againſt their aduerſaries to the vttermoſt of his power: That he would renue the good Lawes of his Predeceſſors, and eſpecially thoſe of King* Edward, *abrogating ſuch as were vniuſt: Iudge all his ſubiects according to the iuſt iudgment of his Court: That preſently vppon Eaſter next following he would make plenary ſatisfaction of whatſoeuer had beene taken from the Church.*

1214. *Anno Reg.* 6.

Which done, hee returnes to *Portſmouth*, with intention to paſſe ouer into *France*, committing the gouernment of the Kingdome to *Geffery Fitz Peter*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, with charge that they ſhould order all buſineſſes, together with the Councell of the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*.

And heere a numerous company of ſouldiers repayring to him, complayned that by their long attendance their money was ſpent, ſo that they could not follow him vnleſſe they might bee ſupplied out of his Exchequer: Which the King refuſing to doe, in a great rage, with his priuate family, takes ſhip, and puts forth to the Iſle of *Ierſey*; but ſeeing none of his Nobles or other to follow him, was forced (hauing loſt the opportunity of the ſeaſon) to returne into *England*; where hee gathers an Army, with intention to chaſtiſe the Lords who had thus forſaken him. But the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* followes him to *Northampton*, *Vrging that it was againſt his Oath taken at his abſolution, to proceed in that manner againſt any man; without the iudgment of his Court.* To whom the King in great paſſion replyed; *That he would not deferre the buſineſſe of the Kingdome for his pleaſure, ſeeing Lay iudgment appertained not vnto him*; and ſo in fury marches to *Nottingham*.

The Arch-biſhop threatens to excommunicate the King.

The Arch-biſhop followes him, and playnely told him, *That vnleſſe he would deſiſt from this buſineſſe, he would excommunicate all ſuch, as ſhould take armes againſt any, before the releaſing of the interdiction; and would not leaue him, vntill hee had obtayned a conuenient day for the Lords to come to his Court*, which ſhortly after they did, and a Parliament is aſſemble in *Paules*, wherein the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* produces a Charter of King *Henry* the firſt, whereby hee granted the ancient liberties of the Kingdome of *England* (which had by his Predeceſſours beene oppreſt with vniuſt exactions) according to the Lawes of King *Edward*, with thoſe emendations which his Father, by the Counſell of his Barons did ratifie. And this Charter beeing read

This Charter is recorded in *Mat. Par.* with teſtes of the Subſcribers.

before

before the Barons they much reioyced, *and swore in the presence of the Archbishop, that for these liberties they would if need required, spend their blood.* And therewithall, concluding a Confederation with the Arch-bishop, the Parliament brake vp.

Legem Regis Edwardi nobis reddo cum illis emendationibus quibus Pater meus eam emendauit.

Shortly after dyes, *Geffery Fitz Peter*, Iusticiar of *England*, a man of a generous spirit, learned in the Lawes, and skilfull in gouernment. Who in that broken time, onely held vncrased, performing the part of an euen Counsellour and Officer betweene the King and Kingdome; whom though the King most vsed, hee most feared, and least loued, as ill Princes doe their worthiest Ministers, whose grauity and iudgement may seeme to keepe them in awe. And hearing of his death, reioycing sayd, Now when he comes into Hell, let him salute the Arch-bishop *Hubert*, whom assuredly he shall find there. And turning to those about him, *swore by the feet of God, that now at length he was King, and Lord of* England, hauing a freer power to vntye himselfe from those knots which his oath had made to this great man against his will and to breake all the bands of the late concluded peace, vnto which he repented to haue euer condescended. And to shewe the desperate malice of this King (who, rather then not to haue an absolute domination ouer his people, to doe what he listed, would be any thing himselfe vnder any other that would but support him in his violences) there is recorded an Ambassage (the most base and impious that euer yet was sent by any free and Christian Prince) vnto *Miramumalim* the Moore, intitled the great King of *Affrica*, *Morocco*, and *Spaine*, wherein he offered to render vnto him his Kingdome, and to hold the same by tribute from him, as his soueraigne Lord: To forgoe the Christian Faith (which hee held vayne,) and receiue that of *Mahomet*. In which negotiation, the Commissioners are named to be, *Thomas Hardington*, *Ralph Fitz Nichols*, Knights, and *Robert* of *London* Clearke. The manner of their accesse to this great King is related, with the deliuery of their message, and King *Iohns* Charter to that effect; and how *Miramumalim* hauing heard at large their message, and the description both of the King and Kingdome, with the nature and disposition of the people, so much disdayned the basenesse, and impiety of the offerer, as with scorne hee commaunded his Ministers to depart instantly out of his presence, and Court. Yet afterward, to vnderstand some more particulars of the madnes of this King of *England*, he called for *Robert* the Clearke, and had priuate conference with him apart, about many particulars which hee himselfe reuealed to many, in the hearing of *Mathew* the Monke of Saint *Albans*, who wrot and declared these things, describing the person of this *Robert*, to be of a low stature, blacke, one arme shorter then another, two fingers vnnaturally growing together of visage like a Iew, &c. which relation we are not vtterly to contemne, proceeding from an Author of that grauity and credit, and liuing so neere those times, though to vs that are so farre off both in fashion and faith, it may seeme improbable in some parts; yet if wee consider whereto the desperate violence of this King, (who had made vtter wracke of conscience; and all humane respect) might carry him, seeing himselfe in that estate he was, we may not thinke it voyd of likely-hood, to haue had this dealing with an heathen king (who, in that time was formidable to all Christendome, and had on foote the mightiest Army that euer the Moores had in *Spaine*) which might eyther be to hold amity with him, or entertayne him otherwise for his owne ends. Though for the point of offering to forgoe the Christian faith, wee may in charity forbeare to make it a part of ours. Although this relator giues vs a note (amongst other which hee suppresst) that poynted at the irreligion of this king, who at the opening of a Fat Stag, ieastingly sayd. See how prosperously this beast hath liued, and yet neuer heard Masse. Which skoffe, in regard of the zeale then professed, sauoured of an impiety, vnfitting the mouth of a Religious king, and gaue scandall to the hearers, who tooke it according to their apprehension, apt to censure whatsoeuer comes from the mouth of Princes; which may warne them to be wary what they vtter in publique.

Mat. Par.

Miramumalim scornes the message of King *Iohn.*

A note of the Kings irreligion.

But this Embassage either neglected by *Miramumalim*, or disappointed by the ouerthrow of his great Army, with the death of his Sonne, which shortly after followed) King *Iohn* sets vpon another course, assayles Pope *Innocent* (prone to bee wrought by gift to doe any thing) with great summes of money, and a re-assurance of his tributary subiection, which shortly after hee confirmes by a new oath, and a new Charter before

King *Iohn* bribes the *Pope* and renewes his oath.

before the Popes Legate the Biſhop of *Tuſculum*, ſent ouer for the ſame purpoſe, and with full authority to compoſe the diſſentions betweene the Kingdome and Prieſthood. Which at many Aſſembles in diuers places was after debated, and in the end order was taken for a plenary ſatisfaction to bee made for the damages done to the Church. For which the King vppon account already, had payed twenty ſeauen thouſand Markes, and thirteene thouſand more were vndertaken by Sureties, to bee anſwered by a certayne day.

The interdiction releaſed.

1214.

Anno Reg.16.

And heereupon is the Interdiction releaſed, hauing continued ſixe yeares, three moneths, and foureteene dayes, to the ineſtimable loſſe of the Church and Churchmen, whereof an innumerable multitude of all orders now repayre to the Legate for ſatisfaction of damages receiued by the Kings miniſters during this interdiction. To whom the Legate anſweres: That it was not in his Commiſſion to deale for reſtitution to bee made vnto them all, but aduiſes them to complayne to the Pope, and craue of him plenary Iuſtice. Whereupon they depart much diſcontented, holding the Legates proceeding (for that he pleaſed not them) inclining onely to pleaſe the King: Who now is recommended to *Rome* for a moſt tractable, obedient, and indulgent Sonne of the Church, and the Clergy heares of blame for their obſtinacy vſed towards him.

The King hauing referred the ending of all this controuerſie to the Legate, and ſome other of his owne miniſters (beeing aſſured of the Popes fauour) was now gone into *Poicton*, to aſſayle (according to his former deſigne) the King of *France* on that ſide: whileſt his forces with thoſe of the Emperour *Otho*, by the way of *Flanders*, inuaded him on the other. And being with his Queene, landed at *Rochell*, many principall Barons of *Poicton* (apter to promiſe then performe their faith) came and ſwore fealty vnto him: With whom hee marches forward into the Country, recouers many Caſtles and peeces of importance. Whereof particularly by his owne Letters from *Parthenai*, hee certifies his Iuſtices of the Exchequer. And withall, ſhewes them how hee had granted to the Sonne of the Earle of *March*, his daughter *Ioan* in marriage (though ſayd hee, the King of *France* deſired her for his ſonne, but fraudulently, &c.

After this he goes into *Brittaine*, takes in the City of *Nantes*, prepares to encounter with *Lowys* the French Kings ſonne, who was come downe with a mighty army to oppoſe his proceeding. But the *Poictouins* diſtuſting his power, or hee them (hauing diſcouered the forces of the enemy) refuſed to fight: Whereuppon the King of *England* to his extreame griefe, forſooke the field, and make a diſhonourable truce with the King of *France*; and this was the laſt of his tranſmarine attempts. His forces into *Flanders* had farre worſe ſucceſſe; for the King of *France* with all the power hee could poſſibly make, incounters them at the bridge of *Bouines*, and ouerthrew the Emperour *Otho*, and the whole Army of the Confederates, wherein are reported to haue beene an hundred and fifty thouſand foote beſides horſe, and in the battaile, ſlayne a thouſand fiue hundred Knights, and taken priſoners, *Ferrand* Earle of *Flanders*, the Earles of *Salisbury*, and *Bologne*. And (as report the *Annales* of *Flanders*,) the Earle of *Sauoy*, the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Lamburg*, and the Earle of *Luxemburg*: the Emperour *Otho* the fourth, hardly eſcaped, and liued not long after.

The famous battaile of *Bouines*.

The death of the Emperour *Otho*.

Vppon theſe misfortunes, and fearing the outrage of a neceſſitous and diſtempered King, the Barons of *England* aſſemble themſelues at S^t. *Edmonsburie*, where they confer of the late produced Charter of *Henry* the firſt, and ſwore vpon the high Altar, that if King *Iohn* refuſed to confirme and reſtore vnto them thoſe liberties (the rights of the Kingdome) they would make warre vpon him vntill he had ſatisfied them therein: And further agreed that after Chriſtmas next they would petition him for the ſame, and in the meane time prouide themſelues of Horſe and Furniture, to bee ready if the King ſhould ſtart from his Oath made at *Winchester* at the time of his abſolution, for the confirmation of theſe liberties, and compell him to ſatisfie their demaund. After Chriſtmas they repayre in a military manner to the King lying in the new Temple, vrging their deſire with great vehemency: the King ſeeing their reſolution, and inclination to Warre, made anſwer, *That for the matter they required, he would take conſideration till after Eaſter next; and in the meane time, he tooke vpon him the croſſe (rather, as is ſaid, through feare then deuotion.)*

King *Iohn* takes vpon him the Croſſe to ſecure himſelfe from the Barons.

deuotion) ſuppoſing himſelfe to bee more ſafe vnder that protection. But the Lords continuing their reſolution, fore-ſeeing nothing was to bee obtayned but by ſtrong hand, aſſemble an Army at *Stamford*, wherein are ſayd to be two thouſand Knights, beſides Eſquires with thoſe that ſerued on foote; and from thence marched towards *Oxford* where the King then expected their comming, according to the appoynted time, for anſwer to their demaunds. And being come to *Brackly* with their Army the King ſends the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *William* Earle of *Pembrooke* Mareſchall, with other graue Counſellors, to demaund of them, what were thoſe Lawes and Liberties they required, to whom they ſhewed a Schedule of them, which the Commiſſioners deliuer to the King, who hauing heard them read, in great indignation asked why *The Barons did not likewiſe demaund the Kingdome, and ſwore that he would neuer grant thoſe Liberties whereby himſelfe ſhould bee made a ſeruant.* So harſh a thing is it to a power that hath once gotten out into the wide liberty of his will, to heare againe of any reducing within his Circle: not conſidering how they who inherit Offices ſucceed in the obligation of them, and that the moſt certaine meanes to preſerue vnto a King his Kingdomes, is to poſſeſſe them with the ſame conditions that he hath inherited them.

The reſolution of the Barons aſſembling their army at *Stamford*.

A Schedule of the demaunds of the Lords.

The Barons vpon his anſwere, being as haſty as he was auers, reſolue to ſeize on his Caſtles, and preſently march towards *Northampton*, which they beſiege, conſtituting *Robert Fitz Walter* their Generall, intituling him the *Mareſchall of the army of God, and holy Church*. And after their aſſayle the Caſtle of *Bedford*, where *William de Beauchamp* rendring his charge, receiues them; and the Londoners ſend thither priuy meſſage to ioyne with them, and deliuer vp the City to be guarded by their diſcretion.

The Lords ſeize on the Kings Caſtles.

And thither they repaire, and are ioyfully receiued, vnder pact of their indemnity, where daily increaſing in number of new Confederates, they make their proteſtation, neuer to giue ouer the proſecution of their deſire, till they had conſtrayned the King (whom they held periured) to grant them their rights.

The Lords repaire to *London*

King *Iohn* ſeeing himſelfe, in a manner generally forſaken, hauing ſcarce ſeauen Knights faithfull vnto him, counterfeits the ſeales of the B B. and writes in their names to all nations that the Engliſh were all Apoſtats, and whoſoeuer would come to inuade them, he, by the Popes conſent, would confer vpon them all their Lands, and poſſeſſions. But this deuiſe working no effect, in regard of the little confidence they had in the King, and the power of the Kingdome: a new mediation is made to the Barons by the Earle Mareſchall and others, and a Parle is had betweene *Windſor* and *Stanes*, in a Meadow called *Running-Mead* (a place anciently vſed for ſuch Conferences) where after many meetings and much debate, the King freely conſented, for the glory of God, and emendation of the Kingdome, to confirme thoſe Lawes and Liberties formerly reſtored, and in part ordayned by *Henry* the firſt.

King *Iohn* forſaken of his people.

The Earle *Mareſchal* and other mediate a reconciliation.

A Parliament for reſtoring the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdome.

And to the end that all diſcord ſhould vtterly ceaſe, he grants for the intire and firme enioying theſe Lawes and Liberties, Security in this manner. *That there ſhould be fiue and twenty Barons choſen of the Kingdome, ſuch as they would, who ſhould, to their vtmoſt power cauſe the ſame to be held, and obſerued. And that, if either the King or his chiefe Iuſticiar ſhould tranſgreſſe in any Article of theſe Lawes, and the offence ſhewed. Foure Barons of the fiue and twenty ſhould come to the King, or in his abſence out of the Kingdom, to his chiefe Iuſticiar, and declare the exceſſe requiring without delay, redreſſe for the ſame: which if not made, within the ſpace of forty daies after ſuch declaration; thoſe foure Barons ſhould referre the cauſe to the reſt of the fiue and twenty, who with the Commons of the land might deſtrain, and enforce him by all meanes they could (viz. by ſeizing vpon his Caſtles, Lands and Poſſeſſions or other goods) (his perſon excepted, and that of his Queene and Children) till amends ſhould be made, according to their arbitration. And that whoſoeuer would, ſhould take their Oath for the execution hereof, and obey the commandement of the fiue and twenty Barons herein without prohibition. And if any of them diſſented, or could not aſſemble, the maior part to haue the ſame power of proceeding.* Beſides for more caution, the foure Chatelaines of the Caſtles of *Northampton*, *Kenelworth*, *Nottingham*, and *Skarbrough*, *ſhould be ſworne to obey the Commaundement of the fiue and twenty Barons; or the maior part of them, in whatſoeuer they thought good concerning thoſe Caſtles. Wherein none*

Articles of the agreement confirmed by King *Iohn*.

ſhould be placed but ſuch as were faithfull, and would obſerue their Oath, &c. That all ſtrangers, whereof diuers are expreſly nominated ſhould be mooued out of the Kingdome. And a generall pardon granted for all tranſgreſſions committed, through the occaſion of this diſcord, from the beginning thereof to this preſent time. And mutuall Oathes taken of both ſides, in ſolemne manner, for the inuiolable obſerning all theſe Articles. The King likewiſe ſends his Letters Patents to all the Shrieſes of the Kingdome, to cauſe all men of what degree ſoeuer, within their ſeuerall Shieres, to ſweare to obſerue thoſe Lawes and Liberties thus granted by his Charter.

1215. *Anno Reg.* 17.

King *Iohn* by euill councell fruſtrates his owne Grants.

And in this manner (though it were to bee wiſhed, it had not beene in this manner) were recouered the rights of the Kingdome. Whereof, though they ſeeme to haue now the *Liuery* they had not the *Seiſin*. For preſently the King beeing looſe from the doing, which he pretends to be by force, vnlooſes the Deed, and there wanted not thoſe about him, who obſeruing which way his will bent, to turne him more violently vpon that ſide; not in regard of his good, but their owne intereſts, making more profit by his irregularity then otherwiſe they could, of his orderly courſes: *Telling him he was now a King without a Kingdome, a Lord without a Dominion, and a ſubiect to his Subiects.* Wicked Counſellors, as if it were not enough, to be aboue men, but to be aboue mankind, as thoſe Princes would be, that would bee vnder the Law; conſidering the preſeruation of Kings and Kingdomes is to haue the ballance of ſatisfaction, both of the one and other, equall. But by ſuch Counſailors is he confirmed in his refractory humour. And worthily that Prince deſerues to bee deceiued in his executions, who vnderſtands not, as well the Counſailors, as the Councell.

Retires into the Iſle of Wight, and writes to the Pope.

The Pope excommunicates the Barons.

Reſolued he is (giuen ouer to confuſion and reuenge) to diſſolue this tye, and priuily withdrawes himſelfe into the Iſle of *Wight*, from whence hee ſends his Agents to *Rome*, (where now hee could doe any thing) to complaine of this inforced act to the Pope, who by a definitiue Sentence, firſt condemnes and nullifies what was done, and after excommunicates the Barons: who during this abſence and retire of their King, knowing the violence of his nature, and doubting their owne danger, keepe in, and about the City of *London*; and there vnder colour of Turnements and exerciſe of armes, inuite thoſe who were abroade to reſort vnto them, and ſo retaine themſelues together in a combination for their owne defence, without ſeeking farther to interrupt their Kings courſes, eyther by ſurpriſe of his perſon, which they, being of ſo great ſtrength, might eaſily haue done, or vſing meanes to intercept his Agents, and take from him thoſe Limbes of his power that might worke ro offend them.

The errour of the Barons.

But this muſt eyther argue that their end was onely to haue (but what they had obtained) the reſtitution of the Liberties of the Kingdome (which though thus recouered by violence they ſeemed deſirous to hold with peace) or elſe their negligence; which may be thought ſtrange in thoſe wakefull and actiue times, to be ſuch, as to leaue a diſpleaſed King alone to his owne working, eſpecially remooued to a place, where the Sea being open vnto him, his out-ſendings might bee without view or noting: vnleſſe either they preſumed of his little credit abroad, or their owne power at home.

The king ſends to leauy forraigne forces.

But during this his retyre in the Iſle, which was three moneths, he ſlacks no time to put his deſires in execution, and beſides his diſpatch to *Rome*, ſends the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, Chancellor of *England*, the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and others with his ſeale, to procure him Forraine forces out of ſuch parts beyond the ſeas, as held correſpondency with him, appointing them to repaire to *Douer* about *Michaelmas* next. In the meane time, without any royall ſhew or ſtirre (attended with ſome borrowed ſeruants of the Biſhop of *Norwich*, and Marriners of the Cinke-ports, whom hee entertayned) hee, as they write, fell to piracy and exerciſed himſelfe at ſea: whiles various reports are made of him here on land; ſome giuing out, that he was turned Fiſher, ſome a Merchant, others a Pyrate. But at the time appointed he meetes at *Douer* with thoſe Forraine forces, drawne together out of *Poicton* and *Gaſcony*, vnder the Conduct of *Sanarie de Malcon*, *Geffery* and *Oliuer Butenile* brothers: with others out of *Louaine*, and *Brabant*, vnder *Walter Bucke*, *Gerrard Sotin*, and *Godſhall*, all deſperate aduenturers, leading an execrable ſort of people, whoſe miſerable fortunes at home, eaſily drew them to any miſchiefes abroad; and

Hee meetes with them at *Douer*.

with

with theſe is King *Iohn* Furniſhed to ſet vppon his owne people. And, had not *Hugh de Bones* (to whom the Countries of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk* were allotted for ſeruice to bee done) ſetting foorth from *Calice* with 40. thouſand more (men, weomen and children) beene by a ſuddaine tempeſt drowned in the Sea, hee had made an vniuerſall Conqueſt of the Kingdome, farre more miſerable then the Norman; conſidering that with thoſe hee had, he wrought ſo much as we ſhall heare preſently hee did.

Hugh de Bonis with 40000. men &c. comming out of *Flanders* drowned.

For, after he had recouered the Caſtle of *Rocheſter*, which *William de Albinet*, with memorable courage, held out three monthes againſt all that mighty power of his (the Barons not able or not aduenturing to ſuccour him) hee marched ouer the moſt of the Kingdome, and within halfe a yeare got in all the Caſtles of the Barons euen to the borders of *Scotland*, and was abſolute Maiſter of all *England*, except the City of *London*, on which he forbare to aduenture, in regard of the cloſe vnited power of the Barons that reſolutely held and vowed to dye together; and ſeparate them hee could not, and therefore from *Rocheſter* he marches to S^t^. *Albones*, where the firſt publication of the Popes excommunication of the Barons is pronounced.

The King in halfe a yeare recouers all his Caſtles.

1216.

Anno Reg. 18.

And here he deuides his Army (conſiſting moſt of rauenous ſtrangers) in two parts: appointing his brother *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, with *Falcaſius*, *Sanary de Malleon* Leader of the *Poictouins*, *Briwer*, and *Buc* of the *Flemings* and *Brabantines*, to guard the Countries and Caſtles about the City of *London*, to cut off all prouiſions, and annoy the Barons by all meanes poſſible: himſelfe with the other part of his Forces drawes Northward, and layes waſte all the Countries before him, and both theſe Armies ſet only vpon diſtruction, inflict all thoſe calamities, that the rage of a diſorderly Warre could commit, vpon a miſerable people that made no head at all againſt them.

King *Iohn* at St. *Albons* deuides his Army in two parts.

All Countries ſuffer in this affliction, and King *Iohn* marching as farre as *Barwicke*, had purpoſed to haue carried it farther (threatning *Alexander* King of *Scots*, *That he would hunt the Foxe to his hole*, alluding to his red haire) had hee not beene called from that attempt to come backe to theſe parts, vpon diſcouery of new Deſignes practiſed by the Barons, who ſeeing themſelues depriued of their Eſtates (giuen away to Strangers) their wiues and daughters violated, all their ſubſtance conſumed, deſperately fall vpon an other extreame, making out for ſuccour to *Louys* the French Kings ſonne, ſolliciting him to take vpon him the Crowne of *England*, wherein they promiſed by their Free election to inueſt him, and to ſend pledges for the performance thereof, beeing perſwaded that thoſe Forces of the French, which King *Iohn* had entertayned, would vpon the comming of thoſe aydes from the King of *France*, being their Soueraigne, forſake him. This meſſage is entertayned, a Parliament is called at *Lyons*, by King *Phillip* the Father of *Louys*, the buſineſſe conſulted, and reſolued vpon. *Louys* beſides the aſſurance made of his proffered election, relies vpon a title which hee claymes by his wife *Blanch*, daughter to the Siſter of King *Iohn*, and writes to the Barons that hee would ſhort ſend them ſuccour, and not be long behind to be with them in perſon.

The Barons ſollicite *Louys* the *French* kings ſonne, to take vpon him the Crowne of *England*

The intelligence of this deſigne is ſoone intimated to the Pope, who preſently ſends his Agent to the King of *France*, with letters to intreat him, not to ſuffer his ſonne to inuade or diſquiet the King of *England*, but to defend him, in regard he was a vaſſall of the Roman Church, and the Kingdome, by reaſon of Dominions, appertainiug therevnto. The King of *France* anſweres, *That the Kingdome of* England *neuer was, nor is, or euer ſhall be the patrimony of* S^t^. Peter, *and that King* Iohn *was neuer lawfull King thereof, and if he were, he had forfeited the ſame by the murther of* Arthur, *for which he was condemned in his Court, neyther could he giue away the Kingdome without the conſent of the Barons who are bound to defend the ſame. And if the Pope would maintaine this error, it would be a pernicious example to all Kingdomes.*

The Pope writes to diuert *Louys* from the enterpriſe.

Here with the Popes Agent departs vnſatisfied, *Louys* hauing firſt diſpatched Commiſſioners to *Rome* to declare his right and iuſtifie his vndertaking, ſets forth from *Calice* with 600. ſhips, and 80. other veſſell, and Lands with his Army at *Sandwich*. King *Iohn* attends him at *Douer*, with purpoſe to encounter him at his landing, but vpon notice of his great power, and diſtruſting the Faith of his mercinaries, hauing committed the keeping of the Caſtle of *Douer* to *Hubert de Burgh*, forſakes the field (and with it him-

Quater Vigint. Coggis.

Louys Lands in *Kent*, 21. of *May*.

himselfe) retyres first to *Winchester*, after to *Gloucester*, and leaues all to the will of his enemy *Louys*: who after hee had obtayned the submission of all *Kent* (except the Castle of *Douer* which he neuer could get) he comes to *London*, where he is ioyfully receiued of the Barons, and vpon his Oath taken to restore their Lawes, and recouer their rights, hath homage and fealty done him, as the Soueraigne Lord: Thither came likewise the Earles *Warrein*, *Arundel*, *Salisbury*, *William Mareschall* the younger with many other (forsaking King *Iohn*) and rendred themselues vnto him.

The little effect the Popes excommunication wrought.

Guallo the Popes Agent (notwithstanding the sword was out in all the way of his passage) got to *Gloucester*, shewes King *Iohn* the Popes care of him, and in solemne manner pronounces the sentence of Excommunication against *Louys*, and all that tooke part with him, which though it brought him some comfort for the time, yet it tooke little or nothing from the enemy: neither could it so confirme his mercinaries, but that most of them left him, and eyther returned home into their Countries with such spoyles as they had, or betooke themselues to this new commer. King *Iohn* was not yet so forsaken, but that he had power enough remayning, to infest, though not incounter his enemies, and Faith he found abroad amongst many of his Ministers that well defended their charge. *Douer* Castle with a small Company holds out, against all the force that *Louys* could bring against it. *Windsor* Castle garded but with 60. men could not be won with all the power of the Barons; some other peeces, as *Nottingham* and *Lincolne* Castles made very resolute resistance. But nothing is effected, saue the ruine of the Country.

The most-yeelding and fertill parts of the Kingdome as about *Gloucester*, the marches of *Wales*, *Lincolnshire*, *Cambridgshire*, *Norfolke*, *Suffolk*, *Essex*, *Kent*, and all about *London*, are the Stages of this Warre, and here they act their mischieses, which continued all that Summer; And about the latter end of October, a burning Feuer makes an end of this fiery King, which tooke him vpon an extream griefe conceiued for the losse of his carriages sunke in the Sands, passing the *Washes* betweene *Lin* and *Boston*; and was augmented by a surfeit of Peaches, and new Ale taken at the Abbey of Swineshead, from whence in great weaknes he is conueyed to *Newarke*, where, after he had receiued the Eucharist, and taken order for the succession of his sonne *Henry*, hee departes this life, hauing raigned 18. yeares, fiue monthes, and foure dayes.

The death of King *Iohn*.

The Abbot of *Crockeston*, a man skilfull in Physicke, and at that time the Kings Physition disbowelled his body, who, no doubt would haue giuen notice, to the World had his Maister (as it was in after ages vainely bruted) beene poysoned by a Monke of Swinshead Abbay, but the Writers of those times report no such matter. Howsoeuer his Death takes not away the reproach of his life, nor the infamy that followes him, whereunto ill Princes are as subiect as their euill Subiects, and cannot escape the brute of a clamarous Pen, witnesse this Distichon.

Mat. Par.

Anglia sicut adhuc sordet fœtore Iohannis,
Sordida fœdatur fœdante Iohanne Gehenna.

His issue.

Hee had issue by his wife *Isabel* (daughter to *Aymer* Earle of *Angolesme*) two sonnes *Henry* and *Richard*, also three daughters *Ioan*, *Elioner*, and *Isabell*.

Henry succeeded him in his Kingdome, *Richard* was Earle of *Cornewall* and Crowned King of the *Romans*, and had issue *Henry* and *Iohn* that dyed without issue, also *Edward* Earle of *Cornewall* and others.

Iohn Speede.

Ioan the eldest Daughter (marryed to *Alexander* the second, King of *Scots*) dyed without issue.

Elioner the second daughter (marryed to *Simon* Earle of *Leicester*, had issue *Henry*, *Simon*, *Almaricke*, *Guy*, *Richard*, and *Elioner*. *Henry* slaine without issue. *Simon* Earle of *Bigorre*, and Ancestor to a Family of the *Mountfords* in *France*. *Almarick* first a Priest, after a Knight. *Guy* Earle of *Angleria*, in *Italy*, and Progenitor of the *Mountfords* in *Tuscaine*; and of the Earles of the *Campo Bacchi* in the Kingdome of *Naples*. *Richard* remayning priuily in *England*, and changing his name from *Mountford*, to *Wellesborne*, was Ancestor of the *Wellesbornes* in *England*. *Elioner* borne in *England*, brought vp in *France*, married into *Wales* to Prince *Lewin ap Griffith*.

Isabell

Isabell their youngeſt daughter (marryed to the Emperor *Fredricke* the ſecond) had iſſue, *Henry* appointed to be King of *Sicile*, and *Margaret* wife of *Albert*, *Landgraue*, *Thurine*. She dyed in child-bed after ſhe had beene Empreſſe ſixe yeares. He had alſo two naturall ſonnes. *Geffery Fitz Roy*, that tranſported ſouldiers into *France*, when *Hubert* forbad his Father to go thither: *Richard*, (that married the daughter and Heire of *Fulbert de Doner* (who built *Childham* Caſtle) had iſſue by her, of which ſome Families of good eſteeme are deſcended. Likewiſe one naturall Daughter *Ioan* married to *Lewin* Prince of *Wales*.

The end of the Life, and Reigne of King Iohn.

The Life, and Reigne, of Henry the third.

THE Death of King *Iohn*, though it much altered, yet it ended not the miſerable buſineſſes of the Kingdome: For *Louys*, notwithſtanding held his hopes, and his party though much ſhaken by the ſuddaine Coronation of *Henry*, eldeſt ſonne to King *Iohn*, ſolemnized in a great Aſſembly of State at *Glocester* the 28. of *October*, and committed to the tutelage of the great Marſhall, *William* Earle of *Pembrooke*, the maine Pillar of the Father, and now the preſeruer of the Crowne to his ſonne, a man eminent both in courage and Councell, who with *Guallo* the Popes Legate the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *Bathe*, and *Worceſter* worke all meanes to draw the Barons, and as many of power as they could to their new and naturall King from this Excommunicate ſtranger, and his adherents. And bred great fluctuation in the mindes of moſt of them doubtfull what to reſolue vpon, in regard of the tender youth of *Henry*, and their Oath made to *Louys*.

1216. *Anno Reg.* 1. *Henry* the third Crowned at *Glocester*.

But ſuch was the inſolence of the French, making ſpoile and prey of whatſoeuer they could faſten on (and now inuented by *Louys*, contrary to his Oath, in all thoſe places of importance they had recouered) as made many of the Engliſh to relinquiſh their ſworne fidelity, and forſake his part. Which more of them would haue done, but for the ſhame of inconſtancy, and the danger of their pledges, remayning in *France*, which were great tyes vpon them. Beſides, the popular bruit generally divulged concerning the confeſſion of the Viſcount *Melun* a French-man, who, lying at the point of death, toucht with compunction, is ſaid to reueale the intention, and vowe of *Louys* (which was vtterly to extinguiſh the Engliſh Nation, whom he held vile, and neuer to be truſted, hauing forſaken their owne Soueraigne Lord) wrought a great auerſion in the hearts of the Engliſh, which whether it were indeede vttered, or giuen out of purpoſe, it was ſo to be expected, according to the precedents of all in-bought Farryners vpon the deuiſions of a diſtracted people.

The Confeſſion of the Viſcount *Melun* at his death.

And firſt *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, mooued in blood to ſuccour his Nephew, tooke away a maine peece from the ſide of *Louys*, and with him the Earles of *Arundel*, *Warren*, *William*, ſonne and heire to the great Marſhall, returne to the fidelity of *Henry*, after ſixe months they had reuolted to the ſeruice of *Louys*, which now may be thought was done but to temporiſe, and try the hazard of a doubtfull game, otherwiſe a brother would not haue forſaken a brother nor ſo Noble a Father, and ſonne haue deuided their ſtarres. Notwithſtanding *Louys* found hands enough to hold *London*, withall the Countries about it a whole yeare after, ſo that the young King was conſtrained to remaine about *Glocester*, *Worceſter*, and *Briſtow*, where his wakefull Miniſters fayle not to imploy all meanes to gather vpon whatſoeuer aduantages could be eſpied, and at length ſo wrought as they draw the enemy from the head of the Kingdom downe into the body, firſt into *Leiceſter* ſhire to relieue the Caſtle of *Montſorel*, a peece appertaining to *Saer de Quincy* Earle of *Wincheſter*, a great partiſan of *Louys*, and after by degrees to *Lincolne*, where a Noble Lady, called *Phillippa* (but of what Family, time hath iniuriouſly bereft vs the knowledge) had, more then with Feminine courage defended the Caſtle, the ſpace of a whole yeare, againſt *Gilbert de Gant*, and the French forces, which were poſſeſt of the Towne.

Diuers Lords reuolt from *Louys*.

The Earle Marchall Protector of the King and Kingdome, with his ſonne *William*: the Biſhops of *Winchester*, *Salisbury* and *Chester*, the Earles of *Salisbury*, *Ferrers*, and *Albermarle*, *William de Albinet*, *John Marſhall*, *William de Cantelupe*, *Falcaſius*, *Thomas Baſſet*, *Robert Veypont*, *Brent de Liſle*, *Geffery Lucy*, *Phillip de Albinet*, and many other Barons, and Marſhall men, being with all the power of the young King (whoſe forces as he marched, grew daily greater) come to a place called *Stow* within eight miles of *Lincoln* the Legate *Gualo* (to adde courage and reſolution to the Army) cauſed vpon confeſſion of their ſins, the Euchariſt to be miniſtred and giues them a plenary abſolution, ſolemnly accurſing *Louys* with all his adherents, as ſeperated from the vnity of the Church, which doe, they ſet foorth, and with ſuch violence aſſayle the City on all ſides, as the defendants (after the Earle of *Perch*, valiantly fighting, was ſlayne) were ſoone deteited, and all the Principall men taken Priſoners, whereof theſe are nominated: *Saer* Earle of *Winchester*, *Henry de Bohun*, Earle of *Hereford*, *Gilbert de Gant*, lately made Earle of *Lincolne* by *Louys*, *Robert Fitz Walter*, *Richard Mouſichet*, *William Mowbray*, *William Beauchamp*, *William Mandit*, *Oliuer Harcort*, *Roger de Creſſy*, *William de Coleuile*, *William de Ros*, *Robert de Ropſley*, *Ralph Chandut* Barons, beſides 400. Knights or men at Armes with their ſeruants, horſe and Foot. The number and quality of the perſons taken, ſhew the importance of the place, and the greatneſſe of the Victory, which gaue *Louys* his maine blow, and was the laſt of his battailes in *England*.

The forces of *Louys* ouerthrowne.

The ſpoyle of *Lincolne*.

The ſpoyles were very great beeing of a City, at that time rich in Merchandize, whereupon the winners (in deriſion) tearmed it *Louys his Faire*. Many of thoſe who eſcaped, and fled from this ouerthrow; were ſlayne by the Country people in their diſorderly paſſing towards *London*, vnto *Louys*, who vpon notice of this great defeat ſends preſently ouer for ſuccours into *France*, and drawes all the power hee had in *England*, to the City of *London*; whether the Earle Marſhall with the young King bend their courſe, with purpoſe eyther to aſſayle *Louys* vpon this Freſh diſmay of his loſſe, and the diſtraction of his partakers, or induce him by agreement to relinquiſh the Kingdome. The firſt beeing found difficult, the laſt is propounded, whereunto *Louys* would not be brought to yeelde, vntill hearing how his ſuccors comming out of *France*, were by *Phillip de Albeny*, and *Hubert de burgh*, with the Forces of the *Cinke-ports*, all vanquiſhed at ſea; hee then hopeleſſe of any longer ſubſiſting with ſafety, condiſcends to an accord: takes fifteene thouſand markes for his Voyage: abiures his clayme to the Kingdome: promiſes by Oath to worke his Father, as farre as in him lay, for the reſtitution of ſuch Prouinces in *France*, as appertayned to this Crowne; and that when himſelfe ſhould be King, to reſigne them in peaceable manner.

The peace was concluded the 11. of Sep.

1218. *Anno Reg.* 3.

On the other part King *Henry* takes his Oath, and for him, the Legate, and the Protector, to reſtore vnto the Barons of this Realme, and other his ſubiects, all their rights and heritages, with thoſe liberties for which the diſcord beganne betweene the late King and his people. Generall pardon is granted, and all priſoners freed on both ſides: *Louys* is honorably attended to *Doner*, and departs out of *England* about *Michaelmas*: aboue two yeares after his firſt arriuall, hauing beene here, in the greateſt part, receiued King, and was more likely to haue eſtabliſhed himſelfe, and made a Conqueſt of this Kingdome, (being thus pulled in by others armes) then the Norman that made way with his owne, had not the All-diſpoſer otherwiſe diuerted it.

Such effects wrought the violence of an vnruly King, and the deſperation of an oppreſſed people, which now notwithſtanding the Fathers iniquity, moſt willingly imbrace the ſonne, as naturally inclined to loue, and obey their Princes.

1219. *Anno Reg.* 4.

And in this recouery, the induſtry of *Gualo* the Legate wrought much, though what he did therein was for his owne ends, and the pretended intereſt of the Pope, whoſe ambition had beene firſt an eſpeciall cauſe of this great combuſtion in the Kingdome, *but as they who worke the greateſt miſchiefes, are oftentimes the men that can beſt repaire them*, ſo was it in this, and therefore the leſſe worthy of thankes. The Legat was well payed for his paines, and notwithſtanding the great diſtreſſe of the Kingdome carries away twelue thouſand Markes with him to *Rome*.

But thus the longſt afflicted ſtate beganne to haue ſome peace, and yet with many diſtem-

diſtempratures at the firſt, ere thoſe virulent humours which the Warre had bred were otherwiſe diuerted. For many of the Nobles who had taken part with the King, eyther vnſatisfied in their expectations, or knowing not how to maintayne themſelues and theirs, but by rapine; fall to mutiny, ſurprizing of Caſtles, and making ſpoyles in the Country, as the Earle of *Albemarle*, *Robert de Veypont*, *Foulke de Brent*, *Brian de Liſle*, *Hugh de Baulioll*, with many other, but at length, they are likewiſe appeaſed. And ſeeing the Warre muſt nurſe, whom it had bred, an action is vndertaken for the Holy Land, whether *Ralph* Earle of *Cheſter*, *Saer de Quincy* Earle of *Wincheſter*, *William de Albeny* Earle of *Arundel*, *Robert Fitz Walter*, *William de Harcort*, with many other, are ſent with great Forces: beſides to vnburthen the Kingdome, all ſtrangers, vnleſſe ſuch as came with Merchandize, are commanded to auoyde the Land, and all meanes vſed for the regaining the ability it had loſt.

And no ſooner had this prouident Protector the Earle of *Pembrooke* ſetled the Kings affaires, but hee dies, to the great regrate of the Kingdome; leauing behind him a moſt Noble memory of his actiue worth, and is to bee numbred amongſt the examples of the beſt of men, to ſhew how much the Wiſedome and Valour of a Potent Subiect may ſteede a diſtracted State in time of danger. The death of the Protector Earle Marſhal.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* (imparting the charge with many other great Councellors) is made Protector of the young King, who in *Anno Regni* 4. is againe crowned, and the next yeare after, hath by Parliament granted for the Eſcuage two markes of ſiluer of euery Knights Fee, for the affaires of the Kingdome, and recouery of his tranſmarine Dominions, which now is deſigned, and *Malleon de Sauers* the *Poictouins* with *William Longſword* Earle of *Saliſbury* ſent ouer into *Guien* to try the affections of that people, whom they finde, for the moſt part inclinable to the obedience of this Crowne. The King of *France* is required to make reſtitution of what hee had vſurped, but returnes anſwere; *That what hee had gotten both by forfeiture, and Law of Armes, hee would holde.* *The* King againe crowned. 1 Parliament.

To retayne amity with *Scotland*, and peace at home, *Ioan*, the Kings ſiſter is giuen in marriage to *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Margaret*, ſiſter to the ſame King, to *Hubert de Burgh*, now made Iuſticiar of *England*, and the eſpeciall man who guided the greateſt affaires of the Kingdome. *Wales*, reuoking vnder their Prince *Lewelin*, gaue occaſion of great charge and trouble to this State, in the beginning of this Kings Raigne, and long after, till it was wholly ſubdued. And a commotion in *Ireland*, made by *Hugh Lacy*, is appeaſed by *William* Earle of *Pembrooke*, ſonne to the late great Marſhall, and ſome few yeares after hath the Kingdome a kinde of quietneſſe, ſauing that *Falcaſius* (or *Foulke de Brent*) with certaine Chatelains (the dregs of War) fortifying the Caſtle of *Bedford*, with ſome other peeces of ſtrength, and committing many outrages, gaue occaſion of buſineſſe tell they were gotten by hard aſſault. 1220. *Anno Reg.* 5.

But now, the King being come to ſome yeares of vnderſtanding, was, in a Parliament holden at *London*, put in minde by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, in behalfe of the State of his Oath made, and taken by others for him, vppon the peace which *Louys* for confirmation of the liberties of the Kingdome, for which the Warre began with his Father, and being the maine baſe whereon his owne good, and that of his people muſt ſubſiſt, without which the whole State would againe fall aſunder; they would haue him to know it betime, to auoide thoſe miſerable inconueniences, which the diſvnion of Rule and Obedience might bring vpon them all, which though it were impiouſly there oppugned (as Princes ſhall euer finde mouthes, to expreſſe their pleaſures in what courſe ſoeuer they take) by ſome Miniſters of his (amongſt whom one *William Brewer* a Councellor is named) who vrged it to haue beene an Acte of conſtraint, and therefore not to be performed; was, notwithſtanding promiſed at that time by the King to bee ratified, and twelue Knights, or other Legall men of euery Shiere, by Writs charged *to examine what were the Lawes and liberties which the Kingdome enioyed vnder his Grandfather, and returne the ſame by a certaine day*, and ſo by that vſuall ſhift of Prolongation, the buſineſſe was put off for that time, to the greater vexation of that following. For during all his Raigne of ſixe and fifty yeares (the longeſt of any King of *England*) this put 1221. *Anno Reg.* 6. 1222. *Anno Reg.* 7. 2 Parliament.

put him to the greateſt imbroylement, made him ill beloued of his people (euer croſt in his intendements) and far a leſſe King, only by ſtriuing to be more then he was: the iuſt reward of violations. And euen this firſt pauſe, vpon the lawfull requiſition thereof, turned the blood, and ſhewed how ſenſible the ſtate was, in the leaſt ſtoppage of that tender vaine: For, preſently the Earles of *Cheſter* and *Albemarle* with many other great men aſſemble at *Leceſter* with intent to remoue from the king *Hugh de Burgh* chiefe Iuſticiar and other officers ſuppoſed to hinder this motion. But the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* by his ſpirituall power, and the reſt of the Nobility, more carefull to preſerue the peace of the Kingdome, ſtood to the King, and would not ſuffer any proceeding in this kind, ſo as the Lords effected nothing at that time, but were conſtrained to come in, and ſubmit themſelues. And here the King by Parliament reſumes ſuch alienations as had bin made by his Anceſtors, of what had appertained to the Crowne, whereby hee might haue the more meanes of his owne without preſſing his ſubiect; but this ſerued not his turne.

Reſumptions.

1223. *Anno Reg.* 8. 3 Parliament.

The next yeare after another Parliament is held at Weſtminſter, wherein is required the fiftieth part of all moueables both of the Clergy and Layety, for the recouery of thoſe parts in *France* withheld from this Crowne by *Lewys* now King, contrary to his oath and promiſe made here in *England* at his departure. Which motion, though it concerned the honour and dignity of his Kingdome, (beeing the inheritance of the King, and the eſtates of moſt of the Nobility, and other the ſubiects, who had Lands and poſſeſſions in thoſe parts, which no doubt, they deſired to recouer with their vtmoſt means; yet would they not yeeld to the grant of this Subſidy, but vpon confirmation of their liberties; which in the end they obtayned, in the ſame words and forme as King *Iohn* had granted them in the two Charters before.

Diſforeſtations.

And twelue Knights, or Legall men are choſen in euery ſhiere, vppon their Oath, to diſparte the olde Forreſts from the new: And all ſuch as were found to haue beene inforreſted ſince the firſt Coronation of *Henry* the ſecond to bee diſafforreſted, and diſpoſed at their pleaſure, who were to poſſeſſe them. Whereupon they were layd open, plowed and improoued to the exceeding comfort, and benefit of the ſubiect, whereby men, in ſteede of wilde beaſts, were ſuſtayned, and more roome made for them to vſe their induſtry.

Two yeares with great quietneſſe, and generall content (the bleſſing of a State,) theſe liberties were enioyed, when the King at a Parliament at *Oxford*, declaring himſelfe to be of lawfull age, and free from cuſtody, to diſpoſe of the Affaires of the Kingdome; cancels and anuls the Charter of Forreſts, as granted in his Nonage, hauing no power of himſelfe, or of his Seale, and therefore of no validity: And cauſes Proclamation to be made, that both the Clergy, and all others, if they would enioy thoſe liberties, ſhould renew their Charters, and haue them confirmed vnder his new Seale: For which, they were conſtrayned to pay, not according to their ability, but the will of the chiefe Iuſticiar, *Hugh de Burgh*, to whom is layd the blame of this miſchiefe, which procured him the generall hatred of the Kingdome; and breda new inſurrection of the Nobility, who, taking aduantage vpon a breach lately falne out, betweene the King and his brother *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall* (about the Caſtle of *Barkhamſted* appertayning to that Earledome, which the King had committed to the keeping of one *Walleran* a Dutchman) ioyned with the Earle, and put themſelues in Armes. For the King maintayning the cauſe of *Walleran*, commands his brother to render the Caſtle which hee had taken from him; or elſe to depart the Kingdome.

1225. *Anno Reg.* 10. 4. Parliament.

The reuoking the Charters of forreſts which bred a new inſurrection.

The Earle anſwers that he would neither do the one or the other: without the iudgment of his Peeres; and ſo departs to his lodging, leauing the King much diſpleaſed with this anſwere. The chiefe Iuſticiar fearing the diſturbance of the peace, aduiſes the King ſuddainly to apprehend the Earle, and commit him to cloſe cuſtody, but the Earle eyther through notice, or doubt thereof, flies preſently to *Marleborough*, where he finds *William* Earle *Mareſhall*, his friend, and confederate by Oath, with whom hee haſtes to *Stamford*, and there meets with the Earles of *Cheſter*, *Gloceſter*, *Waren*, *Hereford*, *Ferrers*, *Warwicke*, with diuers Barons, and men at armes: From whence they ſend to the King, aduiſing him to right the iniury done to his brother. The cauſe heereof, they impute

to

to *Hugh de Burgh*, and not to himſelfe, beſides they require reſtitution to bee made without delay, of the liberties of the Forreſts lately cancelled at *Oxford*, otherwiſe they would compell him thereunto by the ſword.

The King, to auoyde this danger, appoynts them a day to come to an Aſſembly at *Northampton*, where a concord is concluded; and to ſatisfie his brother, (beſides the rendring vnto him his Caſtle) hee grants him all that his mother had in Dowre, and whatſoeuer Land the Earle of *Britagne* helde in *England*, with thoſe of the Earle of *Bologne* lately deceaſed, and ſo the Parliament brake vp. After this the generall motion for the holy Wars intertaines ſome time. Which ſo ſtrongly wrought in that credulous word as ſixty thouſand ſufficient men, are reported to haue vndertaken that Voyage: of whom *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *William* Biſhop of *Exceſter* are the Leaders. 1226. *Anno Reg.* 11. 5. Parliament.

The King is ſolicited by *Hughle Brun* Earle of *March*, who had married his Mother, and by other great men of *Normandy*, to come ouer into *France* to recouer his right, vpon the great alterations hapning in thoſe parts by this occaſion. 1227. *Anno Reg.* 12.

Louys the eight (who ſucceeded *Phillip* the ſecond) being lately dead, after his great ſiege of *Auignon*, and his Warres made againſt the Heretickes *Albegeois* in Prouince, leaues the Kingdome to his ſonne *Louys* of the age of twelue yeares, in whoſe minority his Mother *Blanch*, taking vpon her the Regency, ſo diſcontented the Princes of the blood, as they oppoſe themſelues againſt her, holding it both diſhonourable and dangerous, that a woman and a ſtranger by the Councell of *Spaniards* (whom ſhee aduanced aboue the Naturals of the Kingdome) ſhould gouerne all according to her pleaſure, and therefore enter league againſt her. The chiefe of whom were *Phillip* Earle of *Bologne*, Vncle by the Father, to the King: *Robert* Earle of *Champaigne*, *Peter de Dreux* Duke of *Britagne*, and *Robert* Earle of *Dreux* his brother, and with theſe *Hugh* the Earle of *March* takes part, in regard the Queene regent had erected the Country of *Poictou* to a County, and made Earle thereof *Alphonſo* her ſonne, brother to the yong King, whereby finding himſelfe incloſed within that County, hee refuſes to acknowledge *Alphonſo* for Lord: inſtigated thereunto by his wife, a Queene Dowager of *England*, who could not comport a ſuperior ſo neere her doore, in ſo much as they likewiſe draw in the Earle of *Luſignan*, brother to the Earle of *March*, who alſo, preſuming vpon the greatnes of his houſe diſcended of Kings, was apt to take their part; and theſe with the Earle of *Britagne* call in the King of *England*. Who after he had exacted great ſummes of the Clergie, of the City of *London*, for redemption of their liberties, and taken the third part of all the goods of the Iewes, paſſes ouer with an Army, lands at St. *Mallos*, is met by many Nobles of *Poictou*, who with the Earle of *Britagne* doe homage vnto him, and great preparations are made to recouer ſuch peeces as had beene obtayned by the late King of *France*. *French Hiſtory.*

The Queene Regent ſets out a powerfull Army to ſtop the proceeding of the King of *England*, and much miſchiefe is wrought on both ſides in *Poictou*, *Xaintonge*, *Angoumois*, where their Friends and enemies ſuffer all alike. At length, ſeeing no great good to ariſe by their trauaile, both weary of the buſineſſe, either a peace, or truce concluded.

The King of *England* beſides an infinite expence of Treaſure, hauing loſt diuers of his Nobles and other Valiant men in the iourney, without any glorie returnes home, bringing with him the Earle of *Britagne* and many *Poictouins* to receiue their promiſed reward, which, notwithſtanding all the Former expence muſt be wrung out of the ſubſtance of the poore ſubiect of *England*.

Vpon his returne, hee entertaynes a purpoſe of marriage with a ſiſter of the King of *Scots*, againſt which, the Earles, and Barons of *England* generally oppoſe; alleadging it to be vnfit that hee ſhould haue the yonger Siſter, when *Hubert* his chiefe Iuſticiar, had married the eldeſt; and the Earle of *Britagne*, by whoſe Councell he was now much directed, diſſwades him likewiſe from it. To this Earle (after ſupplies obtayned towards his expences, and debts in *France*) hee giues fiue thouſand markes, as if remayning of the ſumme hee had promiſed. And for the reſt of the *Poictouins*, their preferments and rewards were to be had by the diſplacing and ſpoyles of his Officers, Receiuour, and others whom now hee calles to accounte, and caſtes for defrauding him in

The king calls his Officers to accompt.

1228. *Anno Reg.* 13.

in their Offices, of whom *Ralph Breton* Treasurer of his Chamber is first, who was committed to prison and grieuously fined: Then *Hubert de Burgh* his Chiefe Iusticiar, (a man who had long ruled all vnder him, in a place euer obnoxious to detraction and enuy) is called to account for such Treasure as passed his Office (which was then for all reliefes, and Subsidies whatsoeuer raised on the subiect) and notwithstanding hee had the Kings Charter for it during life, yet is he thrust out of his Office, and besides accused of haynous crimes of Treason.

No sooner was this great Officer, and inward Councellour falne into the Kings displeasure, but presently a whole volly of accusations (which feare in time of fauour held in) were discharged vpon him, and euery act of his examined, and vrged according to the passion of the complainers. The City of *London* layes to his charge the execution of their Citizen *Constantine* (in the time of a ryot committed betweene their people and those of *Westminster* at a wrastling in Saint *Iames* fields. *Anno Reg.* 4.) as done without Warrant and Law, and craue Iustice for his blood. *Hubert*, to auoide this suddain storme comming vpon him, fled to the Church of *Merton* for Sanctuarie, whence, by armed men sent to pursue him, hee is drawne out by force, and committed to prison. Of which violence done contrary to the priuiledge of that sacred place, the Bishop of *London*, in whose Dioses it was, complaynes, and so wrought that he is brought back againe to the same Chappel. But yet all that could not shelter him from the Kings wrath, who giues strict commandement to the Shrieues of *Hartford* and *Suffex*, to set a guard about the place, that no sustenance be brought him, Hunger inforces him to commit himselfe to the Kings mercy, and away hee is sent prisoner to the *Vize*, his money left in the custody of the Templars, is brought forth, and seazed into the Kings hands; clayming that, and much more as stolne out of his Exchequer. *Stephen de Segraue* is put into his Office, a worse minister for the Common-wealth (which seldome gaynes by such shiftings) and who must shortly runne the same Fortune. *Walter* Bishop of *Carlile* is likewise thrust out of his office of Treasurer, and *William Rodon* Knight of his place of Marshall of the Kings house, and all the chiefe Councellours, Bishops, Earles and Barons of the Kingdome, are remoued as distrusted, and onely strangers preferred to their roomes. *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester*, lately returned from the Holy Warres, to bee the Authour of most vnholy discord at home, is charged to be the cause hereof, and with him one *Peter de Rivalis*, now the speciall minion about the King.

The King remoues his Officers.

These straynes of so strange and insufferably violences so exasperate the Nobility, as many (whereof *Richard*, now Earle Marshall, vpon the death of his brother *William* was chiefe) do combine themselues for defence of the publike, and boldly doe shewe the King *his error, and ill aduised course, inferring strangers about him, to the disgrace and oppression of his naturall liege people contrary to their Lawes and liberties, and that vnlesse hee would reforme this excesse, whereby his Crowne and Kingdome was in eminent danger, hee and the rest of the Nobility would withdraw themselues from his Councell*, whereunto the Bishop of *Winchester* replies: *that it was lawfull for the King to call what strangers hee listed about him for defence of his Crowne and Kingdome, thereby to compell his proud and rebellious subiects to their due obedience.* With which answer the Earle and the rest, depart with more indignation: vowing that in this cause, which concerning them all, they would spend their liues.

The Lords combine for the publike defence against the king.

Hereupon the King suddainly sends ouer for whole legions of *Poictoins*, and withall summons a Parliament at *Oxford*, whether the Lords refuse to come, both in regard they found themselues despised, and holding it not safe by reason of those multitudes of strangers. Then was it decreed by the Kings Councell that they should be the second and third time summoned, to try whether they would come or not. And here, from the Pulpit, whence the Voyce of God to the people is vttered, the King is boldly shewed the way to redresse this mischiefe of the Kingdome, by one *Robert Bacon* a Fryer Predicant; but more Comically by *Roger Bacon*, (in pleasant discourse) asking the King: *My Lord, what is most nocent to Sea-men, and what feared they most?* the King replyes: Sea-men know that best themselues; then, my Lord I will tell you; *Petra & Rupes*, alledging to *Petrus de Rupibus* Bishop of *Winchester*.

The Lords refuse to come to Parliament vpon summons.

After

After this, the Lords were ſummoned to a Parliament at *Weſtminſter*: Whether likewiſe they refuſed to come, vnleſſe the King would remoue the Biſhop of *Winchester*, and the *Poictouins* from the Court: otherwiſe, by the Common Councell of the Kingdome they ſend him expreſſe word, they would expell him, and his euill Counſellors out of the Land, and deale for the Creation of a new King. 1232. *Anno Reg.* 17.

Vpon this threatning, pledges are required of the Nobility to bee deliuered by a certaine day, for ſecurity of their alleagiance. But no act paſſed in this Parliament though diuers Lords came thither, as the Earle of *Cornwal*, (*Chester*, *Lincolne*, *Ferrers* and others. In regard the Earle *Mareſchall*, the Lord *Gilbert Baſſet*, and other Nobles were not preſent. Then were Writs ſent out to all who held by Knights ſeruice, to repaire to the King at *Gloceſter* by a certaine day: which the Earles *Mareſchall* and his aſſociates refuſing, the King without the iudgement of his Court and their Peeres, cauſe to bee proclaimed Outlawes, ſeizes vpon all their Lands, which he giues to his *Poictouins*, and directs out Writs to attach their bodies whereſoeuer in the Kingdome. 6. Parliament.

The Biſhop of *Winchester* to weaken the party of the *Mareſchall*, wonne the Earles of *Chester* and *Lincolne* with a thouſand markes, and the King had ſo pleaſed his brother the Earle of *Cornwall*, as he likewiſe left them. Whereuppon they withdrew them into *Wales*, and confederate with *Lewelin* and other great men in that Country, (whither alſo came *Hubert de Burgh* eſcaping out of the *Vize* Caſtle, and ioynes with them (taking their oath intermutually, that no one without other ſhould make their accord.

The King goes himſelfe in perſon with an Army, againſt thoſe reuolted Lords, into *Wales*, where hee had the worſt of the buſineſſe, and much diſhonour, returnes to *Gloceſter*, imployes new forces of ſtrangers, but all without ſucceſſe. Whereupon a Fryer of the Order of Minors is imployed to conferre with the Earle *Mareſchall*, and to perſwade him to come in, and ſubmit himſelfe to the Kings mercy, whom hee had heard to ſay, that notwithſtanding his great offences, he would pardon, and reſtore to his eſtate vpon ſubmiſſion; and beſides giues him ſo much of *Hereford* ſhire, as ſhould conueniently maintayne him. Beſides the Fryer told him what he heard of other Counſellors about the King, concerning the wiſhing of his ſubmiſſion, and in what forme they deſired it ſhould be imparted in priuat. And then, as of himſelfe, hee vſes all inducements poſſible to draw him thereunto, ſhewing how it was his duty, his profit and ſafety ſo to doe. Wherewithall the Earle nothing mooued, told the Fryer what iniury he had receiued, and that hee could not truſt the King, ſo long as hee had ſuch Counſellors about him: who onely ſought the deſtruction of him, and his aſſociates, who euer had beene his loyall ſubiects. And after many obiections made by the Fryer with vrging the Kings power, his owne weakneſſe and the danger hee was in: the Earle concludes that hee feared no danger: that hee would neuer yeelde to the Kings will, that was guided by no reaſon: that he ſhould giue an ill example to relinquiſh the iuſtice of his cauſe to obey that will which wrought all iniuſtice, whereby it might appeare, they loued worldly poſſeſſions more then right and honour, &c. The king with an army againſt the Lords.

So nothing was done, the Warre continues with much effuſion of blood, all the borders of *Wales* vnto *Shrowesbury*, are miſerable waſted, and made deſolate. At length meanes is vſed to draw the Earle *Mareſchall* ouer into *Ireland* to defend his ſtate there, which was likewiſe ſeized vppon, by authority giuen vnder the Kings hand and Seale, and all thoſe great poſſeſſions deſcended vnto him from his Anceſtor the Earle *Strongbow* (the firſt Conquerors of that Countrey) ſpoyled and taken from him. And heere, ſeeking to recouer his liuely-hood, hee loſt his life circumuented by treachery: his death gaue occaſion of griefe, both to his friends and enemies. The King diſauowes the ſending of his Commiſſion into *Ireland*, proteſting hee neuer knew thereof, and diſcharges himſelfe vpon his Counſellor. A poore ſhift of weake Princes. 1234. *Anno Reg* 19.

After two yeares affliction, a Parliament is aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, wherein the Biſhops grauely admoniſh the King (by his Fathers example, and his owne experience, of the miſchiefe of diſſenſion betweene him and his Kingdome, occaſioned through the ill Counſell of his Miniſters) to be at vnion with his people, to remoue from him ſtrangers and others, by whoſe inſtigation, for their owne ends, theſe diſturbances are foſtered, 7. Parliament.

ſo ſtered, and his naturall Subiects eſtranged from him, to the great alienation of their affections, which was of dangerous conſequence. Wherefore (after recitall of the grieuances of the State, and the abuſes of his Miniſters, which were ſuch as all corrupted times produce) they humbly beſought him to gouerne his, according to the example of other Kingdomes, by the natiues of the ſame, and their Lawes: Otherwiſe they would proceede by Eccleſiaſticall cenſure, both againſt his Counſellors, and himſelfe.

The King ſeeing no way to ſubſiſt, and get to his ends, but by temporizing, conſents to call home theſe Lords out of *Wales*, reſtores them to their places and poſſeſſions, amoues thoſe ſtrangers from about him, and cals his new Officers to account. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Peter de Rinallis* and *Stephan Segraue* thereupon take Sanctuary, but afterward, vpon mediation they obtayned, with great fines, their Liberty, dearely paying for their two yeares eminency and grace.

Iſabel the kings ſiſter married to the Emperor

Things thus appeaſed, the King giues his ſiſter *Iſabel* in marriage to the Emperour *Fredericke* the ſecond (ſucceſſour to *Otho*, and grand-child to *Frederick Barbaroſſa*) the Arch-biſhop of *Cologne*, and the Duke of *Louaine* were ſent for her. Shee is Conducted by the King her brother to *Sandwich* with three thouſand horſe. The marriage is ſolemnized at *Wormes*. Shee was the third wife of this Emperour, an alliance that yeelded neyther ſtrength or benefit (though that were both their ends) to eyther Prince. The continuall broyle which this Emperour held with all the Popes of his time, (*Innocent* the third, *Honorius*, *Innocent* the fourth, *Gregory* the ninth) was ſuch and ſo great as all hee could doe, was not enough for himſelfe. For not to let goe that hold of the Empire hee had in *Italy*, with his hereditary Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicile* which the Popes wrought to draw to the Church, hee was put to be perpetually in Conflict, neuer free from vexations, thruſt from his owne courſes, enioyned to vndertake the Holy Warres, to waſte him abroade, weakned at home by excommunications, and fines for abſolutions, for which, at one time hee payde eleuen thouſand Markes of Gold. And in the end the Popes ſo preuailed, that in the Graue of this *Fredericke* was buried the Imperiall Authority in *Italy*, after hee had thus Raigned foure and thirty yeares, leauing his ſonne *Conrade* ſucceſſour rather of his miſeries, then his inheritance. Hee had a ſonne by *Iſabel* named *Henry*, to whom hee bequeathed the Kingdome of *Sicile*, and a hundred thouſand ounces of Gold, but hee liued not to enioy it.

1235. *Anno Reg.* 20

To the marriage of this ſiſter, the King giues thirty thouſand markes, beſides an Imperiall Crowne and other Ornaments of great Value: Towards which, is rayſed two Markes vppon euery Hide Land. And the next yeare after, himſelfe marries *Eleonor* daughter to *Raymond* Earle of Prouince, a match in regard of the diſtance of the place, with the meanes and degree of eſtate little aduantagious eyther to him, or his Kingdom, but the circumſtance of alliance drew it on, with ſome other promiſes which were not obſerued. So, that hee is neyther greater, nor richer by theſe alliances, but rather leſſened in his meanes, hauing no dowery with his wife, full of poore kindred, that muſt draw meanes from this Kingdome.

Shrieſes remooued for corruption.

After the ſolemnization of this marriage (which was extraordinarily ſumptuous) a Parliament is aſſembled at *London*, which the King would haue held in the Tower, whither the Lords refuſing to come; another place, of more freedome, is appoynted: where, after many thing propounded for the good of the Kingdome, order is taken that all Shrieſes are remooued from their Offices vppon complaint of corruption; and others of more integrity, and abler meanes (to auoyde bribery) put in their roomes, taking their Oathes to receiue no gifts, but in victuals, and thoſe without exceſſe.

Heere the King diſplaces his Steward, and ſome other Counſellors, and offers to take from the Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, then Chancellour, the great Seale, but the Biſhop refuſes to deliuer it, alledging, how hee had it by the Common Councell of the Kingdome, and without aſſent of the ſame, would not reſigne it, and hauing carryed himſelfe irreprehenſible in his Office, is much fauoured by the people. *Peter de Rinallis* and *Stephan Segraue*, are againe receiued into grace: An argument of the Kings leuity, and

and irresolution, mooued, it seemes, with any Engine to doe and vndoe, and all out of time and order, wherein hee euer looses ground. And now faine would hee haue reuoked, by the Popes authority, some grants of his made heretofore, as beeing done beyond his power, and without the consent of the Church, which harsh intention addes more to the already conceiued displeasure of the people.

Anno Reg. 21. Another Parliament, or the same adiourned is held at *London*, where, in regard of the great expence for his Sisters marriage, and his owne, hee requires the thirtieth part of all mooueables, as well of the Clergy as Layety. Whereunto great opposition is made, and recitall of the many Leuies had beene exacted of the Kingdome, now of the twentith, now of the thirtith, and fortith parts: And that it was a thing vnworthy and iniurious, to permit a King, who was so lightly seduceable, and neuer did good to the Kingdome, either in expelling, or repressing enemie, or amplifying the bounds thereof, but rather lessening and subjugating the same to Strangers, that he should extort so many pretences, so great summes from his naturall people (as from slaues of the basest condition) to their detriment, and benefit of *Aliens*. Which when the King heard, desirous to stop this generall murmur, promised by Oath that he would neuer more iniury the Nobles of the Kingdome, so that they would benignely relieue him at that present, with this supply: in regard he had exhausted his treasure, in the marriage of his sister, and his owne: whereunto they plainly answer, *that the same was done without their Counsell, neither ought they to be partakers of the punishment, who were free from the fault*: After foure daies consultation, the King promising to vse only the Counsel of his naturall subiects, disauowing and protesting against the reuocation lately propounded and freely granting the inuiolable obseruation of the Liberties, vnder paine of excommunication, hath yeelded vnto him the thitieth part of all mooueables (reseruing yet to euery man his ready coyne, horse and armour to be imployed for the Commonwealth. For the collection of this subsidy, it was ordayned that foure Knights of euery Shiere, and one Clerke of the Kings should vppon their Oath receiue and deliuer the same, eyther vnto some Abbay or Castle, to bee reserued there, that if the King fayle in performance of his Grants, it might be restored to the Countrey whence it was collected: with this condition often annexed, that the King should leaue the Counsell of *Aliens*, and onely vse that of his naturall Subiects. Wherein to make shew of his part, hee suddainly causes the Earles *Warren* and *Ferrers*, with *John Fitz Geffery* to bee sworne his Counsellors. And so the Parliament ended, but not the businesse for which it was called, the King not giuing that satisfaction to his subiects as hee had promised concerning Strangers, and besides, that order concluded in Parliament was not obserued in the leauying and disposing of the subsidy, but stricter courses taken in the valewing of mens Estates, then was held conuenient. Moreouer *William Valentine* Vncle to the young Queene, is growne onely the inward man with the King, and possesses him so, as nothing is done without his Councell: the Earle of *Prouence*, the father; a poore Prince, is inuited to come ouer to participate of this Treasure, which seemes was disposed before it came in. *Simon de Monfort* a Frenchman borne (banished out of *France* by Queene *Blanch*) is entertained in *England*, and preferred secretly in marriage to *Eleonor* the Kings Sister (widdow of *William* Earle of *Pembrooke* Great Marshall) and made Earle of *Leycester* by right of his mother *Amice* daughter to *Blanchman* Earle of *Leycester*. Which courses (with other) so incense the Nobility, and generally all the Subiects, as put them out into a new commotion, and *Richard* the Kings brother (whose youth and ambition apt to be wrought vpon, is made the head thereof; who being as yet Heire apparant of the Kingdom (the Queene being yong and child-lesse) the preseruation of the good thereof, is argued to conceme him, and hee is the man imployed to the King, to impart the publike grieuances, and to reprehend, first the profusion of his Treasure (gotten by exaction from the subiect) and cast away vppon Strangers who onely guide him, then the infinite summes hee had raysed in his time: How there was no Arch-bishopricke, or Bishopricke, except *Yorke*, *Lincolne* and *Bathe*, but he had made benefit by their Vacancies: besides what fell by Abbayes, Earledomes, Baronies, Wardships and other Escheates, and yet his treasure, which should

9 Parliament. 1237. *Anno Reg.* 21.

Foure Knights of euery shiere ordayned to take charge of the subsidy.

The comming of *Simon Monfort* to *England*.

The grieuances of the kingdome.

be the ſtrength of the State, was nothing increaſed. Moreouer, how he as if both diſpiſing his, and the Counſell of his naturall Subiects, was ſo obſequious to the will of the Romans, and eſpecially of the Legat whom he had inconſiderately called in, as hee ſeemed to adore his foot-ſteps, and would doe nothing eyther in publike or priuate, but by his conſent, ſo that he ſeemed abſolutely the Popes Feudary, which wounded the hearts of his people. The King vppon this harſh remonſtrance of his brother, and the feare of a preſent commotion, after he had ſounded the affections of the *Londoners*, whom he found reſolued to take part againſt him, he againe (by the aduice of the Legat, who had earneſtly dealt with the Earle of *Cornewal*, to reconcile himſelfe to his brother, but without effect) calles a Parliament at *London*. Whether the Lords came Armed both for their owne ſafety, and to conſtrayne the King (if he refuſed to the obſeruation of the premiſes, and reformation of his courſes.

1238. *Anno Reg.* 22.

10 Parliament.

Here, after many debatements the King (taking his Oath) to referre the buſineſſe to the order of certaine graue men of the Kingdome, Articles are drawne, ſealed and publikely ſet vp to the view of all, with the ſeales of the Legat, and diuers great men. But before it came to effect, *Simon Monfort* working his peace with the Earle of *Cornewall*, and the Earle of *Lincolne* likewiſe (with whom hee and the State were diſpleaſed) the Earle growes cold in the buſineſſe. The Lords perceiuing the ſtaffe of their ſtrength to faile them, failed themſelues, ſo that nothing is effected, and the miſeries of the kingdome continue as they did.

1239. *Anno Reg.* 23.

Shortly after, the King takes diſpleaſure againſt *Gilbert* Earle of *Pembrooke* (the third ſonne of *William* the Great Marſhall) and cauſed his gates to bee ſhut againſt him at *Winchester*, whereupon the Earle retyres into the North. And to ſhew how inconſtant this King was in his fauours, *Simon Norman* (intituled Maſter of the Kings Seale, and not onely ſo, but ſayd to be Maſter of the Kingdome; yea of the King, the Rector and Diſpoſer of Court) is throwne out with diſgrace, the Seale taken from him, and giuen to the Abbot of *Euesham*. In like ſort, his brother *Geffery* a Knight Templar is put out of the Councell, both of them much maligned by the Nobility: who had often before laboured their amoouement, as held to be corrupt Councellours, and Wrongers of the State, and now are they faine off themſelues. But the cauſe of this their deiection may ſhew, that oftentimes Officers vnder weake Princes are not ſo much faulty, as the World hold them to be: for not yeelding to paſſe a Grant from the king, made vnto *Thomas* Earle of *Flanders* (the Queens Vncle) of foure pence vpon euery ſacke of Wooll (an enormious act then accounted) they both loſt their places, though not their reputations in this; their fall diſcouering what the Enuy that attended their Fortune, hindred men to ſee. To this Earle of *Flanders*, the next yeare after the King grants (notwithſtanding) 300. Markes (to be payd out of his Exchequer annually, for his homage.

Thomas of *Sauoy* marrieth the inheretrix of the Earldom of *Flanders*, which he held but during her life.

Now, beſides the great exaction of the King, and his waſtes. The Sea of *Rome* extorts huge Summes, as if one Gulph ſufficed not to ſwallow vp the ſubſtance of the kingdome, which opened the mouthes of our Clergie ſo wide; as they let out many exclamations againſt the auarice of the Popes of that time; And the Romaine Factors, who by permiſſion of the king, or by his negligence, preſumed ſo farre vppon the eaſie-yeeldingneſſe of the State, as they wrung out what they lifted. In ſo much, as beſides the Fleece, they would now haue the bodies of their poſſeſſions. And the Pope ſends his Mandate to haue three hundred Romaines preferred to the benefices which ſhould be firſt vacant in *England*, which ſo amazed the Clergy, and eſpecially *Edmond* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, as hee; ſeeing no end of theſe Concuſſions of the State, and Liberties of the Church; and himſelfe (on whom the Scandall of all muſt light, vnable by reaſon of the kings remiſſeneſſe to withſtand it, tyred with the vanity of worldly actions) giues ouer all; and betakes himſelfe to a voluntary exile in the Abbay of *Pontiniac* in *France*; and there applies him to the Contemplation of a better life. But before his departure, hee yeelds, as a ranſome for his Church, eight hundred Markes to the Pope.

Edmond Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* giues ouer his Sea.

The Clergy, although thus left by their head, generally oppoſe what they could againſt

againſt the Popes rapine, who to get money for his wars with the Emperour vſed daily new and inſolent preſſures vpon them, in ſo much as they repaire to the King, declare how preiudiciall and derogatory it was to his royalty, and the liberty of the Kingdome to ſuffer this proceeding, which none of his Predeceſſors heretofore euer did; And of how dangerous conſequence it was to his ſucceſſors. The King, eyther not apprehenſiue of the miſchiefe, or content to ioyne with the Pope to puniſh and awe the Kingdome, not onely refers them to the Legat, but offers to deliuer the chiefe oppoſers vp vnto him. Whereupon they ſeeing themſelues forſaken, and no power to ſuccour them but their owne, did what they could to withſtand the Legats proceeding, who now by the Kings animation, preſumes more peremptorily to vrge them to ſupply the Popes preſent occaſion, and holds a Conuocation at *London* for effectiug the ſame. Wherein the Clergy declare how this contribution now required by the Pope for the deſtruction of the Emperour, and effuſion of Chriſtian blood was vnlawfull, hee beeing not an Hereticke, not condemned by the iudgment of the Church although excommunicated: That it was againſt the Liberties of the Church of *England*, beeing required vnder paine of Eccleſiaſticall cenſure, as a thing of ſeruitude and Compulſion: That they had heretofore giuen a Tenth to the Pope, or condition, that neuer any ſuch exaction ſhould againe bee made, leaſt it might be drawne to a Cuſtome, for as much as *Binus actus inducat conſuetudinem:* That for their buſineſſe in the Court of *Rome*, they were to paſſe through the Emperours Countries, and the danger they might haue thereby: That it was not ſafe for the Kingdome to impoueriſh the King, who had many enemies, againſt whom hee muſt haue to ſuſtayne Warre: And beſides, how for the furniſhing of diuers Noble men, vndertaking of late the buſineſſe of the Croſſe, great contributions had beene made: That the Church of *England* was poore, and hardly able to ſuſtayne it ſelfe. That a generall contribution was to bee made by a generall Councell, &c.

Pope *Gregory* the ninth.

Colide Epiſcopal. L. Nemo.

Notwithſtanding theſe reaſons, though at firſt they ſtaggered the Legate, yet ſuch courſe was taken by winning ſome of them, vpon hope of preferment, as the reſt could not without the note of contumacy but yeeld perforce, ſo, by this treaſon of deuiſion, the body of the Councell is entred into, and the Pope preuailes in this buſineſſe.

The King hath now a ſonne lately borne, and *Richard* his brother Earle of *Cornewall* hauing likewiſe iſſue (by permiſſion of the State which heeretofore hee could not obtayne) vndertakes the Croſſe, and with him his Vncle *William Longſword* Earle of *Saliſbury*, and many other Noblemen. Theſe departing out of *England*, *Peter* of *Sauoy*, another Vncle to the Queene, comes in, and hath the Earledome of *Richmond* beſtowed on him, with many other gifts, he is knighted and feaſted ſumptuouſly, for which the poore Iews by way of redemption, pay 20000. Markes at two termes of that yeare. *Boniface* the ſonne of *Peter* of *Sauoy*, Nephew to the Queene is preferred to the Arch-biſhopricke of *Canterbury*. After this the King makes an expedition into *Wales*, which had often put him to great charge and trouble, hauing beene very vnfortunate, in his many attempts againſt *Lewelin*, intituled Prince or King of *North-Wales*; who being lately dead, had left his two ſonnes *Dauid* and *Griffin*, by diuiſion of State to bee at diſcord betweene themſelues, whereby he came to make an eaſier end of that buſineſſe, and now onely but with the ſhew of his power, got that, which, heretofore hee could not with much blood; hath ſubmiſſion, and fealty rendred vnto him by *Dauid*, with all his charges for that iourney, but now this ended, another attempt of great expence, but leſſe benefit is in hand.

Edward eldeſt ſonne to King *Henry*.
Richard Earle of *Cornewall* vndertakes the Croſſe.

1241.
Anno Reg. 25.

The Earle of *March* with his Wife, the Queene Mother, and many other great Lords of *Poitou*, ſo worke by their earneſt ſolicitation, with aſſurance of ſucceſſe, as the King is induced to vndertake another expedition in *France*. The matter is mooued in Parliament, generall oppoſition made againſt it, the great expence, and the ill it laſt brought to the Kingdome, vehemently vrged, *How it was vnlawfull to breake the truce made with the King of* France, *who was now to ſtrong for them to doe any good, &c.*

11 Parliament.

Notwithſtanding many of the greateſt Peeres, drawne by faire promiſes, and their

owne hopes for recouery of their Eſtates ſo preuayle, as the action is reſolued on, and an Ayde demaunded for the ſame. The very motion for money was ſo diſtaſtefull, as preſently all the Kings ſupplies made from the beginning of his Raigne, are particularly againe, and opprobriouſly rehearſed, as the 13. 15. 16. and 40. parts of all mens moueables, beſides Carucage, Hydage, Eſcuage, Eſcheates, Amercements, and ſuch like, which could not but fill his Coffers. Then the Popes continuall exactions, with the infinite charge for thoſe who vndertooke the Holy Warre, are likewiſe repeated. Beſides they declared, how the 30. leuyed about foure yeares paſt (in regard it was to bee layd vp in certayne Caſtles, and not to bee iſſued but by the allowance of foure of the Peeres) was, as they held it yet vnſpent: The King, to their knowledge, hauing had no neceſſary occaſion to employ the ſame, for the vſe of the Commonwealth, for which it was granted, and therefore reſolutely they denied to yeeld him any more. Whereupon the King comes himſelfe to the Parliament, and in moſt ſubmiſſiue manner craues their ayde at this time, vrging the Popes letter, which hee had procured to ſollicite and perſwade them thereunto. But all preuailed not, their vow made to each other not to diſſeuer their voyces, or to bee drawne to a diſvnion held them faſt together. Inſomuch as the King is driuen to get what he could of particular men, eyther by gift or loane, and vſes ſuch meanes, as notwithſtanding, he carries ouer with him thirty Barrels of ſterling coyne, and taking with him his Queene, leaues the gouernment of the Kingdome to the Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, hauing firſt, for his better quiet at home, contracted a match betweene his daughter *Margaret* (yet an infant) and *Alexander* eldeſt ſonne to *Alexander* the third King of *Scots*, to whom hee commits the gouernement of the Marches.

A repetition of the Kings ſupplies formerly made.

The King carries ouer thirty barrels of ſiluer into *France*.

The Kings ſecond expedition into *France*.

The ſecond expedition into *France*, had no better ſucceſſe then the firſt. For therein he likewiſe conſumed his Treaſure vpon ſtrangers, diſcontented the Engliſh Nobility, was deceiued in his truſt by the *Poictoums*, who failed him with his money, and after more then a whole yeares ſtay (the Lords of *England* leauing him) was driuen to make a diſhonourable truce with the King of *France*. And after hauing beene relieued with much prouiſion out of *England*, and other impoſition of Eſcuage, hee returnes, puts the Iewes to another redemption; exacts of the *Londoners*; is viſited by his wiues mother, the Counteſſe of *Prouince*, who, bringing with her *Zanchia* her daughter, is (to adde to his other expenceſſe) ſumptuouſly feaſted, and a marriage ſolemnized betweene the young Lady and *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, whoſe wife was late dead, and hee turned from the holy Warres.

An impoſition of eſcuage with another redemption of the Iewes.

The Counteſſe of *Prouince*, mother to the Queene comes ouer into *England* to the great charge of the kingdome.

The old Counteſſe at her returne is preſented with many rich gifts, hauing beſides, receiued an annuall penſion of 4000. Markes out of *England* for fiue yeares paſſed, in conſideration of a pact made, that King *Henry* ſhould, after her deceaſe haue the Earledome of *Prouince*. But ſhortly after her returne home, ſhee diſappoints him of that hope; and beſtowes the ſame vpon her yongeſt daughter. *Beautrix*, on *Charles* the French Kings brother, who was after King of *Naples* and *Sicile*. So that ſhe liued to ſee all her foure daughters Queenes: *Richard* Earle of *Cornewall*, comming afterwards to be elected King of the *Romans*.

1244. *Anno Reg.* 28.

Meanes now vpon theſe profuſions, to haue freſh ſupply of Treaſure, was onely by way of Parliament, which is againe in *Anno Reg.* 28. aſſembled at *Weſtminſter*, and therein the Kings wants, and the preſent occaſions vrged for the neceſſary defence of the Kingdome, hauing now to doe with *Wales* and *Scotland*, whoſe Princes lately reuolting, ioyne together to annoy the ſame; but nothing could bee effected without the aſſurance of reformation, and the due execution of the Lawes, notwithſtanding the King comes againe himſelfe in perſon, as before, and pleades his owne neceſſities. Heere they deſire to haue ordayned, that foure of the moſt graue and diſcreete Peeres ſhould bee choſen as Conſeruators of the Kingdome, and ſworne of the Kings Councell, both to ſee Iuſtice obſerued, and the Treaſure iſſued, and theſe ſhould euer attend about the King or at leaſt three or two of them. Beſides that the Lord Chiefe Iuſticiar, and the Lord Chancellour, ſhould be choſen by the generall voyces of the States Aſſembled, or elſe bee one of the number of thoſe foure.

13 Parliament.

Beſides

Beſides they propound that there might bee two Iuſtices of the Benches, two Barons of the Exchequer; and one Iuſtice for the Iewes, and thoſe likewiſe to bee choſen by Parliament. *That as their function was publike, ſo ſhould alſo be their election.*

But whiles theſe things were in debating, the enemy of mandkinde and diſturber of Peace, the Diuell, (ſayth *Mat Par.*) hindring the proceeding, by the comming of *Martin* a new Legate ſent from the Pope, with a larger power then euer any before, to exact vppon the State; which hee ſuppoſed now to haue beene ſo wrought, and ready, as the Kings turne beeing ſerued, his likewiſe ſhould bee preſently ſupplyed. But making too much haſte before the firſt had paſſage, hee fruſtrates his owne deſire, and receiues a moſt peremptory repulſe of the whole Kingdome, in ſo much as his Agent was diſgracefully returned home, with this diſpleaſing meſſage. *That the Kingdome was poore: had great Warres, the Church in debt, not able to yeeld any more. Beſides this courſe was of dangerous conſequence to this State, which alone ſeemed expoſed to the Popes will, and therefore ſeeing a generall Councell was ſhortly to be holde at* Lyons, *if the Church would be relieued, it were fit the ſame ſhould be done by a generall conſent in that Councell.*

Beſides, at this time the Emperour *Fredericke*, by his Letters which were openly read in this Aſſembly, firſt *intreates, as before he had oftentimes done, that the Pope might haue no ſupplies out of* England, *which (he ſaid) were only required to reuine him, whom contrary to all Piety and Iuſtice he had oppreſſed, by ſeizing vpon his Cities and Caſtles, appertaining to the Empire. And for many years (notwithſtanding his often ſubmiſſion and deſire of peace) proceeded in all foule and Hoſtile manner againſt him, both by the ſword, and vniuſt excommunications. And ſeeing he could obtaine no due hearing, hee had referred his cauſe to bee arbitrated by the Kings of* England *and* France, *and the Barondge of both Kingdomes. And therefore deſires, he might not receiue detriment, whence he expected fauour, as a brother and friend,* Adding in the end, *that if the King would be aduiſed by him hee would by power free this Kingdome from that vniuſt tribute which* Innocentius *the third, and other Popes had laid vpon it.* Theſe letters pleaſed the Aſſembly and animated them the rather to deny the Popes Mandate.

The Emperour *Frederickes* letters to the king

The interpoſition of this buſineſſe tooke vp ſo much time, as nothing elſe was done in this Parliament, onely they granted an ayde to the King, for the marriage of his daughter, twenty ſhillings of euety Knights fee, and that with much ado and repetition of all his former Aydes.

After this, vpon a light occaſion, the King vndertakes an expedition of great charge againſt *Alexander* King of *Scots*, for which euery Baron which held in *Capite*, Spirituall and Lay, were commaunded to bee ready withall Military prouiſion due for that ſeruice. Whereunto, likewiſe repaires *Thomas* Earle of *Flanders* with three ſcore Knights, and a hundred other ſeruants (thirſting for the Kings money) whoſe vnneceſſary comming was ill taken by the Barons of *England*, as if the ſtrength of the Kingdome without him, were not ſufficient for that Action, which was as ſuddainly ended as vndertaken, by a faire concluſion of Peace with King *Alexander*; a Prince highly commended for his vertues, by the Writers of that time.

An other grieuances of the Barons.

Vpon this returne, againe that Winter he aſſembles another Parliament, wherein hee mooues for an Ayde, vpon a deſigne he had for *Wales*, and to ſupply his wants, and pay his debts, which were vrged to be ſo great, as hee could not appeare out of his Chamber for the infinite clamor of ſuch to whom he owed for his Wine, Wax, and other neceſſaries of Houſe. But they all to his face, with one voice, refuſed to grant him any thing. Whereupon other violent courſes are taken. An ancient quarrell is found out againſt the City of *London*, for which they are commanded to pay fifteene thouſand Markes. And *Paſſelewe* the Kings Clerke is imployed with others in a moſt peremptory Commiſſion, to inquire of all ſuch lands, as had beene inforreſted, and either to fine the Occupyers thereof, at their pleaſure, or take it from them, and ſell the ſame to others. Wherein ſuch rigor was vſed, as multitudes of people were vndone. *So vnſafe are priuate mens eſtates, where Princes fall into ſo great wants.* *Paſſelewe* for his good ſeruice in this buſineſſe ſhould haue beene preferred to the Biſhopricke of *Chicheſter*, but the Biſhop

13 Parliament.

An inquiry about Lands inforeſted which bred great grieuances.

ſhops withſtood the King therein. Now, in regard to ſhew the King the Eſtate of his Kingdome, and the oppreſſion of Popes; Inquiry was made of the reuenues which the Romans and *Italians* had in *England*, which was found to be annually, ſixty thouſand Markes, being more then the yearely reuenues of the Crowne of *England:* which ſo mooued the King, as hee cauſed the ſame to be notified, with all other exactions, by his procurators to the generall Councell now aſſembled at *Lyons*; which (with the ill vſage of *Martin*) ſo vexed the Pope, as hee is ſayd to haue vttered theſe Words: *It is fit that we make an end with the Emperour, that we may cruſh theſe Petty Kings, for the Dragon once appeaſed or deſtroyed, theſe leſſer ſnakes will be ſoone troden downe.* Which impious ſpeech proceeding from ſuch a mouth, whence the Oracles of peace and charity ought to bee vttered, was as ill taken, bred great ſcandall, and gaue warning to Princes of preuention; who, though they maligned the corruptions of the Court of *Rome*, they were yet euer at one with the Church.

An inquiry of the Popes reuenues in *England*.

1245. *Anno Reg.* 29.

And the Clergy of *England* were moſt forward, to vindicate the State from that miſerable oppreſſion which of late by degrees they were drawne vnto, through the humility of their zeale: For, ſuch is the nature of Domination, whereſoeuer it ſits, that finding an yeeldingnes to indure, it neuer thinkes it hath power ſufficient, vnleſſe it hath more then enough: For, if the Popes (the profeſſed ſoueraignes of piety) vpon the aduantage of mens zeale, and beleefe, grew to make their will, and their power equall (ſo that to queſtion their ſanctious was taught to bee ſinne againſt the Holy Ghoſt) no maruaile if ſecular Princes, whoſe Conſciences are vntyed, ſtriue to breake out into the Wildneſſe of their wills from thoſe bounds wherein by the law of the ſtate they are placed.

But vppon the Popes reiecting the conſideration of theſe grieuances of *England* (which were particularly deliuered in this Councell at *Lyons*) and diſpiſing the Kings meſſage (who, he ſaid began to Frederize) it was abſolutely here ordained, vnder great penalty, that no contribution of money ſhould be giuen to the Pope by any ſubiect of *England*; and the King, for a time, buſtles againſt the Forraine exactions, in ſuch ſort as it gaue ſome hope of redreſſe. But being of an irreſolute, and wauering nature, and a feard of threats, ſoone woman-like giues ouer what hee manfully vndertooke: ſo that the Pope continues his former rapine, though hauing by the continuall exclamations of the Clergy, beene brought to promiſe neuer to ſend any more Legats into *England*, yet employes he other miniſters, vnder the titles of Clerkes, who had the ſame power, as had his former Agents, and effected vnderhand his deſires.

1246. *Anno Reg.* 30.

Now the other part of the ſtate haue new occaſions of complaint offered. *Peter* of *Sauoy* Earle of *Richmond* brings ouer certayne maydes to bee married to young Noble men of *England* the Kings Wards, of which *Edmond* Earle of *Lincolne* hath one, and *Richard de Burgh* another. And the ſame yeare three of the Kings brothers by the mother, *Guy de Luſignan*, *William de Valence*, and *Athelmar* Clerke are ſent for ouer to bee prouided of Eſtates in *England*. *Thomas of Sauoy* (ſometimes Earle of *Flanders* by right of his wife) comes with his ſiſter *Beatrix* Counteſſe of *Prouince* the Queenes Mother: and they are againe feaſted and gifted: For which the King is taxed in the next Parliament conuoked in *London* in *Candlemas* Terme; and beſides ſharply reprehended *For his breach of promiſe (vpon his requiring of another ayde) hauing vowed and declared (vpon his laſt ſupply) by his Charter, neuer more to iniury the ſtate in that kinde. Beſides they blamed him for his violent taking vp of prouiſions for dyet, Wax, Silkes, Robes. &c. and eſpecially for wine contrary to the will of the ſellers, whereby Merchants both of this, and other Kingdomes withdraw their commodities, in ſo much as all traffique and commerce vtterly ceaſe, to the detriment and infamy of the Kingdome. That his Iudges were ſent in circuit vnder pretext of Iuſtice to fleece the people. That* Robert de Paſſeleue *had wrung from the borders of Forreſts, for incroachments or aſſarts, great ſummes of mony, and therefore they wonder he ſhould now demand reliefe from the impoueriſhed commons; and aduiſed him ſince his needleſſe expences* (poſquam Regni cæpit eſſe dilapidator) *amounted to bee aboue* 800 *thouſand pounds) that hee ſhould pull from his fauourites inriched with this Treaſure of the Kingdome, and reuoke the old Lands of the Crowne.*

1247. *Anno Reg.* 31.

1248. *Anno Reg.* 32.

14. Parliament. That he tooke from his ſubiects, *quicquid habuerunt in eſculentis Ruſticorum enim Equos, Bigas, Vina Victualia ad libitum capit. Riſhanger.*

Then

Then they reproue him *for keeping vacant in his hands Biſhopricks and Abbayes, contrary to the liberties of the Church, and his Oath made at his Coronation. Laſtly, they all generally complaine for that the Chiefe Iuſticiar, Chancellor and Treaſurer, were not made by the Common Councell of the Kingdome, according as they were in the time of his Magnificent Predeceſſors, and as it was fit and expedient; but ſuch aduanced, as followed his will, in whatſoeuer tended to his gaine, and ſought not promotion for the good of the Kingdome but their owne.*

The King patiently indures this reprehenſion, in hope to obtayne his deſire, and giues them promiſe of redreſſe, but nothing is effected; after many meetings and much debate the Parliament is proroged till Midſommer following, during which time, they would with Patience expect how the King would beare himſelfe towards them; that accordingly they might obay, and ſatisfie his deſire.

The Kings ſpeech in Parliament.

But this delay wrought no good, the King through ill Councell growes more obdurate, and harſh to his people, in ſo much as at the next Seſſion he makes his ſpeech: *Would you curbe the King your Lord, at your vnciuill pleaſure, and impoſe a ſeruile condition vpon him? will you deny vnto him what euery one of you, as you liſt, may do? It is lawfull for euery one of you to vſe what counſell he will, and euery maſter of a Family to preferre to any office in his houſe whom he pleaſes, and diſplace againe when he liſt, and will you raſhly deny your Lord and King to do the like? Whereas ſeruants ought not to iudge their Maſter, and Subiects their Prince, or hold them to their conditions. For the ſeruant is not aboue his Lord nor the Diſciple aboue his Maſter. Neither ſhould he be your King, but as your ſeruants who ſhould ſo incline to your pleaſures:* wherefore he will neither remoue the Chiefe Iuſticiar, Chancellor, nor Treaſurer, according to their motion. In like manner finds he anſweres to the reſt of their Articles, and for the ayde hee required, it concern'd (he ſayd) their Rights as well as his. And ſo the Parliament brake vp in diſcontent.

Claus, Anno 48. *&* 49. *Henry* 3. Beginneth firſt with ſale of Land, then of Iewels, pawneth *Gaſcoigne*, and after his Crowne when hauing neither credite nor pawnes of his owne, he layeth the ornaments and iewels of Saint *Edwards* ſhrine, giues ouer houſe-keeping.

The King is aduiſed to furniſh his wants with the ſale of his Plate and Iewels of the Crowne, being told that as all riuers haue reflux to the ſea, ſo all theſe things though ſold and diſperſed would reuert againe vnto him, and therefore it ſhould not mooue him, and hauing with great loſſe receiued money for this ware, hee inquires who had bought it, anſwer was made, the City of *London, that City*, ſaid he, *is an vnexhauſtible Gulph: if* Octauius *treaſure were to be ſold they would ſurely buy it*, and there withall inueighes againſt the City, which had ſo often ſerued his turne, and deuiſes all meanes to vexe the ſame, cauſing ſhortly after a new faire to bee kept at *Weſtminſter*, forbidding vnder great penalty all exerciſe of Merchandize within *London* for fifteene dayes, and all other Faires in *England*, and namely that of *Ely*. This nouelty came to nothing, the inconuenience of the place, as it was then, and the foulenеſſe of the weather brought more affliction then benefit to the Traders.

1249.
Anno
Reg. 33.

The King requires New-yeares gifts.

That Chriſtmas alſo (without reſpect of Royall Magnificence) hee requires new yeares gifts of the *Londoners*, and ſhortly after writes vnto them his letters imperiouſly deprecatory, to ayde him with money, which, with much grudging they doe, to the ſumme of 20000. pounds, for which, the next yeare after hee craues pardon of the City, ſending for them to *Weſtminſter Hall*. And notwithſtanding his continuall taking vp all prouiſions for his houſe, he ſo much leſſens his hoſpitality (introducing, ſay they, the Romane Cuſtome of dyet) as was held very diſhonorable, and vnuſuall to the Engliſh Magnificence of Court.

Then, where he could obtayne nothing of the States together, hee calles vnto him, or writes to euery Noble man a part, declaring his pouerty and how he was bound by Charter in a debt of 30. thouſand pounds to thoſe of *Burdeaux*, and the *Gaſcoignes*, (who otherwiſe would not ſuffer him to depart home) at his laſt beeing in *France*, notwithſtanding hee required nothing but of fauour, which where hee found, he would returne with the like. And fayling likewiſe heerein, hee addreſſes his Letters to the Prelates, where he findes as little reliefe. By much importunity, and his owne preſence hee got of the Abbot of *Ramſey* 100. pounds; but the Abbot of *Borough* had a face to refuſe him the like ſumme. Though the King told him it was more Almes to giue vnto him, then to a beggar that went from doore to doore: The Abbot of Saint *Albones* yet

yet was more kinde, and gaue him 60. Markes. To this lowneſſe, did the neceſſity of this indigent King (though his profuſion) decline him. The Iewes euer expoſed to his will, feele the weight of theſe his wants, and their Eſtates are continually ranſackt. One *Abraham*, found a delinquent, redeemes himſelfe for 700. Markes. *Aaron* another Iewe, proteſts, the King had ſince his laſt being in *France*, taken from him at times, thirty thouſand Markes of ſiluer, beſides hee had giuen 200. Markes in Gold to the Queene.

The Lords aſſemble againe at *London*, and preſſe him with his promiſe made vnto them, that the Chiefe Iuſticiar, Chancellor, and Treaſurer might bee conſtituted by the generall Councell of the Kingdome; but by reaſon of the abſence of *Richard* Earle of *Cornewall*, which was thought to be of purpoſe, they returne fruſtrate of their deſire. So that diſcontentment ſtill goes on, *and neither ſide get any thing but by hard wreſtings, which became them both ill, and ſhew vs the miſeries of a diſ-ioynted time.*

1250. *Anno* Reg. 34.

The King labours the Conent of *Dureſme* to preſer his brother *Athelmar* to the Biſhopricke, the Couent refuſes him, in regard of his youth and inſufficiency; the King anſwers, *that then he would keep the Biſhoprick eight or nine years more in his hand, till his brother were of more maturity.* Shortly after the Biſhopricke of *Winchester* falles voide; and thither he ſends preſently his ſolicitors to prepare the Monkes of the Cathedral Church, to elect his brother, and for that he would not haue alſo their repulſe; he ſuddainly goes thither himſelfe in Perſon, enters the Chapter houſe as a Biſhop or Prior, gets vp into the Preſidents Chayre, begins a Sermon, and takes his text: *Iuſtice and Peace hath kiſſed each other*, and thereupon vſes theſe words: *To me, and other Kings, and to our Princes and Iuſticiars, who are to gouerne the people, belong the rigor of Iudgement, and Iuſtice: to you, who are men of quiet and religion; peace and tranquillity; and this day I heare, you haue (for your owne good) beene fauorable to my requeſt. Iuſtice and Peace hath kiſſed each other. Once I was offended with you for withſtanding mee in the election of* William Rale *your late Biſhop, a man I liked not, but now I am friends with you for this; and will both remember and reward your kindneſſe. As by a woman came deſtruction to the World, ſo by a woman came the remedy. I to ſatisfie my wife, deſirous to preferre her Vncle* William Valentine, *diſquieted and damnified you, ſo now, willing to aduance my brother, by the Mother, will reconcile my ſelfe vnto you, &c. And you are to conſider how in this City I was borne, and in this Church Baptized. Wherefore you are bound vnto me in a ſtraighter bond of affection, &c. Then commends he the high birth and good parts of his Brother, and what honor and benefit they ſhould haue by electing him, but concludes with ſome threatning. So that the Monkes, ſeeing him thus to require the Biſhopricke, held it in vaine to deny him; and* Athelmar *is elected though with this reſeruation; if the Pope allowed thereof.* Shortly after followes the memorable cauſe of Sir *Henry de Bath* a Iuſticiar of the Kingdome, and an eſpeciall Councellor to the King, who by corruption had attayned to a mighty Eſtate, and is ſaid in one circute to haue gotten 200. pound land *per annum*, he is accuſed by Sir *Philip Darcy* of falſe-hood in the Kings Court, and the King ſo incenced againſt him, as in the Parliament about this time holden in *London*, Proclamation is made that whoſoeuer had any action or complaint againſt *Henry de Bath*, ſhould come and bee heard: one of his fellow Iuſticiars accuſed him of acquitting a malefactor for a bribe. The King ſeeing the friends of the accuſed ſtrong, breakes out into rage, proteſting that whoſoeuer would kill *Henry de Bath* ſhould bee acquitted for the deed: but afterward hee comes pacified by the Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Biſhop of *London*, *Who vrged the danger of the time, the diſcontentment of the Kingdome; and how the proceeding in ſuch a manner with one of his Councell, whom he had vſed in ſo great buſineſſe, would diſcourage others to ſerue ſuch a Maſter, who vpon malicious accuſations ſhould ſo forſake them, whoſe places were euer expoſed to enuy and detraction.* And thereuppon Sir *Henry* is releaſed paying 2000. Markes, and after reſtored to his former place and fauour.

The Kings ſpeech to the Chapter at *Winchester.*

The cauſe of Sir *Henry Bath.*

1251. *Anno* Reg. 35.

15 Parliament.

The marriage of *Margaret* with *Alexander* King of *Scots*, ſolemnized at *Yorke.*

The King keeping his Chriſtmas at *Yorke*, the marriage is ſolemnized betweene *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Margaret* his Daughter, the ryot of which feaſt with the vaine expences of apparell (the note of a diſeaſed time) is deſcribed by our author, who amongſt other things, reports how the Archbiſhop gaue 60. fat Oxen which were ſpent

at

at one meale; beſides that feaſt coſt him 4000. Markes, which ſhewes, the pouerty of the Church, was not ſo great as it was pretended to be, ſeeing when they would ſhew their glory, they could finde what they denied at other times.

The Pope Sollicites the King to vndertake the Croſſe, and ſo doth *Alphonſus* King of *Caſtile*: Offering to accompany him in Perſon to reſcue the King of *France*. Who hauing euen emptied his Country both of Treaſure and Nobility, was now taken priſoner by the *Soldian*, and held in miſerable Captiuity. A ranſome collected for him in *France*, with great vexation, is by tempeſt caſt away on the Sea, other meanes are made for treaſure, which could not eaſily be had: the captiue King offers to reſtore *Normandy* to the King of *England* ſo hee would come to his reſcue. Which, the Nobility of *France* takes ill and diſdaine the weakeneſſe of their King: vppon the Popes ſollicitation and the grant of a Tenth of the Clergy and Layety for three yeares to come, the King of *England* vndertakes the Croſſe, rather it ſeemes to get the money then with any purpoſe to performe the iourney. Which, had it beene collected, would (ſaith *Paris*) haue amounted to 600. thouſand pound, to the vtter impoueriſhing of the Kingdome, which was that, they both ſought, but by ſeuerall wayes, for many now began to diſcouer, that the Pope, by this imbarking the Princes of Chriſtendome in this remote, and conſuming warre, to waſt them, their Nobility and Kingdome, was onely but to extend his owne power and domination.

The King of *France* priſoner the by Soldian.

The King of *England* vndertakes the croſſe.

1252. *Anno Reg.* 36.

The King by Proclamation calls the *Londoners* to *Weſtminſter*, and there cauſes the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Chicheſter*, to declare his intentions; and exhort the people to vndertake the croſſe and attend him; but few are moued by their perſwaſions, only three Knights (and they of no great note) are nominated; whom the King preſently, in open view, imbraces, kiſſes and calls brethren, checking the *Londoners* as ignoble mercenaries, for that few of them were forward in this action, notwithſtanding hee there takes his Oath for performing of the ſame, and to ſet forth preſently vppon Midſummer day next. In taking this oath, he layes his right hand on his breaſt (according to the manner of a Prieſt) and after on the booke, and kiſt it, as a Lay man.

A Parliament about this Tenth (granted by the Pope but not the people) is called at *London*, the Biſhops are firſt dealt withall (as being a worke of piety) to induce the reſt, they abſolutely refuſe the ſame, then the Lords are ſet vpon, they anſwere: *What the Biſhops (who were firſt to giue their voyce conſent vnto) they would allow the ſame*, this ſhuffling put the King into ſo great rage as he draue out all that were in his Chamber, as hee had bin mad. Then falls he to his former courſe, to perſwade them a part, ſends firſt for the Biſhop of *Eley*, deales with him in all milde and kind manner, recounting the *Many fauors he had receiued at his hands: how forward he had found him heretofore to ſupply his occaſions; and intreates him now to giue good example to others, &c.* The Biſhop replyes, *he was glad, at any time to haue done him acceptable ſeruice, but in this, for himſelfe, to goe from that forme, the vniuerſality of the ſtate had determined, he held it a diſhoneſt act; and therfore beſought his highnes he would not vrge him therunto, diſſwading him from that iourney by the example of the King of* France, *on whom, he might ſee the puniſhment of God to be falne, for his rapine made on his peoples ſubſtance, wherwith he had now inriched his enemies, who were growne fat with the infinit treaſure of the Chriſtians tranſported in thoſe parts.*

The Biſhops and Lords deny the king the tenth granted by the Pope.

The ſpeech of *Iſabel* Counteſſe of *Arundel* to the king.

The King ſeeing the reſolution of this graue Biſhop, in great paſſion commaunded his ſeruants to thruſt him out of doore, perceiuing by this what was to be expected of the reſt; and ſo fals to his former violent courſes. During this Parliament (an ill time for ſutors) *Iſabel* Counteſſe of *Arundel* (widdow) comes vnto him about a Warde detained from her, in regard of a ſmall parcell of land held in Capite (which drew away all the reſt) the King giuing her a harſh anſwere and turning away ſhe ſayd vnto him. *My Lord, why turne you away your face from Iuſtice, that we can obtaine no right in your Court you are conſtituted in the middeſt betwixt God and vs; but neither gouerne your ſelfe nor vs diſcreatly as you ought, you ſhamefully vex both the Church and Nobles of the Kingdome by all meanes you may. To which ſpeech the King diſdainfully replies: Lady Counteſſe hath the Lords made you a Charter and ſent you (for that you are an Eloquent ſpeaker) to be their aduocate and pleadtrix? No Sir (ſaith ſhe) they haue not made any Charter to me. But the*

the Charter which your father and you made, and sworne so often to obserue, and so often extorted from your subiects their money for the same, you vnworthily transgresse, as a manifest breaker of your faith. Where are the Liberties of England, *so often written, so often granted, so often bought? I (though a woman) and with mee, all your naturall, and faithfull people, appeale against you to the tribunall of that High Iudge aboue; and Heauen, and earth shall be our witnesse, that you haue most vniustly dealt with vs, and Lord God of reuenge, auenge vs.* Herewithall the King disturbed, *asked her if she expected no grace from him being his kinswoman: How shal I hope for grace, said she, when you deny me right? and I appeale before the face of Christ against those Councellors of yours, who, onely greedy of their owne game, haue bewitched and infatuated you.*

The King reproued by the Maister of the Hospitall of Ierusalem.

As boldly, though in fewer words, is he reproued by the Master of the Hospitall of Ierusalem in *Clarken-Well*, who comming to complaine of an iniury committed against their Charter, the King told him: *The Prelats, and especially the Templars and Hospitalers, had so many Liberties and Charters that their riches made them proud, and their pride mad, and that those things which were vnaduisedly granted, were with discretion to be reuoked; and alledges how the Pope had often recalled his owne grants, with the clause* non obstante, *and why should not he cassat those Charters inconsiderately granted by him, and his Predecessors.* What say you Sir (sayd the Prior, God forbid so ill a word should proceede out of your mouth. *So long as you obserue Iustice you may be a King, and as soone as you violate the same you shall leaue to be a King.*

The Fryers Minors, to whom he had sent a load of Frees to cloath them, returned the same with this message: *That hee ought not to giue Almes of what he had rent from the poore*, neither would they accept of that abhominable gift. With these and many such like bolde incounters (ill becomming the obedience of Subiects) is this King affronted: to shew vs the ill complexion of the time, and how miserable a thing it is for a Prince to loose his reputation, and the loue of his people, whereby they both haue their vexations.

Strangers commit ryots.

And daily more and more hardned hee is against the English: whereby Strangers are made so insolent, as they commit many ryots and oppressions in the Kingdome. *William de Valence* (whose youth and presumption went which way his will led him) goes from his Castle of *Hartfort* to a Parke of the Bishop of *Eley*, lying neere his manner of *Hatfield*, where after hauing spoyled much game hee enters into the Bishops house and finding no drinke but Ale, causes the Cellar doore beeing strongly barred, to be broken open by his people, who after they had drunke their fill, let out the rest on the floore. But a greater violence then this was offred to an Officiall of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* by the commandement of the Elect of *Winchester* (the one brother to the Queene, the other to the King) which troubled them both, and gaue them much to doe before it was appeased. *Guy de Lusignan*, the other brother of the King comming as a guest to the Abbot of St. *Albones* violates the Rights of Hospitality, and many other iniures, are reported by our Author to haue beene committed by Strangers, and much complaint is made of that time, wherein, this was said to bee the vsuall exclamation. *Our inheritance is giuen to Aliens, and our houses to Strangers*, which notwithstanding the King seekes still to preferre.

A daughter of *Guy de Lusignan* Earle of *Angolesme* is married to *Richard* (or *Gilbert de Clare*) Earle of *Gloceſter* a man eminent, and dearely loued of the Nobility; Learned in the Lawes of the Land; and held a great Patriot: which manacle of alliance lockt not yet his hands from defending the liberties of his Countrey; the King promises her a dowery of fiue thousand Markes, which hee sought to borrow of diuers, but could not.

The City of *London* is againe compelled to the contribution of 1000. Markes; and the *Gascoigns* being vppon reuolt (vnlesse speedy remedy were taken) generall musters are made and commandement giuen that whosoeuer could dispend thirteene pounds *per annum*, should furnish out a horse-man. This with the extreame wants of the King, occasions another Parliament, wherein the State began, it seemes wisely to consider that all their opposition did no good, the Kings turne must bee serued one way or other,

other, ſome muſt pay for it; and where it lighted on particulars it was far more heauy, then it could be in generall; and therefore they agreed to relieue him rather by the vſuall way, then force him to thoſe extrauagant courſes which he tooke. But ſo, as the reformation of the gouernment and ratification of their Lawes, might be once againe ſolemnly confirmed.

A tenth and Scutage granted by Parliament.

And after fifteene dayes conſultation to ſatisfie the Kings deſire, for his holy expedition (a Tenth is granted by the Clergy) which yet by view of the Lords ſhould, vppon his ſetting forth, bee deſtributed for three yeares; and Scutage, three Markes of euery Knights Fee, by the Laytie for that yeare. And now againe thoſe often confirmed Charters are ratified, and that in the moſt ſolemne and ceremoniall manner, as *Religion* and *State*, could euer deuiſe to doe.

1253. *Anno Reg* 37.

The King with all the great Nobility of *England*, all the Biſhops and chiefe Prelates in their reuerend Ornaments, with burning candles in their hands aſſemble to heare the terrible ſentence of Excommunications againſt the infringers of the ſame. And, at the lightning of thoſe Candles, the King hauing receiued one in his hand, giues it to a Prelate that ſtood by, ſaying, *It becomes not me being no Prieſt to hold this candle, my heart ſhall be a greater teſtimony*, and withall, laid his hand ſpread on his breaſt the whole time the ſentence was read, which was thus pronounced: *Auctoritate dei omnipotratis, &c.* which done, he cauſed the Charter of King *Iohn* his Father granted by his free conſent to be likewiſe openly read. In the end, hauing throwne away their Candles (which lay ſmoaking on the ground) they cryed out: *So let them who incurre this ſentence be extinct, and ſtricke in hell.* And the King with a loud voyce ſayd: *As God me helpe, I will, as I am a Man, a Chriſtian, a Knight, a King Crowned and Annointed, inuiolable obſerue all theſe things.* And therewithall the Bels rung out, and all the people ſhouted with ioy.

Oath.

Neuer were Lawes amongſt men (except thoſe Holy Commandements from the Mount) eſtabliſhed with more Maieſty of Ceremony, to make them reuerend, and reſpected then were theſe: they wanted but thunder and lightning from Heauen (which if prayers could haue procured, they would likewiſe haue had) to make the ſentence gaſtly, and hydeous to the infringers thereof. The greateſt ſecurity that could bee giuen was an oath (the onely chayne on earth, beſides loue, to tye the conſcience of a man, and humaine ſociety together) which, ſhould it not hold vs, all the frame of gouernment, and other muſt needes fall quite a ſunder.

The King reſumes *Gaſcoigne* from his brother *Richard*, giues it to his ſonne Prince *Edward*.

Now the buſineſſe of *Gaſcoigne* (that required preſent care) is in hand, which the better to know, we muſt returne to the head whence it ſprung twenty ſeuen yeares paſt, the King, by the counſel of the Lords, freely granting to his brother *Richard* all that Prouince who is there receiued as their Lord with their oathes of Fealty made vnto him; and ſo continues, vntill the King (hauing iſſue of his owne, by motion of the Queene) reuokes his gift, and confers it vpon the eldeſt ſonne *Edward*. *Richard*, though hee were depriued of the poſſeſſions, would not yeeld to forgoe his right, and at the Kings laſt being in *Gaſcoigny*, many of them ſtand doubtfull whom to attend; the King in great diſpleaſure commanded his brother to reſigne his Charter, and renounce his right; which, he refuſing to doe, the King commands thoſe of *Burdeaux* to take and impriſon him; but they) in regard of his high blood, the homage they had made him, and the Kings mutability, who might reſent his owne commandement) would not aduenture there on. Then hee aſſailes them with money, which effected more then his commandement: the Earle is in danger to be ſurpriſed, eſcapes out of *Burdeaux*, and comes ouer into *England*.

Simon *Monfort* Earle of *Leiceſter* ſent into *Gaſcony*.

The King Aſſembles the Nobility of *Gaſcoigny* at *Burdeaux*; inuaighes againſt his brother: *A man*, ſayde hee *was couetous, and a great oppreſſour, a large promiſer, but a ſpare Payer; and that hee would prouide them of a better Gouernour*: With all, promiſes them thirty thouſand Markes (as a price of their obedience) and ſo nullifies the Charter of his former donation, with their homage, and takes their of Fealty to himſelfe. Which yet they would not make vnto him, till hee had inwrapt himſelfe both by his Charter and Oath for this promiſed ſumme (whereunto they ſo held him, as thereby, afterward they loſt his loue) And to be reuenged on them, he ſends *Simon Monfort* Earle of *Leiceſter*, a rough and Martiall man to Maſter their pride: makes him a Charter

a Charter for sixe yeares to come, and furnishes him with 10000. Markes the better to effect his Command. *Monfort* by his sterne gouernment so discontents the *Gascoignes*, as after three yeares suffering, they send the Arch-bishop of *Burdeaux* with other great men, to complaine of his hard dealing, and accuse him of haynous crimes: Their grieuances are heard before the King and his Councell. *Monfort* is sent for ouer, to answere for himselfe, the Earle of *Cornewall* for his receiued wrong in those parts, and the Lords of *England* for their loue to him, take *Monforts* parts; and that so eagerly, as the King comes about to fauor and countenance the *Gascoigns* against *Monfort*; not for his loue to them, but to awe, and abate the other. Whereuppon *Monfort* enters into vndutifull contestation with the King, vpbraides him with his expencefull seruice: wherein he sayes, he had vtterly consumed his Estate: And how the King had broken his word with him; and requires him eyther to make it good, according to his Charter, or render him his expences. The King in great rage told him, no promise was to bee obserued with an vnworthy Traytor: Wherewith *Monfort* rises vp protesting that hee lyed in that word, and were hee not protected by his Royall dignity, he would make him repent it. The king commands his seruants to lay hold on him, which the Lords would not permit. *Monfort* thereupon grew more audacious, saying, who wil beleue you are a Christian? were you euer confessed? if you were, it was without repentance, and satisfaction. The King told him he neuer repented him of any thing so much, as to haue permitted him to enter into his Kingdome, and to haue honoured, and instated him, as he had done.

Monforts contestation with the king.

The *Gascoigns*, after this, are priuatly sent for by the King, who giues them all comfort, and incourages them against *Monfort*, whom yet hee would againe send ouer to his charge, but with clipt wings, whereby both himselfe and they might the better bee reuenged on him, and withall confirmes the state of *Gascoigne* to his sonne *Edward* whom he promised them shortly to send ouer, wherewith they are much pleased, and after they had done their homage to the Prince, depart. The effect of this confused, and ill-packt businesse was such, as all indirect courses produce. *Monfort* returnes in flames to plague the *Gascoignes*, and they in like manner him, but hee by his great Aliance in *France*, drawes together such a power, as beyond expectation, hee ouer-matches the *Gascoignes*, whose estates hee exposes to spoyle, and therewithall entertaynes great collected armies. They againe send ouer their complaints, and vnlesse they were speedily relieued, they of force must put their Country into some other hand, that would protect them.

Monfort returned to his charge.

And in this state good *Gascoigne* now at the time of this last Parliament, whither the King, vpon this late supply granted (omitting his Easterne enterprise) goes with 300. Sayle of great Ships, and lands at *Burdeux* in *August*, *Anno Reg.* 38. hauing first deposed *Simon Monfort* from the gouernment there, and makes voide this Charter by proclamation. *Monfort* retyres from thence, and is offered intertainment by the French, but refuses it. Before Winter the King had in some sort appeased the *Gascoignes*, and taken in such Castles, as had long held out against him, and the late Gouernour. For they hauing put themselues vnder the protection of the King of *Spaine*; who beeing so neere a neighbour, and the discontents and factions of the Country strong, caused the King of *England* with more hast, and care to looke to his worke, and the rather for that the King of *Spaine* pretended title to *Aquitaine*; of whom that King *Henry* might bee the more secure, he sends to treat with him of a marriage betwixt Prince *Edward*, and his sister *Elenor*, whereunto the King of *Spaine* willingly consents.

The King goes ouer into *Gascoigns* with 300 great ships.

Aliance with the King of *Spaine*.

1254. *Anno Reg.* 38. Prince *Edward* marries *Elinner* sister to the king of Spaine.

The King of *England* keeps his Christmas at *Burdeux*. The Queene sends him a new-yeares-gift of 500. Markes, and the next Summer, with the Prince, goes ouer vnto him. The marriage is solemnized at *Burgos*, where the King of *Spaine* Knights the Prince and by his Charter quits his clayme to *Aquitaine*, for him and his successors for euer. The King of *England* inuestes the Prince, and his Wife therein, and besides giues vnto him *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Brifton*, *Stanford* and *Grantham*. This businesse dispatched, the king prepares to returne, hauing consumed all whatsoeuer he could get in this iourney, which with the other two he had before made, was reckoned to haue cost him twenty seauen hun-

hundred thousand pounds, and was sayd to bee more then all the Lands hee had there (should they be sold) were worth, which, when he was told, he willed it might not bee reuealed in publike to his disgrace.

Now in regard of danger by sea hee obtaynes leaue of the King of *France* (lately returned from Captiuity) to passe through his Country, and comes to *Paris* with a 1000. horse, besides Sumpters, and Carts, where he staies eight daies, is sumptuously feasted, and with as great magnificence Feasts the King of *France*. This meeting, in regard of the two Queens sisters, and their other two sisters the Countesse of *Cornewall* and *Prouince* (who were likewise afterward, Queenes) was made the more triumphant, and splendidous. The King about *Christmas* arriues in *England*, and the first that paid for his comming home, were the *Londoners* and the *Iewes*. The *Londoners* presenting him with 100. pounds, were returned without thankes: then being perswaded that plate would be better welcome, they bestowed 200. pounds in a faire vessell: that had some thankes, but yet serued not the turne. An offence is found, about the escaping of a prisoner for which they pay 3000. Markes. Now complaines he of his debts, which he sayes to be 300000. Markes, and how his owne meanes was diminished by the preferment of the Prince, who carried away 15000. Markes *per annum*, and money must be had howsoeuer. First, he beginnes to serue his present turne with loanes, and borrowes great summes of the Earle of *Cornwall*, vpon pawne, and after the King had wrung what he could from the Iewes, he lets them out to Farme to this rich Earle to make the best of them.

King *Henry* comes to *Paris* with 1000. horse is feasted by the King of *France*.

He returnes into *England* fines the *Londoners*.

Then a Parliament is called in Easter Terme, which yeelds nothing but returnes of grieuances, and complaint of breach of Charter, which requiring their former pretended rights in electing the Iusticiar, Chancellour and Treasurer. After much debate to no purpose, the Parliament is prorogued till *Michaelmas* after, when likewise the Kings motion for money is disappointed, by reason of the absence of many Peeres beeing not, as was alledged, summoned according to the Tenor of *Magna Charta*. New occasions of charge and dislike arise. *Thomas* Earle of *Sauoy*, the Queenes brother, hath warres with the City of *Thuren*, and must be supplyed by the King and Queene, and his brother *Boniface* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. The elect Bishop of *Toleto*, brother to the King of *Spaine* with other great men, come ouer, lye at the Kings charge, and are presented with great gifts. Shortly after, *Elsonor* the Princes wife arriues with a multitude of *Spaniards*, and she must be met, and receiued by the *Londoners* in sumptuous manner; and her people after many Feastings returned home with presents. The Pope sends the Bishop of *Bononia* with a Ring of inuestiture, to *Edmond* the second sonne for the Kingdome of *Sicile* (with the hope of which Kingdom his Predecessor *Innocent* the fourth had before deluded the King himselfe) and he is returned with a great reward. Then comes *Rustandus* with power to collect the Tenth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, to the vse of the Pope and the King, and to absolue him from his Oath for the Holy Warre: so that hee would come to destroy *Manfred* sonne to the Emperour *Frederick*, now in possession of the Kingdome of *Sicile* and *Apulia*. And this man likewise hath great gifts bestowed on him, besides a rich Prebend in *Yorke*: but yet he obtayned not, what he came for, of the Clergy, who protested rather to loose their liues and liuings, then to yeeld eyther to the will of the Pope or the King, who they said, *Were as the Shepheard and the Wolfe combined to macerate the Flocke.*

1275. *Anno Reg.* 41. 16 Parliament adiourned.

Pope *Alexan.* 4.

Edmond the Kings second son is promised the kingdome of *Sicile*.

The Pope sent likewise to borrow of the Earle of *Cornwal* 500. marks, in regard of his Nephewes preferment to the Kingdome of *Sicile*, but the Earle refused it, saying, *He would not land his money to one on whom he could not distraine.* So this proiect came to nothing, though all meanes were vsed to draw it on. Newes was spred that *Manfreds* Forces were vtterly defeated, and himselfe eyther slaine or taken Prisoner: wherewith the King is so much ioyed as he presently vowes with all speede to make an expedition thither, and giues his sonne *Edmond* no other Title but King of *Sicile*. This vayne hope had already, by the cunning of the Popes inwrapt him in obligations, of a hundred and fifty thousand Markes. But shortly after this newes proues false, and the contrary is notified: *Manfred* is Victorious, and the Popes power defeated by those of *Apulia*, who tooke such indignation that the Pope should giue away their Country with-

(without their conſent) to an vnknowne Stranger, as with all their maine power they ioyne to eſtabliſh *Manfred*, who is now found to bee the legitimate ſonne of *Fredericke*, and confirmed in his right, which a ſtrong ſword will make howſoeuer.

The complaint of the Merchants of *Gaſcoigne*.

The King keepes his *Chriſtmas* at *Winchester*, where the Merchants of *Gaſcoigne* hauing their wines taken from them, by the Kings Officers, without due ſatisfaction, complaine to the Prince, being now their Lord, and ſhew him, *How they were better to trade with* Sarazins *and* Infidels, *then thou to be vſed here, as they were.* The Prince addreſſes him to his Father, and craues redreſſe herein, but the Officers hauing beene with the King before to preuent the clamors of the *Gaſcoignes*, and telling him, *How they falſely exclaime, relying wholy vpon the Princes fauer, who tooke vpon him their vniuſt cauſe (and that there ought to be but one in* England, *to whom the ordering of Iuſtice appertained)* put him into ſo great a rage with the Prince, as he breakes out into theſe words. *See now my blood, and mine owne bowels impugne me, behold my ſon, as my brother hath done, is bent to affliſt me, the times of my grandfather* Henry *the ſecond, are againe renued, what will become of vs?* but this paſſion being allayed by Councell, he diſſembles the matter, and giues order that theſe iniuries ſhould be redreſſed. But yet the Prince for more caution, amplifying his traine rode with 200. horſe. So eaſily are iealouſies, by euil Miniſters infuſed into Kings, who are of themſelues too apprehenſiue in that kinde, beeing a thing that ſoone turnes the blood.

An ill Office of Officers.

Inſolencies committed by the Princes ſeruants.

And now to adde to the miſery of theſe times, there are new miſchiefes committed by the inſolence of the Seruants of the Prince, who beeing himſelfe young, was attended by many youthfull and violent ſpirits, many Strangers, and men without meanes, who, whereſoeuer he went, made ſpoyle, and tooke for their owne, whatſoeuer they could faſten on, to the extreame vexation of the ſubiect. And they report how this Prince meeting a young man trauayling on the way, cauſed one of his eares to bee cut off, and one of his eyes put out: which foule act, made many to ſuſpect his diſpoſition, and what he would prooue hereafter. And indeed, had he not beene indued with an innated Nobleneſſe of Nature (which, with his long experience in trauaile and great actions ouercame the Vices, the looſeneſſe of the time, and his owne breeding contracted) he might haue prooued as bad as any other. For vnleſſe Princes of themſelues, by inſtinction from aboue bee indued with a naturall goodneſſe, they ſhall gaine little by their education, wherein they are rather ſhewed what they are, then what they ſhould be; and are apter to learne to know their greatneſſe, then themſelues; being euer ſoother in all whatſoeuer they doe.

These youthfull actions of this Prince, with his riotous trayne (which are ſayde to be more rauenous then thoſe which *Lewis* brought out of *France* with him) put out the *Welſh* (of whom he had now the gouernment) into open act of rebellion, and to make ſpoyle of the Engliſh, as he did of them: whereupou he craues meanes of his Father, the Queene and his Vncle *Richard* to ſuppreſſe them. But all was vented already, the Kings Treaſure was gone ouer the Alpes, Earle *Richard* had lent more then hee could get in, and the Earle of *Sauoy* in his warres had ſpent that of the Queenes.

The King is ſtill at his ſhifts to ſupply his euerlaſting neceſſities. Now he comes himſelfe into his Exchequer, and with his owne voice pronounced, *That euery Shrieſe, which appeared not yearely in the Octaues of* S^t. Michel, *with his mony, as well of his Farmes as amercements and other dues: for the firſt day ſhould be amerced fiue marks, for the ſecond ſix, for the third fifteene, for the fourth, to be redeemed at the Kings pleaſure. In like ſort, that all Cities and Freedomes which anſwer by their Bayliffes, vpon the ſame default ſhould be amerced, and the fourth day to looſe their freedomes. Beſides euery Shrieſe, throughout* England *is amerced it fiue Markes for that they did not diſtraine within their Countries vpon whomſoeuer held 10. pound land per annum, and came not to be made Knight, or freed by the King.* Then fals he to the examination of meaſures for Wine and Ale, for Buſhels and weights, which likewiſe brought in ſome ſmall thing, and euery yeare commonly hath one quarrell or other to the *Lnodoners*, and gets ſome thing of them.

But now there fell out a buſineſſe that entertained ſome time, and gaue occaſion to amaze the world with conceite of ſome great aduantage and honor to the Kingdome, by the

the Election of *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, to bee King of *Romans*, which was (as our Writers say) by the generall consent of all the Electors, and by them is he sent for to receiue that Crowne: the matter is heere debated in Councell. Some, who thought his presence, necessary to sway businesses in the Kingdom, were vnwilling and diswade him by example of the miserable destruction of two lately elected to that dignity, *Henry* the *Lantgraue* of *Turing*, and *William* Earle of *Holland*; but others, and especially the King (who was willing to be rid of him, as one he had often found too great for a subiect; and beeing a King abroad hee might make vse of him) perswades to take it vpon him, which hee is easily (though seeming otherwise) induced to doe.

The Earle of *Cornwal* elected King of the *Romans*.

But the *Germane* Writers (who are best witnesses of their owne Affayres) declare how after the murther of the Earle of *Holland*, the Electors were diuided about the choyce of a successor. Some stiffe to vphold their ancient Custome in Electing one of their owne Country, which was more naturall. Others, of a stranger, who might better support their declyning State; which was more politike. Long were the conflicts of their Councells: thereupon in the end, their voyces who stood for strangers were most, but they likewise disagreed among themselues, some would haue *Richard*, brother to the King of *England*, others *Alphonsus* King of *Spaine*, both of them not only contending who should haue it, but who should giue most to buy it: in the end *Richard* beeing neerest at hand, and his mony the readier, is preferred by the Bishop of *Metz*, the Bishop of *Cologne*, and the *Palsgraue*, whose voyces he is sayd to haue bought, and afterward is Crowned at *Aquisgraue*. Now to confirme himselfe, say they, in his State, he proceedes in all violent, and hostile manner (according as was set on) against those who opposed his Election, and hauing consumed himselfe both by his excessiue gifts, in purchasing the suffrages he had, and by this prosecution, he came to be dispossessed, forsaken and forced to returne into *England* to his brother *Henry*, then in Warre with his Nobles. Thus they deliuer it.

Richard Crowned at *Aquisgraue*.

But before the Earle departed out of *England*, the Earle of *Glocester*, and Sir *Iohn Mansell*, were sent into *Germany* to sound their affections, and how they stood disposed towards him. They returne well perswaded of the businesse, and shortly after the Arch-bishop of *Cologne* comes to conduct him ouer, on whom, the Earle bestowes 500 Markes towards his charges, and a rich Mitre set with precious stones. This Prince the Earle of *Cornwall*, is reported able to dispend 100. markes a day for ten yeares, besides his reuenues in *England*.

The French, and especially the King of *Spaine*, are much displeased with this aduancement, complayning to the Pope and the King of *England* of the supplantation of the Earle of *Cornwall*. *Spaine* pretending to haue beene first elected, but being, it seemes a Philosopher and studious in the Mathematickes (which he first reuiued in *Europe*) hee was drawing Lines, when he should haue drawne out his purse, and so came preuented of his hopes.

About the time of the departure of Earle *Richard* (in the iollity of the Kingdome vpon this new promotion, and to set forward another) the King cals a Parliament, wherein (bringing forth his sonne *Edmond*, clad in an *Apulian* habit) he vses these words: *Behold my good subiects, here my sonne* Edmond *whom God of his grace hath called to the dignity of regall excellency, how fitting and worthy is he the fauor of you all, and how inhumane, and tyrannous were he who (in so important a necessity) would deny him Counsell, and aide?* And then shewes them, how by the aduice and benignity of the Pope, and the Church of *England*, he had for attaining the Kingdome of *Sicile* bound himselfe, vnder conditions of loosing his Kingdome of *England*, in the summe of 140. thousand Markes. Moreouer how he had obtayned the Tenth of the Clergy, for three yeares to come, of all their benefices to be estimated according to the new rate, without deduction of expences vnlesse very necessary: besides their first Fruits likewise for three yeares. Which declaration, how pleasing it was to the Clergy, may be iudged by their former grudgings. Notwithstanding, after they had made their pitifull excuses, in regard of their pouerty, they promised vpon the vsuall condition of *Magna Charta*, &c, so often sworne, bought and redeemed to giue 52. thousand Markes, but this satisfied him not.

1257. *Anno Reg.* 41. 15 Parliament.

52 Thousand Markes, vpon conditions promised by the Clergy.

1258. *Anno Reg.* 42.

The next yeare after is another Parliament at *London*, wherein, vpon the Kings preſſing them againe, for meanes to pay his debts to the Pope: the Lords tell him plainly: *They will not yeeld to pay him any thing. And if vnadviſedly, he without their conſents, and Councell bought the Kingdome of* Sicile, *and had beene deceiued, hee ſhould impute it to his owne imbecillity, and beene inſtructed by the example of his prouident brother, who, when the ſame Kingdome was offered vnto him by* Albert *the Popes Agent, abſolutely refuſed it, in regard it lay ſo farre of; So many Nations betweene: the cauils of the Popes: the infidelity of the people; and the power of the pretender, &c.* Then repeate they their owne grieuances, *The breach of his promiſes, contemning both the keyes of the Church, and the Charter he had ſolemnly ſworne to obſerue: the inſolence of his brethren and other ſtrangers, againſt whom, by his order, no Writ was to paſſe out of the Chancery, for any cauſe whatſoeuer: How their pride was intollerable, eſpecially that of* William de Valence, *who, moſt reproachfully had giuen the lye to the Earle of* Leiceſter, *for which he could not be righted vpon his complaint: How they abounded all in riches, and himſelfe was ſo poore, as hee could not repreſſe the ſame forces of the* Welſh *that waſted his Country, but going the laſt yeare againſt them, and effecting nothing, returned with diſhonour.* The King hearing this (as hee was apt vpon rebukes ſoundly vrged to bee ſenſible, and his owne neceſſities conſtrayning him thereunto) humbles himſelfe, and tels them: *How he had often by ill Councell beene ſeduced, and promiſes by his oath, which he takes on the tombe of S^t. Edward, to reforme all theſe errors.* But the Lords not knowing how to hold their euer-changing *Proteus* (ſaith *Paris*) in regard the buſineſſe was difficult, get the Parliament to be adiourned till S^t. *Barnabas* day, and then to aſſemble at *Oxford*. In the meane time the Earles *Gloceſter*, *Leiceſter*, *Hereford*, the Earle Marſhall, *Bigod*, *Spencer* and other great men Confederate, and prouide by ſtrength to effect their deſires. Whilſt the King put to his ſhifts to obtayne money, gets the Abbot of Weſtminſter, vppon promiſe of high preferment to put his Seale, and that of his Couent to a deede obligatory, as a ſurety for three hundred Markes, that by his example he might draw on others to doe like. Sending his truſty Counſaylors and Clearke *Simon Paſſelewe* abroad with his Letters, and this Deed vnto other Monaſteries. But *Paſſelewe*, notwithſtanding all the diligence and skill hee could vſe, by threates or otherwiſe: Telling them, *How all they had came from the benignity of Kings, and how their Soueraigne was Lord of all they had*, They flatly refuſe to yeelde to any ſuch Deede. *Saying, they acknowledged the King to be Lord of all they had, but ſo, as to defend, not to deſtroy the ſame.* And thus he comes likewiſe diſappointed in this proiect.

Prince *Edward* morgages *Stamford* and other townes to *William de Valence*.

The Prince, who likewiſe muſt participate in the wants of his Father, was driuen to morgage the Towne of *Stamford*, *Braham* and many other things, to *William de Valence*, who out of his ſtore, ſupplyed him with money, which after turned to the good of neyther, for it layde a recentement on the neceſſity of the one, which made him breake through his bands, and enuy on the other, whoſe ſuperfluity made him odious.

The Barons expoſtulate for their former liberties.

But now comes aſſembled the Parliament at *Oxford*, and in a hot ſeaſon (the worſt time for conſultation) and heere burſt out that great impoſtume of diſcontent ſo long in gathering. The trayne which the Lords brought with them, was pretended to be for ſome exploit againſt the Welſh, vpon the end of the Parliament; and their ſecuring the ports, to preuent Forraines, but the taking order for keeping of the Gates of *London*, and their Oathes and Hands giuen to each other, ſhewed that they were prepared to make the day theirs. Here they beginne with the expoſtulation of the former Liberties and require the obſeruation thereof, according vnto the Oathes and Orders formerly made. The Chiefe Iuſticiar, Chancellor, and Treaſurer to be ordayned by publike choice: The twenty foure Conſeruators, of the Kingdome to bee confirmed, twelue by the election of the Lords, and twelue by the King, with whatſoeuer elſe made for their owne imagined ſecurity. The King ſeeing their ſtrength, and in what manner they required theſe things, ſweares againe ſolemnly to the confirmation of them, and cauſes the Prince to take the ſame Oath.

But the Lords left not heere, the Kings brethren, the *Poictouins* and other Strangers

muſt

must be presently remooued, and the Kingdome cleared of them, and this they would haue all the Peeres of the Land sworne to see done. Heere they found some opposition in the Prince, the Earle *Warren* and *Henry* eldest sonne to *Richard* now King of *Romanes*, the last refusing to take his Oath without leaue of his Father; they plainely told him, *That if his father would not consent with the Baronage in this case, he should not hold a Furrow of Land in* England. In the end, the Kings brethren and their followers are dispoyled of all their Fortunes, and exiled by prescription, vnder the Kings owne hand directed to the Earles of *Hereford* and *Surrey*, *With charge not to passe either their Money, Armes or Ornaments but in such sort as the Lords appointed*; and after their departure, hee enioyneth the City of *Briſtow*, and other Ports not to permit any strangers or kinsmen of his to arriue, vnlesse they did so behaue themselues, as both he and the Lords should like.

Cron. Lichfield, Henry eldeſt ſon to the King of Romans refuſed to take his oath Cham. 49. Hen. 3.

The *Poictouins* retyring to *Bologne* in *France* send to King *Lewys*, to craue safe passage through his Country into *Poictou*, which (in regard the Queene of *France* had been informed how they had defamed her sister of *England*) was, by her meanes denied at that time, and *Henry* sonne to the Earle of *Leiceſter* (whose estimation was great in *France*) followes them with all eagernesse thither, to incense the French against them. And as they whom Enuy tumbles downe from high places, shall be sure euer to haue all the thrusts possible to set them head-long into disgrace with the World; so now the death, and sickneſſe of diuers great men and others hapning in *England* soone after this fatall Parliament, is imputed to poysons supposed to haue beene prepared by those Gentlemen. The Earle of *Gloceſter* in a sickneſſe suddainly lost his haire, his teeth, his nailes; and his brother hardly escaped death, which made many to suspect their neereſt seruants, and their Cookes, *Walter Scoiny* the Earles Steward being one, is strictly examined, committed to prison, and after, without confession executed vpon presumptions at *Winchester*. *Elias* a conuerted Iew, is sayd to haue confeſſed, that in his house the poyson was confected, but it was when he was a Diuell, not a Christian. Any thing in the prosecution of malice serues the turne. Euery man that had receiued any wrong by those great men, now put vp their complaints, and are heard, to the aggrauation of their insolence and iniustice. *Guido de Rochford* a *Poictouin*, to whom the King had giuen the Castle of *Rocheſter*, is banished, and all his goods confiscate. *William Buſſey* Steward to *William de Valence*, is committed to the Tower of *London*, and most reprochfully vsed, as an especiall minister of his Masters insolencies. *Richard Gray* whom the Lords had made Captaine of the Castle of *Douer*, is set to intercept whatsoeuer the *Poictoumes* conueied that way out of *England*, and much treasure of theirs, and the elect of *Winchester* is by him there taken: besides great sums committed to the new Temple, are found out, and seized into the Kings hands. And, as vsually in such heats, much wrong is committed in these prosecutions of wrongs. But now (as an amuzatory, to make the ill-gouerned people thinke they are not forgotten) the new Chiefe Iusticiar *Hugh Bigod* brother to the Earle Marshall (chosen this last Parliament by publike voyce) procures that foure Knights in euery shiere should inquire of the oppressions of the poore done by great men, and vnder their hands and Seales certifie the same, by a certaine day, to the Baronage, that redresse might be made. Moreouer order was taken that *From thenceforth, no man should giue any thing (beſides prouiſions) for iuſtice, or to hinder the ſame, and both the corrupter and corrupted to be grieuouſly puniſhed.* Notwithstanding this pretended care of the publicke it is noted by the writers and records of that time, how the Lords inforced the seruices of the Kings tenants which dwelt neere them, and were *toridem tyranni*: how they furnished the especiall fortresses of the Kingdome with Guardians of their owne, sworne to the Common state, and tooke the like assurance of all Shrieues, Baylifes, Coroners, and other publike Ministers, searching the behauiour of many strict Commissioners vppon Oath. And to make their cause the more popular, it was rumored that the Kings *neceſſity muſt be repaired out of the Eſtates of his people, and how he muſt not want whilſt they had it*, whereupon the King sends forth proclamation: *How certain malicious perſons had falſly and ſeditiouſly reported, that he ment vnlawfully to charge his Subiects and ſubuert the Lawes and Liberties of the Kingdome, and by theſe ſubtle Suggeſtions, altogether falſe, auerted the*

Mat. Par.

Regiſt. in Scacc. Wil. Riſhanger.

hearts of his people from him; and therefore desires them not to giue credit to such perswasions for that he was ready to defend all Rights and Customes due vnto them, and that they might rest of this secured, he caused of his free will his letters to be made Patents.

1252. Anno Reg. 42. 15. Parliament at *London.* *Ordinat. inter Record Cinit. Lond. Liceat pambibus de Regno nostro contra nos insurgere, & ad grauamen nostrum opem & operam dare ac si nobis in nullo teneremur Chart. Orig. sub Sigillo.* The Lords require an Oath of him.

But now *Monfort*, *Gloceſter*, and *Spencer*, who had by the late inſtitution of the twenty foure Conſeruators, drawne the intire managing of the Kingdome into their hands, inforce the king to call the Parliament at *London* where the authority of the twenty foure is deliuered vnto themſelues, and order taken that three at the leaſt, ſhould attend in the Court, to diſpoſe of the cuſtody of Caſtles, and other buſineſſes of the Kingdome, of the Chancellor, Chiefe Iuſticiar, and Treaſurer, and of all Officers great and ſmall. And here they binde the King to looſe to them their Legale obedience whenſoeuer hee infringed his Charter.

In this State ſtood the Kingdome, when intelligence was giuen to the Lords, that *Richard* King of *Romans* had a purpoſe to come ouer into *England*, which made them greatly to ſuſpect (being ignorant of the occaſion) leaſt hee were ſent for by the King to come with power to ſubuert them, by the example of King *Iohn*. Whereupon they ſend to know the cauſe of his comming, and to require of him an oath before hee ſhould land, not to preiudice the now eſtabliſhed orders of the Kingdome: which hee ſternely refuſes to doe, ſaying: *He had no Peere in* England *being the ſonne and brother of a King, and was aboue their power; and if they would haue reformed the Kingdome, they ought firſt to haue ſent for him, and not ſo preſumptuouſly attempted a buſineſſe of ſo high a Nature.* The Lords vpon returne of this anſwere ſend preſently to gard the Ports, and come ſtrongly to the Coaſt, prepared to incounter him if occaſion were offered. But finding his trayne ſmall, accompanied onely with his Queene, two German Earles, and eight Knights, they, vpon his promiſe to take their propounded Oath receiue him to Land; but would neyther permit the King (who came likewiſe thither to meete him) nor himſelfe to enter into *Douer* Caſtle. At *Canterbury* they bring him into the Chapter houſe, where the Earle of *Gloceſter* ſtanding forth in the middeſt, cals out the Earle, not by the name of King, but *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, who in reuerent manner comming forth, takes his Oath miniſtred in this manner.

The Oath of the King of *Romans.*

Heare all men, that I Richard *Earle of* Cornewall, *doe beere ſweare vppon the Holy Euangeliſts that I ſhall bee faithfull, and diligent to reforme with you the Kingdome of* England, *hitherto by the Councell of wicked Perſons ouer-much diſordered, bee an effectuall Co-aditor, to expell the Rebells and Diſturbers of the ſame, and this Oathe will inuiolably obſeque vnder payne of looſing all the Land I haue in* England: *So helpe mee God.*

In this manner deale the Lords to binde this great Earle vnto them, ſuppoſing his power to haue beene more then it was, which at length they found to bee nothing but an airy Title, for hauing conſumed all that mighty ſubſtance abroad, in two yeares (which with great frugality, had beene many in gathering) hee returnes in this manner home, poore and forſaken by the Germains, without any other meanes to truſt vnto, but only what hee had in *England.*

1259. Anno Reg. 44.

Notwithſtanding vppon his returne the King takes heart, and ſeekes all meanes to vindicate his power, diſpatching firſt meſſengers ſecretly to *Rome*, to bee abſolued from his inforced Oath, then ſends into *Scotland* to the King, and the Queene his daughter for aydes to bee ready vppon his occaſions. And to haue the more aſſurance of the King of *France*, and bee freede from Forraine buſineſſe, hee makes an abſolute reſignation, of whatſoeuer right hee had to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and the Earledomes of *Anion*, *Poitou*, *Towrene*, and *Maine*, in regard whereof the King of *France* giues him three hundred thouſand pounds (ſome ſay crownes) of *Anouine* money, and grants him to enioy all *Guien* beyond the riuer *Garonne*, all the Countrey of *Xantonge* to the Riuer of *Charente*, the Countries of *Limoſin*, and *Quercy* for him and his ſucceſſors doing their Homage and Fealty to the Crowne of *France*, as a Duke of *Aquitaine*, and a Peere of that Kingdome.

1261. Anno Reg. 45. He reſignes *Normandy*, &c.

The Lords likewiſe on the other ſide ſeeke to ſtrengthen their aſſociation, and hold in each other to their Oathes, and obſeruations of their orders, which was hard to doe:

for conſiſting of manifold diſpoſitions, there was daily wauering, ſometimes Pikes amongſt themſelues, in ſo much as the Earle of *Leiceſter* (the chiefe man that kept the fire of that faction in) told the Earle of *Gloceſter* finding him ſtaggering, *That he cared not to liue with ſuch men, whom he found ſo mutable and vncertaine, for ſayd he, my Lord of* Gloceſter, *as you are more eminent, ſo are you more bound to what you haue vndertaken for the good of the Kingdome.* And as he incenced others, ſo had he thoſe that animated him, as *Walter* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and *Robert* Biſhop of *Lincolne*, who inioyned him vpon remiſſion of his ſinnes to proſecute the cauſe vnto death, affirming *How the peace of the Church of* England *could neuer be eſtabliſhed but by the materiall ſword.*

The Lords combine againſt the king.

Wil. Riſbanger.

But now many being the temptations, many are drawne away from their fide, eſpecially after the ſentence giuen againſt them by the King of *France*, made Arbiter of the quarrell, who yet though he condemned the prouiſions of *Oxford*, allowed the confirmation of King *Iohns* Charter: by which diſtinction hee left the matter as hee found it: for thoſe prouiſions, as the Lords pretended, were grounded vpon that Charter. Howſoeuer his ſentence much aduantaged the King of *England*, and made many to diſpence with their Oath, and leaue their party. Amongſt whom was *Henry* ſonne to the Earle of *Cornwall*, (on whom the Prince had beſtowed the honor of *Tyckhill*) who comming to the Earle of *Leiceſter* told him, hee would not be againſt his Father, the King, nor his allyes: but ſayd hee, my Lord, I willneuer beare armes againſt you; and therefore I craue leaue to depart. The Earle chearefully replies: my Lord *Henry*, I am not *Sorry for your departure, but for your inconſtancy, goe, returne with your armes, I feare them not at all.* About the ſame time *Roger Clifford*, *Roger de Leibornc*, *Hamo l' Strange*, and many other (won with gifts) depart from the Barons.

1262. *Anno* Reg. 46.

Shortly after *Roger de Mortimer* of the Kings part breakes into open act of hoſtility, makes ſpoyle of the Lands of the Earle of *Leiceſter*, who had now combined himſelfe with *Lewellin* Prince of *Wales*, and had ſent Forces to inuade the lands of *Mortimer* in thoſe parts. And here the ſword is firſt drawne in this quarrell, about three yeares after the Parliament at *Oxford*. The Prince takes part with *Mortimer*, ſurpriſes the Caſtle of *Brecknocke*: with other places of ſtrength, which hee deliuers to his cuſtody. The Earle of *Leiceſter* recouers the towne and Caſtle of *Gloceſter*, conſtraines the Citizens to pay a thouſand pounds for their redemption, goes with an army to *Worceſter*, poſſeſſes him of the Caſtle, thence to *Shrewſbury*, and ſo comes about to the Iſle of *Ely*, ſubdues the ſame, and growes very powerfull.

1263. *Anno* Reg. 47.

The beginning of the Warres.

The King doubting his approach to *London* (being not yet ready for him) workes ſo as a mediation of peace is made, and agreed, vpon theſe conditions: *that all the Caſtles of the King ſhould be deliuered to the keeping of the Barons; the prouiſions of* Oxford, *ſhould be inuiolably obſerued: All ſtrangers by a certaine time ſhould auoide the Kingdome, except ſuch as by a generall conſent, ſhould be held faithfull, and profitable for the ſame.* Here was a little pauſe, which ſeemes was but as a breathing for a greater rage. The Prince had fortified *Windſor* Caſtle, victualed, and therein placed ſtrangers to defend it, and himſelfe marches to the Towne of *Briſtow*, where in a contention betweene the Citizens, and his people being put to the worſe, hee ſends for the Biſhop of *Worceſter* (an eſpeciall partaker of the Barons) to protect, and conduct him backe. When he comes neere *Windſor*, he gets into the Caſtle, which the Earle of *Leiceſter* comes to beſiege, and beeing about *Kingſtone*, the Prince meetes him to treat of peace, which the Earle refuſes, and layes ſiege to the Caſtle, that was rendred vnto him, the ſtrangers turned out, and ſent home into *France*.

1264. *Anno* Reg. 48.

16 Parliament.

The King to get time conuokes another Parliament at *London*, wherein hee wonne many Lords to take his part, and with them (the Prince, *Richard* Earle of *Cornwal*, *Henry* his ſonne, *William Valence* with the reſt of his brethren lately returned) hee marches to *Oxford*, whither diuers Lords of *Scotland* repaire to him: as *Iohn Comin*, *Iohn Baliol*, Lord of *Galloway*, *Robert Bruce* and others, with many Barons of the North, *Clifford Percy*, *Baſſet*, &c. From *Oxford* with all his Forces he goes to *Northampton*, where he tooke Priſoners, *Simon Mountfort* the yonger, with fourteene other principall men, thence to *Nottingham* making ſpoile of ſuch poſſeſſions, as appertained to the Barons in thoſe parts.

17 Parliament held at *London*.

Scotiſh Lords come to ayde the King of *England*.

The

The Earle of *Leiceſter* in the meane time, drawes towards *London* to recouer and make good that part, as of chiefeſt importance, and ſeekes to ſecure *Kent* and the Ports. Which haſts the King to ſtop his proceeding, and ſuccour the Caſtle of *Rocheſter* beſieged.

Succeſſe and authority now growes ſtrong on this ſide, in ſo much as the Earles of *Leiceſter*, *Gloceſter*, in behalfe of themſelues, and their party write to the King, humbly proteſting their loyalty, *And how they oppoſed onely againſt ſuch as were enemies to him and the Kingdome, and had beſyed them.* The King returnes anſwere; *how themſelues were the perturbers of him and his ſtate: enemies to his perſon, and ſought his and the Kingdoms deſtruction, and therfore defies them.* The Prince, and the Earle of *Cornwall* ſend likewiſe their letters of defiance vnto them. The Barons notwithſtanding doubtfull of their ſtrength, or vnwilling to put it to the hazard of a battaile, mediate a peace, and ſend the Biſhops of *London* and *Worceſter* with an offer of 20. thouſand Markes to the King, for damages done in theſe warres, ſo that the ſtatutes of *Oxford* might bee obſerued; which yeeldingneſſe, the other ſide ſuppoſing to argue their debility, made them the more and negligent, ſecurer of their power, which commonly brings the weaker ſide (more watchfull of aduantages) to haue the better.

The Barons mediate a peace.

The Earle, ſeeing no other meanes but to put it to a day (beeing a man skilfull in his worke) takes his time to bee earlier ready then was expected, and ſupplies his want of hands with hi. wit, placing on the ſide of a Hill neere *Lewis*, where this Battaile was fought, certaine enſignes without men, in ſuch ſort as they might ſeeme a farre off, to be ſquadrons of ſuckors to ſecond thoſe he brought to the encounter, whom he cauſed all to weare white-croſſes, both for their owne notice, and the ſignification of his cauſe, which, he would haue to be for Iuſtice. Here the Fortune of the day was his, the King, the Prince, the Earle of *Cornewall*, and his ſonne *Henry*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Hereford*, and all the Scottiſh Lords are his priſoners. The Earle *Warren*, *William de Valence*, *Guy de Luſignian* the Kings brethren, with *Hugh Piged*, Earle Marſhall ſaue themſelues by flight, fiue thouſand are ſlayne in this deſeite, which yet was not all the blood, and deſtruction this buſineſſe coſt.

The battaile of *Lewis*.

The King, Prince and others taken Priſoners.

All this yeare, and halfe of the other, is *Simon Mouſort* in poſſeſſion of his priſoners: the King he carries about with him to countenance his actions, till he had gotten in all the ſtrongeſt Caſtles of the Kingdome. And now (as it vſually falls out in Confederations where all muſt be pleaſed or elſe the knot will diſſolue) debate ariſes betweene the Earles of *Leiceſter* and *Gloceſter*, about their diuidend, according to their agreement. *Leiceſter* (as Fortune makes men to forget themſelues) is taxed *to do more for his owne particular, then the common good: to take to himſelfe the beneſit and diſpoſition of the kings Caſtles; to vſurpe the redemption of priſoners at his pleaſure, to prolong the buſineſſe, and not to vſe the meanes of a Parliament to end it*: his ſonnes alſo preſuming vpon his greatnes grow inſolent, which made *Gloceſter* to forſake that ſide, and betake him to the Prince, who lately eſcaping out of the Caſtle of *Hereford*, had gotten a power about him of ſuch as attended the opportunity of turning Fortune, and to reuenge the diſhonour of one battaile by another.

1265. *Anno* Reg. 49.

Mouſort taxed of wrong.

The Earle of *Gloceſter* leaues him.

The reuolt of this Earle brought many hands to the Prince, whereby many peeces of ſtrength are regained, both in *England* and *Wales*. The Earle of *Leiceſter* to ſtop the proceeding of this mighty growing Prince (beeing now with his army about *Worceſter* in battailes in a plaine neere *Eueſham*, to encounter him; and noting the manner of the approach of his army, ſaid to thoſe about him: *theſe men come bravely on, they learne it not of themſelues, but of me. And ſeeing himſelf likely to be beſet, and ouerlaid with numbers, adviſed his friends* Hugh Spencer, Ralph Baſſet, *and others to ſhift for themſelues*, which when he ſaw they refuſed to do: then ſayd he, *Let vs commit our ſoules to God, for our bodies are theirs*, and ſo vndertaking the maine weight of the Battaile, periſhed vnder it. And with him are ſlaine his ſonne *Henry*, eleuen other Barons with many thouſands of common ſouldiers. At the inſtant of his death, there hapned ſo terrible a thunder, lightning and darkneſſe, as it gaue them as much horror, as their hideous worke.

The Earle *Mouſort* ſlaine.

And ſo ends *Mouſort* this great Earle of *Leiceſter*, too great for a ſubiect, which had hee

he not beene, he might haue beene numbred amongst the worthiest of his time. Howsoeuer, the people which honoured, and followed him in his life, would (vpon the Fame of his miracles) haue worshipped him for a Saint after his death; but it would not bee permitted by Kings.

And here this Battaile deliuers the Captiue King, (but yet with the losse of some of his owne as well as his subiects blood, by a wound casually receiued therein) and ridde him of his Iaylor *Monfort*, whom hee hated and long feared more then any man liuing, as himselfe confessed vppon this accident: passing one day (shortly after the Parliament at *Oxford*) vppon Thames, there hapned a suddaine clap of thunder, wherewith the King was much affrighted and willed presently to bee set on shore at the next landing, which was at *Dureſme* house, where *Monfort* then lay, who seeing the King arriuing hasts downe to meete him, and perceiuing him to be troubled at the storme, layd, *That hee needed not now to feare, the danger was past. No*, Monfort, *said the King, I feare thee, more then I doe all the Thunder and tempest of the World.* And now the King with the victorious Prince, the redeemer of him, and the Kingdome, repayres to *Winchester*, where a Parliament is conuoked, and all who adhered to *Simon Monfort*, are disinherited, and their estates conferred on others, at the Kings pleasure. The *Londoners* haue their liberties taken from them, *Simon* and *Guy de Monfort*, sonnes of the Earle of *Leceſter*, with the dis-inherited Barons and others who escaped the Battaile of *Euesham* take and defend the Isle of *Ely*. The Castle of *Kilingworth* defended by the seruants of the late Earle, although it were in the heart of the Kingdome, endured the siege of halfe a yeare against the King and his Army: In the end their Victualls fayling, they yeeld *vpon condition to depart, their liues, members and goods saued.* And it is worthy the note *that we find no execution of blood, except in open battaile, in all those combustions, or any noble man to dye on a Skaffold, either in this Kings raigne, or any other since* William *the first which is now almost 300. yeares.* Onely in *Anno* 36. of this King, *William Marise*, the son of *Geffery Marse* a Noble man of *Ireland*, being condemned of Pyracy and treason, was hanged, beheaded, and quartered; and is the first example of that kinde of punishment wee finde in our Histories.

1266. *Anno Reg.* 50.

18 Parliament held at *Winchester.*

All who tooke part with *Monfort* dis-inherited.

After the Parliament at *Winchester* the King goes with an Army against the dis-inherited Barons, and their partakers, which were many resolute, and desperate persons strongly fastned together. And being at *Northampton*, *Simon* and *Guy de Monfort*, by mediation of Friends, and promises of Fauour came in and submitted themselues to the King, who, at the earnest suite of the Earle of *Cornewall* their Vncle, and the Lord *Philip Basset*, had restored them to their Estates, but for *Glocester*, and others who (doubeing their spirits) wrought to hold them downe, where their Fortune had layde them. In so much as they were faine in the end to flye the Kingdome, and worke their Fortunes other where, which they did, the yonger in *Italy*, the elder in *France*: *Where they were propagators of two great Families.* Their mother was banished shortly after the battaile of *Euesham*. *A Lady of eminent note, the daughter and sister to a King, vncrowned only by her Fortune, who from the Coronet of miserable glory, betooke her to the vaile of quiet piety, and dyed a Nun at* Montarges *in* France.

Three yeares after this, the dis-inherited Barons held out in those fastnesses of the Kingdome where they could best defend themselues, made many excursions and spoyles to the great charge and vexation of the King, at length motions, and conditions of render are proposed, wherein the Councell are diuided. *Mortimer* now an eminent man in grace, with others stated in the possessions of the dis-inherited, are auerres to any restoration, alledging it *A great act of iniustice, for them to be forced to forgoe what the King had for their paines and fidelity bestow'd on them, and the others iustly forfeited, and therfore would hold what they had. Glocester* with the twelue ordayned to deale for the peace of the state, and other his Friends which were many, stand mainely for restoration. This caused new pikes of displeasure, in so much as *Glocester*, who, conceiuing his turning, not so to serue his turne, as he expected, taking his time, againe changed foote: retires from the Court, refuses to come to the Kings Feast on S^t. *Edwards* day: Sends messengers to warne the King, *To remoue strangers from his Councel, and obserue the prouisions of* Oxford

Motions of peace made to the dis-inherited Lords.

1267. *Anno Reg.* 51.

The Earle of *Glocester* reuolt.

according

according to his laſt promiſe made at Eueſham; otherwiſe that he ſtould not warraile, if himſelfe did what he thought fit. Thus had Victory no peace: the diſtemprature of the time was ſuch, as no ſword could cure it; recourſe is had to Parliament (the beſt way if any would ſerue, for remedy) and at *Bury* is the ſtate conuoked, where likewiſe all who held by Knights ſeruice are ſummoned to aſſemble, with ſufficient horſe and armour for the vanquiſhing of thoſe diſ-herited perſons, which, contrary to the peace of the Kingdome held the Iſle of *Ely*.

19 Parliament.

Iohn de Warreine Earle of *Surrey*, and *William de Valentia*, are ſent to perſwade the Earle of *Glocester* (who had now leuied an Army vpon the Borders of *Wales*) to come, in faire manner to this Parliament, which he refuſes to do, but yet thus much the Earles had of him vnder his hand and ſeale: *Neuer to beare armes againſt the King, or his ſonne* Edward, *but to defend himſelfe, and purſue* Roger Mortimer, *and other his enemies*, for which he pretended to haue taken Armes. The firſt demaund in the Parliament was made by the King and the Legat; *for the grant of a Tenth of the Clergy for three yeares to come, and for the yeares paſt, ſo much as they gaue the Barons for defending the Coaſts againſt the landing of ſtrangers.* Whereto they anſwer, *that the War was begunne by vniuſt deſires, which yet continues, and neceſſary it were to let paſſe ſo euill demands, and ſo treat of the peace of the Kingdome; to conuert the Parliament to the benefit thereof, and not to extort money, conſidering the land had beene ſo much deſtroyed by this Warre, as it could hardly bee euer recouered.* 2. Then was it required, *that the Clergie might be taxed by lay men, according to the iuſt value of what appertained vnto them.* They anſwer, *it was no reaſon, but againſt all Iuſtice, that Lay-men ſhould intermeddle in collecting Tenth, which they would neuer conſent vnto, but would haue the ancient taxation to ſtand.* 3. Then was it required, *they ſhould giue the Tenth of their Baronies and Lay Fee, according to the vtmoſt value.* They anſwere: *themſelues were impouerished by attending the King in his expeditions, and their lands lay vntild by reaſon of the Warres.* 4. Then it was required, *that the Clergy ſhould in lieu of a Tenth, giue amongſt them 30. thouſand Markes to diſcharge the Kings debts contracted for* Sicilia, Calabria, *and* Apulia. They anſwere: *they would giue nothing in regard all thoſe taxations, and extorſions formerly made by the King, were neuer conuerted to his owne, or the benefit of the Kingdome.* 5. All this beeing denied, demaund is made, *That all Clergie men that held Baronies, or other Lay Fee ſhould perſonally ſerue in the Kings Warres* They anſwere, *they were not to fight with the materiall, but the ſpirituall ſword, &c. that their Baronies were giuen of meere almes, &c.* 6. Then was it required, *the whole Clergy ſhould diſcharge the 9000. pounds, which the Biſhops of* Rocheſter, Bathe, *and the Abbot of* Weſtminſter *ſtood bound to the Popes Marchants for the Kings ſeruice at their being at the Court of* Rome. They anſwere: *they neuer conſented to any ſuch loane, and therfore were not bound to diſcharge it.* 7. Then the Legate, from the part of the Pope required, *that without delay prediccation ſhould be made throughout the Kingdome to incite men to take the Croſſe for the Holy Warre*, whereunto anſwere was made, *that the greateſt part of the people of the Land were already conſumed by the ſword, and that if they ſhould vndertake this action, few or none would be left to defend the Kingdome, and that the Legat hereby ſhewed a deſire to extirpat the natiues thereof, and introduce ſtrangers.* 8. *Laſtly*, it was vrged, *that the Prelates were bound to yeeld to all the Kings demaunds by their Oath at* Couentrie; *where they ſwore to ayde him by all meanes poſſible they could.* They anſwere: *that when they tooke that oath, they vnderſtood no other ayde, then ſpirituall and wholeſome Counſell.* So nothing was obtayned but denials in this Parliament.

The Legat, likewiſe imployes ſollicitors to perſwade the diſ-herited L L. which held the Iſle of *Ely*, *to returne to the faith, and vnity of the Church, the peace of the King, according to the forme prouided at* Couentry, *for redeeming their inheritances from ſuch as held them by graſt from the king for ſeuen years profits, and in lieu of their robberies.* The diſ-herited returne anſwer to the Legat. *Firſt, that they held the faith they returned from their Catholick Fathers, and their obedience to the Romane Church, as the head of al Chriſtianity, but not to the enuie and wilfull exaltion of thoſe who ought to gouerne the ſame. And how (their Predeceſſors whoſe heires they were, hauing conquered this land by the ſword) they held themſelues vniuſtly diſ-herited, that it was againſt the Popes mandat, they ſhould be ſo eaſily without.*

That

That they had formerly taken their Oath to defend the Kingdome and Holy Church, all the Prelates thundring the sentence of excommunication against such as withstood the same and according to that Oath they were prepared to spend their liues. And seeing they warred for the benefit of the Kingdome, and Holy Church, they were to sustaine their liues by the goods of their enemies, who detained their Lands, which the Legat ought to cause to be restored vnto them, that they might not be driuen to make depradation in that manner, which yet was not so great as was reported: for that many of the kings and Princes followers made rodes, and committed great robberies which to make them odious, were imputed, and giuen out to be done by them, wherfore they wish the Legat to giue no credit to such reports: for if they should find any such amongst them, they would themselues do Iustice vpon them without delay.

Besides they declare to the Legat, *that he had irreuerendly elected out of the Kingdome the Bishops of* Winchester, London, *and* Chicester, *men circumspect and of deepe iudgement, whereby the Councell of the Kingdome was in great part weakned to the danger thereof, and therefore willed him to looke to the reformation of the same: and that they might be restored to their Lands without redemption. That the prouisions of* Oxford *might be obserued. That they might haue Ostages deliuered them into the Island to hold the same peaceably for fiue yeares to come, vntill they might perceiue how the King would performe his promises.*

Thus they treat, not like men whom their Fortunes had layd on the ground, but as they had beene still standing: So much wrought eyther the opinion of their cause, or the hope of their party. But this stubbornnes so exasperates the King, as the next yeare following, hee prepares a mighty Army, besets the Isle so that he shuts them vp, and Prince *Edward*, with bridges made on Boates enters the same in diuers places, and constraines them to yeelde. In the meane time the Earle of *Glocester*, with his Army collected on the borders of *Wales* to ayde them, marched to *London*, where by the Citizens he was receiued: but the Legat who kept his residence in the Tower so preuayled with him, as he againe renders himselfe to the King to whom he was afterward reconciled, by the mediation of the King of *Romans*, and the Lord *Philip Basset* vpon forfeiture of twelue thousand Markes, if euer after he should raise any commotion.

The Earle of *Glocester* reconciled.

This effected, the King goes with an Army into *Wales*, against *Lewellin*, for ayding *Simon Monfort* and the Earle of *Glocester*, in their late attempts against him, but his wrath being by the gift of thirty two thousand pounds sterling, appeased, peace is concluded betwixt them, and foure Cantreds, which had by right of Warre, beene taken from him, restored.

And here was an end of the first Barons Warres of England, *wherein we see what effects it wrought, how no side got but misery and vexation, whilst the one struggle to do more then it should, and the other to do lesse then it ought, they both had the worst, according to the vsuall euents of such imbroylements.*

1269.
Anno Reg. 53.

The next yeare after this appeasement, the Legat *Ottobon* signes with the Croissado both the Kings sonnes, *Edward* and *Edmond*, the Earle of *Glocester*, and diuers Noblemen induced to vndertake the Holy Warre by the sollicitation of him, and the King of *France*, who notwithstanding his former calamities indured in that action, would againe aduenture therein. So much eyther the desire of reuenge, with the recouery of his fame and honour, or the hope of enioying another World prouoked him to forgoe this, and hast to his finall destruction. And for that Prince *Edward* wanted meanes for his present Furnishment, the King of *France* lent him 20. thousand Markes, for which he morgaged vnto him *Gascoigny*. An act, which subtler times would interpret to be rather of Policy then Piety, in this King to ingage in such manner, and vpon so especiall a caution, a yong stirring Prince, likely in his absence to imbroyle his Estate at home, and to draw him along in the same aduenture with himselfe, without any desire otherwise, eyther of his company or ayde, considering the inconueniences that stung these seuerall Nations heretofore by their incompetability, in the same action; but here it were sinne to thinke they disguised their ends, or had other couerings for their designes then those through which they were seene, their spirits seeme to haue bin warmed with a Nobler flame.

Prince *Edward* his brother and others, vndertake the Holy Warre.

And now whilst this preparation is in hand, King *Henry* labours to establish the Peace

Peace of the Kingdome, and reforme thoſe exceſſes the Warre had bred, cauſing by Proclamation *ſtealth of Cattell to be made a crime Capitall*, and the firſt that ſuffered for the ſame was one of *Dunſtable*, who had ſtolne twelue Oxen from the inhabitans of *Colne*, and beeing perſued to *Redburne* was by the Bayliffe of Saint *Albones* (according to the Kings Proclamation Condemned and beheaded. And the ſame yeare the King aſſembles his laſt Parliament at *Marleborough* where the Statutes of that Title were inacted.

21 Parliament at *Marlebrough*.

1271. *Anno Reg.* 55.

Neere two yeares it ſeemes to haue beene after the Vndertaking the Croſſe before Prince *Edward* ſet foorth, a time long enough (if thoſe reſolutions would haue beene ſhaken) to haue bred an alteration of deſire, but ſo ſtrong was the current of this humour as no worldly reſpects could giue any the leaſt ſtoppage thereunto. Otherwiſe a Prince ſo well acquainted with action, ſo well vnderſtanding the World, ſo forward in yeares (being then thirty two,) ſo neere the poſſeſſion of a kingdome, would not haue left it, and an aged Father broken with dayes and trauayle, to haue betaken himſelfe (with his deare and tender conſort *Elionor*, and as it ſeemes then young with childe) to a Voyage that could promiſe nothing but danger, toyle, miſery and affliction. So powerfull are the operations of the mind, as they make men neglect the eaſe of their bodies, eſpecially in times not diſſolued with thoſe ſoftnings of Luxury and Idleneſſe which vnmanners them. And we cannot but admire the vndaunted conſtancy of this Prince, whom all the ſad examples of others calamities (croſſing euen the beginning of action) could not deterre from proceeding therein. For, firſt the king of *France* who with two of his ſonnes, the king of *Nauarre* and a mighty Army, beeing ſet out before, and by the way beſieging the City of *Tunis* in *Affrica* (poſſeſt then by the *Sarazines* that infeſted Chriſtendome) periſhed miſerable by the Peſtilence that raged in his Army, and with him one of his ſonnes and many of his Nobles, whereby all their enterpriſe was daſht and vtterly ouerthrowne. Beſides, *Charles* king of *Sicile*, brother to this king of *France*, who likewiſe came to ayde him, returning home, loſt the greateſt part of his Nauy by tempeſt. Moreouer, many of this Princes owne people were deſirous to leaue him and returne home. Whereuppon he is ſayd *To haue ſtricken his breaſt, and ſworne: that if all his followers forſooke him, he would yet enter* Tolemais *or* Acon, *though but onely with his Horſe-keeper* Rowin.

The reſolution of Prince *Edward*.

By which ſpeech they were againe incenced to proceede; but yet his Couſen *Henry* ſon to the king of *Romans*, obtaines leaue of him to depart, and was ſet on ſhore in *Italy*: where, notwithſtanding he found what he ſought to auoyde, Death; and was ſlayne in the Church at *Viterbo* (beeing at Diuine Seruice) by his owne Couſen German *Guy de Monfort* (ſonne to *Simon* late Earle of *Leiceſter*) in reuenge of his Fathers Death. The newes of which vnnaturall murther ſeemes to haſten the end of *Richard* king of *Romans*, who dyed ſhortly after, and the next yeare following, finiſhed likewiſe *Henry* the third of *England* his act, in the 65. of his age hauing Reigned 56. yeares, and 20. dayes. *A time that hath held vs long, and taken vp more then a tenth part from the* Norman *Inuaſion to this preſent; and yeelded notes of great variety with many examples of a cruſht, and diſeaſed State, breed both by the inequality, of this Princes manners, and the impatience of a ſtubborne Nobility.*

1274. *Anno Reg.* 57.

His iſſue.

Hee had by his Wife *Elionor* ſixe ſonnes, whereof onely two ſurniued him, *Edward* and *Edmond*; and two daughters, which liued to bee married, *Margaret* the eldeſt to *Alexander* king of *Scots*. *Beatrice* the other to *Iohn* the firſt intituled Duke of *Brittaine*.

The end of the Life, and Reigne of Henry *the Third.*

THE

The Life, and Reigne, of Edward the first.

VPon the Death of *Henry*, the State assembles at the New Temple, and Proclaimes his sonne *Edward* King, though they knew not whether he were liuing, sweares Fealty vnto him: causes a new Seale to be made; and appoynts fit Ministers for the custody of his Treasure, and his Peace, whilst himselfe remaynes in *Palestine*, where by an *Assasin* (making shew of deliuering letters) he receiues three dangerous wounds with a poysoned knife, whereof hee was hardly recured. After three yeares trauaile, from the time of his setting foorth, and many conflicts without any great effect, disappointed of his aydes, and his ends, he leaues *Acon* (which hee went to relieue) well fortified, and manned: returnes homeward, lands in *Sicile*, is royally feasted by *Charles* the King thereof: passes through *Italy*, with all the honour could bee shewed him, both by the Pope and the Princes there. Thence descends into *Burgogne*; where at the foot of *Alpes*, he is met by many of the Nobility of *England*, and there challenged by the Earle of *Chalbonn* (a fierce man at Armes) to a Turneament: Wherein againe hee hazards his person to shew his valour, which may seeme to be more then became his Estate, and Dignity. From thence he comes downe into *France*, where he is sumptuously entertayned, and feasted by *Phillip* the third (surnamed the *Hardy*) to whom hee doth homage for all the Territories he held of that Crowne.

1272. *Anno Reg.* 1.

Thence he departs into *Aquitaine*, where he spent much time in setling his affaires. And after sixe yeares, from his first setting out, hee returnes into *England*: Receiues the Crowne (without which hee had beene a King almost three yeares) at the hands of *Robert* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* in *September* 1275. And with him is *Eleonor* his Queene likewise Crowned at *Westminster*. *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Iohn* Duke of *Brittaine*, (who both had married his Sisters) being present at the solemnity.

His Coronation.

1274. *Anno Reg.* 3.

The spirit and abilities of this Prince shewed in the beginning of his Actions vnder his Father, after the great defeite hee gaue the Barons at *Euesham*: The prosecution of the dis-herited Mutiners of the Kingdome: The exposition of his Person to all hazards, and trauaile: His single Combat with *Adam Gurdun* the Out-law neere *Farnham*: His great aduenture and attempts in the East: and finally his long experience in the affaires of the World, with his maturity of yeares (being about thirty fiue before hee came to the Crowne) might well presage what an able Master he would prooue in the manage thereof. And how (by these aduantages of *Opinion* and *Reputation*) he was likely (as he did) to make a higher Improuement of the Royalty; hauing wonne, or worne out, the greatest of those who heretofore opposed the same. In so much as hee seemes the first Conqueror, after the Conqueror that got the Domination of this State in that eminent manner, as by his gouernment appeares.

And euen at his first Parliament, held shortly after his Coronation at *Westminster*, he made triall of their patience, and had the *fifteenth* of all their goods (*Clergy* and *Lay*) granted vnto him, without any Noyse as we heare off. The *Clergy* hauing yeelded before a *Tenth* for two years to be paid him, and his brother *Edmond* towards the charge of the *Holy Warre*. But yet all this could not diuert the Designes he had to abate the power Ecclesiasticall, which by experience of former times, hee found to bee a part growne too strong for the Soueraignty, whensoeuer they combined with the *Lay Nobiley*: And therefore now at first (whilst hee was in the exaltation both of opinion and estimation with the VVorld) hee beganne to set vppon their Priuiledges. And in *Anno Reg.* 6. (to extend sayth the Monkish History, the Royall Authority) hee depriued many famous Monasteries throughout *England* of their liberties, and tooke from the Abbot and Couent of *Westminster* the Returne of Writs granted them by the Charter of his Father King *Henry* the third. The next yeare after he got to be enacted the Statute of *Mortmaine*, to hinder the encrease of their temporall possessions (which made them so powerfull) as being detrimentall to the Kingdome, and the Military

Quintam Decimam omnium bonorum tam temporalium tam Clericorum quã Laicorum in additamentũ quorundam taxauit Rex inserat confiscari, Ma. West.

His proceeding against the Clergy.

seruice of the same. In the second Statute of *Westminster*, hee defalked the Iurisdiction of Ecclesiasticall Iudges. He left not heere, but afterward growing more vppon them, hee required the Moety of all their goods, as well Temporall, as Spirituall, for one yeare: which (though it put them into extreame perplexity and griefe) they yet were faine to yeeld to his demaund. And at the first propounding thereof, one Sir *Iohn Hesering* Knight stands vp amongst them, as they were assembled in the Refectory of the Monkes at *Westminster* (and sayd) *Reuerend Fathers, if any heere will contradict the Kings demaund in this businesse, let him stand out in the middest of the Assembly, that his Person may bee knowne, and seene, as one guilty of the Kings Peace.* At which speech they all sate mute. So much were the times altered since the late Reigne of the Father, wherein such a businesse could not haue so passed. But now this Actiue King being come home, and hauing composed his affayres abroad, must needes be working, both to satisfie his owne desire in amplifying his power, and entertayning his people in those times incompatible of rest; and therefore some action must bee taken in hand.

Mat. West.

An occasion taken for subduing of *Wales*.

Wales, that lay neerest the danger of a superiour Prince, and had euer strugled for liberty, and the rule of a Natiue Gouernour, had alwayes beene the Receptacle, and ayde of the Rebellions of *England*: had euer Combined with *Scotland* to disturbe the peace, and gouernment thereof: Hauing neuer her borders without blood and mischiefe; was an apt Subject to bee wrought vppon in this time. And occasions are easily taken, where there is a purpose to quarrell, especially with an Inferiour. *Leoline*, now Prince of that Prouince, who had so long held in the fire of the late Ciuill Warres of *England* (and dearely payde for it) hauing refused vppon summons to come to the Kings Coronation, and after to his first Parliament, alleadged hee well remembred how his Father *Griffin* burst his necke out of the Tower of *London*, for which hee brooked not that place, and therefore returned answere, *That in any other, vppon Hostages giuen him, or Commissiones sent to take his Fealty, hee would (as it should please the King) bee ready to render it.* This gaue occasion that King *Edward* the next yeare after; goes with a Powerfull Army: Enters his Country with Fire and Sword in so fierce manner, as *Leoline* (vnable to resist) sues for Peace, and obtaynes it, but vppon those conditions, as made his Principality little different from the tenure of a Subject. And besides he was fined in fifty thousand pounds sterling, and to pay 1000. pounds *per Annum* for what he held, which was but for his owne life. But yet the King to gratifie him in some thing that might be a tye to this peace, restored vnto him *Eleonor* (Daughter to *Simon Monfort* late Earle of *Leicester*) who, with her brother *Almericke* had beene lately taken Prisoners by certayne Ships of *Bristoll*, as shee was passing out of *France* into *Wales*, to be made the miserable VVife of this Vnfortunate Prince. Whose restraint and affliction might perhaps bee a motiue, the rather to incline him to this lowneese of submission, and accord: VVhich, as it was made by Force (an vnsure contractor of Couenants) so was it by disdayne, as ill an obseruer, soone broken. And eyther the ill administration of Iustice vppon the Marches (the perpetuall Fire-matches of borderiug Princes) or the euer-working passion of desire of Liberty in the VVelsh, threw open agayne (within three yeares) this ill insensed closure. And out is *Leoline* in armes; surprizes the Castles of *Flint* and *Rutland*, with the person of the Lord *Clifford* sent Iusticiar into those parts; and commits all acts of Hostility. VVith him joynes his brother *Dauid*, on whom King *Edward* (to make him his, finding him of a more stirring spirit) had bestowed, after the last accord, the honour of Knight-hood: matched him to the daughter of the Earle of *Derby*, a rich VViddow: and giuen him, in stead of his other lands, the Castle of *Denbigh* with 1000. pounds *per Annum*. All which graces could not yet hold him backe from those powerfull inclinations of Nature. *The ayding his Country, the partaking with his Brother, and the attempting of Liberty.*

1276. *Anno Reg.* 4.

1278. *Anno Reg.* 6.

King *Edward* aduertised of this Reuolt (being at the *Vize* in *Wiltshire*) prepares an Army to represse it. But before his setting foorth, hee priuately goes to Visite his Mother Queene *Eleonor* liuing in the Nunnery at *Amsbury*; with whom whilst he conferred

ferred, there was brought into the Chamber one who faigned himselfe (being blind) to haue receiued his sight at the Tombe of *Henry* 3. As soone as the King saw the man, he formerly knew him to be a most notorious lying Villaine. *And wished his Mother in no case to beleeue him.* His Mother, who much reioyced to heare of this Miracle (for the glory of her husband) grew suddenly into rage, *and willed the King to auoide her Chamber.* The King obeyes, and going forth meetes with a Clergy man, to whom he tels the story of this Impostor, and merrily sayd, *He knew the Iustice of his father to be such, that he would rather pull out the eyes (being whole) of such a wicked wretch, then restore them to their sight.*

The Archbishop of *Canterbury* (to whom the *Welsh* had before sent a Roll of their grieuances, and the causes that draue them to reuolt) of himselfe goes, and labours to bring in *Leoline*, and his brother to a resubmission and stay the ruine which he foresaw would light vpon the Nation. But nothing could hee effect, certaine petty defects *Leoline* had giuen to the *English*: the instigation of his people: the conceit of a Prophecie of *Merlin* (that *Ginge of Errour*) *how he should shortly be Crowned with the* Diademe of Brute; so ouerweighed this poore Prince, as he had no eare for Peace, and shortly after no head; the same being cut off (after he was slaine in battaine by a common souldier, and sent to King *Edward*. Who (as if his death were not sufficient without his reproach) caused the same to be crowned with Iuie, and set vpon the Tower of *London*. This was the end of *Leoline* the last of the *Welsh* Princes, betrayed (as they write) by the men of *Buelth*.

1283. *Anno Reg.* 11.

The death of *Leoline* the last of the *Welsh* Princes.

Shortly after, to finish this worke of blood, is *Dauid* his brother taken in *Wales*, and iudged in *England* to an ignominious death. First drawne at a horse tayle about the Citty of *Shrewsbury*, then beheaded, the Trunke of his Body deuided, his Heart, and Bowels burnt, his head sent to accompany that of his Brothers on the Tower of *London*, his foure quarters to foure Cities, *Bristoll*, *Northampton*, *Yorke*, and *Winchester*: a manifold execution, and the first shewed in that kinde to this kingdome, in the person of the sonne of a Prince, or any other Noble man, that we read of in our History.

The Execution of *Dauid* his brother at *Shrewsbury*, the first in that kind.

But this example made of one, of another, grew after to be vsuall to this Nation. And euen this King (vnder whom it began) had the blood of his owne, and his brothers race, miserably shed on many a scaffold. And iust at the sealing of this Conquest, *Alphonsus* his eldest sonne of the age of twelue yeeres (a Prince of great hope) is taken away by death. And *Edward*, lately borne at *Carnarnan* (an infant, vncertaine how to prooue) his heire to the Kingdome; and the first of the *English* intituled (*Prince of Wales*) whose vnnaturall destruction, we shall likewise heare of in his time.

The death of the Prince *Alphonsus*.

But thus came *Wales* (all that small portion left vnto the *Brittaines* the auncient possessours of this Isle) to be vnited to the Crowne of *England*, *Anno. Reg.* 11. And straunge it is how it could so long subsist of it selfe, as it did; hauing little or no ayde of others; little or no shipping (the hereditary defect of their Auncestors) no Alliance, no confederation, no intelligence with any forraine Princes of power out of this Isle: and being by so potent a Kingdome as this, so often inuaded, so often reduced to extremitie, so eagerly pursued, almost by euery King, and sayd, to haue beene (by many of them) subdued, when it was not; must needes shew the worthinesse of the Nation, and their noble courage to preserue their liberty: And how it was now at last gotten, and vpon what ground we see; But the effect prooues better then the cause, and hath made it good. For in such Acquisitions as these, the *Sword* is not to giue an Account to *Iustice*; the publicke benefite makes amends. Those miserable Mischiefes that afflicted both Nations come heereby extinguished. The Diuision and Plurality of States in this Isle, hauing euer made it the Stage of blood, and confusion: as if Nature that had ordained it but one Peece, would haue it to be gouerned but by one Prince, and one Lawe, as the most absolute glory and strength thereof, which otherwise it could neuer enioy. And now this prudent King (no lesse prouident to preserue then subdue this Prouince) established the gouernment there-

Wales vnited to *England*.

of according to the Lawes of *England*, as may be ſeene by the Statute of *Rutland*, *Anno*, *Reg.* 12.

This worke effected and ſetled. King *Edward* paſſes ouer into *France* (vpon notice of the Death of *Philip le Hardy*) to renue and confirme ſuch conditions, as his State required in thoſe parts with the new King *Philip* the fourth (intituled *le Bel*) to whom hee doth Homage for *Aquitaine*, hauing before quitted his claime to *Normand* for euer. And afterwards accommodates the differences betweene the Kings of *Sicile* and *Arragon* in *Spaine* (to both of whom he was allied) and redeemes *Charles* entituled Prince of *Achaia* (the ſonne of *Charles* King of *Sicile*) Priſoner in *Arragon*, paying for his ranſome thirty thouſand pounds.

1286. *Anno Reg.* 13.

After three yeares and a halfe beeing abroade, he returnes into *England*, which muſt now ſupply his Coffers empiyed in this Voyage. And occaſion is giuen (by the generall complaynts made vnto him of the ill adminiſtration of Iuſtice in his abſence) to inflict penalties vppon the chiefe Miniſters thereof; whoſe manifeſt corruptions the hatred of the people to men of that Profeſſion (apt to abuſe their Science, and Authority) the Neceſſity of reforming ſo grieuous a miſchiefe in the Kingdome, gaue eaſie way thereunto by the Parliament then aſſembled; wherein, vppon due examinations and proofe of their extortions, they are fined to pay to the King theſe ſummes following.

1289. *Anno Reg.* 16.

Sir *Ralph Hengham* a Chiefe Commiſſioner for the gouernment of the Kingdome in the Kings abſence.

First Sir *Ralph Hengham* Chiefe Iuſtice of the higher Bench, ſeuen thouſand Markes: Sir *Iohn Louetot* Iuſtice of the lower Bench, three thouſand Markes. Sir *William Brunton* Iuſtice 6000. Markes. Sir *Solomon Rochester* foure thouſand Markes. Sir *Richard Boyland* 4000. Markes. Sir *Thomas Sodington* two thouſand Markes. Sir *Walter Hopton* 2000. Markes: Theſe foure laſt were Iuſtices Itenerants. Sir *William Saham* 3000. Markes. *Robert Lathbury* Maſter of the Rolles 1000. Markes. *Roger Leiceſter*, 1000. Markes. *Henry Bray* Eſcheater, and Iudge for the Iewes 1000. Markes. But Sir *Adam Stratton* Chiefe Baron of the Exchequer was fined in 34000. Markes. And *Thomas Wayland* (found the greateſt delinquent, and of the greateſt ſubſtance) hath all his goods and whole eſtate Confiſcated to the King. Which were it but equall to that of Sir *Adam Stratton*, theſe fines beeing to the Kings Coffers aboue one hundred thouſand Markes; which, at the rate (as money goes now) amounts to aboue 300. thouſand Markes. A mighty Treaſure to be gotten out of the hands of ſo few men. Which, how they could amaſſe in thoſe dayes, when Litigation and Law had not ſpred it ſelfe into thoſe infinite wreathings of contention (as ſince it hath) may ſeeme ſtrange, euen to our greater getting times. But peraduenture now the number of Lawyers, being growne bigger then the Law (as all trades of profit come ouer-peſtred with multitude of Traders) is the cauſe (that like a huge Riuer diſperſed into many little Rilles) their ſubſtances are of a ſmaller proportion, then thoſe of former times, and Offices now of Iudicature peraduenture more piouſly executed.

Officers fined for bribery and extortion.

The Baniſhment of the Iewes.

Of no leſſe grieuance, the King the next yeare after eaſed his people, by the Baniſhment of the Iewes; for which the Kingdome willingly granted him a Fifteenth. Hauing before (in *Anno Reg.* 9.) offered a fifth part of their goods to haue them expelled, but then the Iewes gaue more, and ſo ſtayed till this time, which brought him a greater benefit by Confiſcating all their Immoueables with their Talleis, and obligations which amounted to infinite Value. But now hath hee made his laſt commodity of this miſerable people, which hauing beene neuer vnder other couer then the Will of the Prince, had continually ſerued the turne in all the neceſſary occaſions of his Predeceſſors, but eſpecially of his Father and himſelfe. And in theſe reformations that are eaſefull, and pleaſing to the State in generall; the Iuſtice of the Prince is more noted, then any other motiue, which may be for his profit. And howſoeuer ſome particular men ſuffer (as ſome muſt euer ſuffer) yet they are the faireſt, and ſafeſt wayes of getting: in regard the hatred of the abuſes, not only diſcharges the Prince of all imputation of rigour, but renders him more beloued and reſpected of his people. And this King, hauing much to doe for money (comming to an empty Crowne) was driuen to all ſhifts poſſible to get it, and great ſupplies wee finde, hee had already drawne

drawne from his ſubiects. As in the firſt yeare of his Raigne, Pope *Gregory* procured him a Tenth of the Clergy for two yeares; beſides a Fifteenth of them, and the Temporality. In the third likewiſe another Fifteenth of both. In the fifth, a Twentieth of their goods towards the Welſh Warres. In the ſeauenth the old Money was called in, and new coyned in regard it had beene much defaced by the Iewes, for which 297. were at one time executed at *London*, and this brought him in a great benefit. In *Anno Reg.* 8. ſeeking to examine mens Titles to their Lands, by a Writ of *Quo Warranto* (which oppoſed by the Earle *Warreine*, who drew out his Sword vppon the Writ, ſaying, *How by the ſame he held his Land, and thereby would make good his Tenure*) the King deſiſts and obtaynes a fifteeneth of the Clergy. In the eleauenth, hee had a thirtieth of the Temporality, and a twentieth of the Clergy for the Welſh Warres. In the thirteenth, Eſcuage, forty ſhillings for euery Knights Fee for the ſame purpoſe. In the fourteenth, hee had a thouſand Markes of certayne Merchants fined for falſe Weights. In the ſeauenteenth, thoſe fines fore-declared of the Iudges. In the eighteenth, this confiſcation of Iewes, and a fifteenth of the Engliſh. After this *Anno, Reg.* 19. pretending a Voyage to the Holy Land, the Clergy grants him an eleauenth part of all Mooueables, and ſhortly after the Pope procures him a tenth for ſixe yeare to be collected in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and layd vp in Monaſteries vntill hee were entred into *Mare Maggior*. But hee made the Collectors pay him the money gathered for three yeares without going ſo farre, hauing occaſion to vſe it at home, about the purchaſe of a new Kingdome.

His many ſupplies & meanes for money.

1290. *Anno Reg.* 17.

For, the Crowne of *Scotland* (vpon the death of King *Alexander*, and of the daughter of his daughter *Margaret*, who was to inherit) was now in controuerſie. Sixe Competitors pretend title thereunto, all deſcending from *Dauid* Earle of *Huntingdon*, younger brother to *William* King of *Scots*, and great Vncle to this late King *Alexander*. This title King *Edward* takes vpon him to decide, pretending a right of Superiority from his Anceſtors ouer that Kingdome. The *Scots* which ſwayed the *Interregnum*, are conſtrayned for auoyding further inconueniences, to make him Arbiter thereof, and the ſixe Competitors bound to ſtand to his Award. Two are eſpecially found, betweene whom the Right lay: *Iohn Baliol* Lord of *Galloway*, and *Robert Bruce*: the one deſcending from an elder Daughter, the other from a ſonne of a younger Daughter of *Alan*, who had married the eldeſt Daughter of this *Dauid*, brother to King *William*. The Controuerſie held long. Twelue of eyther Kingdome learned in the Lawes, are elected to debate the ſame at *Barwicke*: All the beſt *Ciuilians* in the Vniuerſities of *France*, are ſollicited to giue their opinions, the differences, and perplexednes whereof made the deciſſion more difficult: According to the Nature of Litigation, that euer begets rather Doubts then Reſolutions, and neuer knowes well nor certainely how to make an end.

The occaſion of his Warres with *Scotland*.

King *Edward* choſen by the Scots to arbitrate the right of the pretenders to that Crowne.

1291. *Anno Reg.* 18.

King *Edward*, the better to ſway this buſineſſe by his preſence, takes his Iourney Northward, and whilſt hee ſought to compaſſe greater Felicity, hee loſt the better part of what he had in this World, his deare conſort *Elianor* (who had euer attended him in all his Fortunes, the Paragon of Queenes, and the honour of Woman-hood: Who is ſayd to haue ſucked the poyſon out of the wound giuen him by the *Aſſaſſin* in the Eaſt, when no other meanes could preſerue his life) dyes by the way in *Lincolneſhire*. With whoſe Corpes, in extreame griefe hee returnes backe to *Weſtminſter*, cauſing (at all eſpeciall places where it reſted by the Way) goodly engrauen Croſſes, with her Statue to be erected. As at *Stamford*, *Waltham*, *Weſt-cheape*, *Charing* and others, gratefull Monuments of his affection, and her renowned Faithfulneſſe.

Queene *Elianor* dyes. Her Prayſe.

Her Funeralls performed, backe hee returnes to his Scottiſh buſineſſe: And now ſixe yeares it was ſince the Death of King *Alexander*, and much time hauing beene ſpent, and nothing concluded in this controuerſie: King *Edward* that would bee ſure (whoſoeuer preuayled) to haue the hand that ſhould make him, deales priuately with *Bruce* (who had the weaker Title but the more friends) and promiſes him, if hee would yeelde *Fealty* and *Homage* to the Crowne of *England*, hee would inueſt him in that of *Scotland*. *Bruce* anſweres, *He was not ſo deſirous of Rule, as thereby to infringe the Liber-*

Scottiſh Hiſto.

Baliol made King of *Scotland.*

1294. *Anno Reg.* 21.

tues of his Countrey. Then with the like offer hee sets vpon *Baliol*, who hauing better right but lesse loue of the people, and more greedy of a Kingdome, then honour yeeldes thereunto: is Crowned King at *Scone*: hath Fealty done him of all the Chiefe Nobility, except *Bruce*: Comes to *New Castle vpon Tine* where King *Edward* then lay; and there (with many of his Nobles) sweares Fealty, and did Homage vnto him, as his Soueraigne Lord. Which Act, as hee thought done to secure him, ouer-threw him. For, being little beloued before, heereby hee became lesse: such as stood for *Bruce*, and others of the Nobility (more tender of the preseruation of their Countryes liberty) grew into Stomacke against him; as hauing not onely discontented them in this Act, but shortly after in his Iustice, in the case of the Earle of *Fife*, one of the sixe Gouernours in the time of the *Anarchy*, who had beene slaine by the Family of *Albemeth*. And the brother of this Earle now prosecuted in Law, before the King *Baliol* in his high Court of Parliament) where hauing no right done him, King *Baliol* giuing Iudgement on the side of the *Albemeths*) the wronged Gentleman appeales to the Court of the King of *England*. King *Baliol* is thither summoned: appeares, sits with King *Edward* in his Parliament till his cause was to be tryed, and then is hee cited by an Officer to arise and stand at the place appointed for pleading: Hee craues to answere by a Procurator: it is denied; then himselfe arises, and discends to the ordinary place, and defends his cause.

Baliol discontented returnes into *Scotland.*

1296. *Anno Reg.* 23.

With which Indignity (as hee tooke it) hee returnes home, with a breast full charged with indignation: Mediates reuenge, renewes the Ancient League with *France*: Confirmes it with the marriage of his sonne *Edward*, with a daughter of *Charles* brother to King *Philip*, glad, in regard of late offences taken against the King of *England*, to embrace the same: Which done, *Baliol* defies King *Edward*; renounces his Allegiance as vnlawfully done, beeing not in his power (without the consent of the State) to doe any such act. Hereupon brake out that mortall dissention betweene the two Nations (which during the raigne of the three last Scottish Kings had held faire correspondence together) that consumed more Christian blood; wrought more spoyle, and destruction, and continued longer then euer quarrell we read of did betweene any two people of the World. For hee that beganne it, could not end it. That Rancor which the Sword had bred, and the perpetually-working desire of Reuenge of wrongs (that euer beget wrongs) lasted almost three hundred yeares. And all the Successors of this King (euen to the last, before this blessed Vnion) haue had their shares more or lesse in this miserable affliction, both to their great expence of treasure, and extreame hindrance in all other their designes. Although the intention of this great and Marshall King, for reducing this whole Isle vnder one gouernement, was Noble, and according to the Nature of power, and greatnesse, that euer seekes to extend it selfe as farre as it can. Yet all such Actions hath much of iniquity, so had this, and wee see it was not force or the Sword could effect it. God hath fore-decreed to make it his owne worke by a cleaner way, and ordayned it for an vnstayned hand to set it together in peace, that it might take the more sure, and lasting holde, which otherwise it could neuer haue done. Violence may ioyne Territories, but neuer affections together; which onely must grow voluntary, and be the worke of it selfe. And yet no doubt it was in in the designe of this King to haue obtayned it in the faireſt manner hee could. As first shewes his seeking to match his sonne *Edward* with *Margaret* daughter to the King of *Norway*, grand-childe, and heire to the last King *Alexander*, who (dying an Infant soone after her Grand-father) disappoynted his hopes that way; and draue him to haue recourse to his Soueraignty, which beeing opposed, hee was forced to take the way of Violence, both to maintayne his owne honour, and to effect what hee had begunne, Whereof the miserable euents were such, as now we may well spare their memory, and bee content those bloody Relations should bee razed out of all Record; but that they serue to shewe vs the woefull calamities of our separation, and the Comfortable Blessings wee enioy by this our happy Vnion. Neyther doth it now concerne vs to stand vppon any poynts of Honour, whether of the Nations did the braueſt exployes in those times, seeing who had the better was beaten

The occasion of the wars betweene *England* and *Scotland.*

beaten, neyther did the ouer-commer Conquer, when hee had done what hee could: That little which was gayned, coſt ſo much more then it was worth, as it had beene better not to haue beene had at all. And if any ſide had the Honour, it was the inuaded Nation, which beeing the Weaker, and Smaller, ſeemes neuer to haue beene ſubdued, though often ouer-come: Continuing (notwithſtanding all their miſeries) reſolute to preſerue their Liberties; which neuer People of the World more Nobly defended, againſt ſo Potent, and rich a Kingdome as this, by the which, without an admirable hardineſſe, and Conſtancy, it had beene impoſſible, but they muſt haue beene brought to an vtter conſternation.

For all what the Power of this Kingdome could doe (which then put all the ſtrength to doe what it could) was ſhewed in this Kings time: Who now (vppon this defection of King *Baliol*, and his League made with *France*) Counter-leagues with all the Princes he could draw in, eyther by gifts, or Alliance to ſtrengthen his party abroade. As firſt with *Guy* Earle of *Flanders*, with whoſe Daughter hee ſeekes to match his Sonne *Edward*. Then with *Adolph de Naſſaw* the Emperour, to whom he ſends fifteene thouſand pounds Sterling to recouer certayne lands of the Empire which *Adolph* claymed in *France*: He had likewiſe married one of his daughters to the Duke of *Barr*, who pretends Title to *Champagne*, another to *Iohn* Duke of *Brabant*: All which, with many other confining Princes, hee ſets vppon the King of *France*; who had (for Certayne ſpoyles committing on the Coaſt of *Normandy*, by the Engliſh, and no redreſſe obtayned) ſummoned King *Edward*, as owing Homage to that Crowne, to appeare and anſwere it in his Court, which hee refuſing to doe, is by an Arreſt condemned to forfeite all his Territories in *France*: And an Army is preſently ſent foorth to ſeize vppon the ſame, led by *Charles de Valois*, and *Arnold de Neele* Conſtable of *France*. *Burdeaux* with diuers other Peeces of importance are taken, and fortified. For the recouery whereof, the King of *England* ſends ouer his Brother *Edmond* Earle of *Lancaſter*, the Earles of *Lincolne* and *Richmond*, with eight and twenty Banners, ſeauen hundred men at Armes, and a Nauie of three hundred and ſixty Sayle. And notwithſtanding all this mighty charge, and Forces imployed in thoſe parts. King *Edward* ſets vpon King *Baliol* (refuſing vppon Summons to appeare at his Court at *New Caſtle*, ſtanding vppon his owne Defence) and enters *Scotland* with an Army ſufficient to Conquer a farre mightier Kingdome, conſiſting of foure thouſand men at Armes on Horſe, and thirty thouſand Foote, beſides fiue hundred Horſe, and one thouſand Foote of the Biſhop of *Dureſme*: intending heere to make ſpeedy worke that he might afterward paſſe ouer Sea to ayde his Confederates, and bee reuenged of the King of *France*.

King *Edwards* combines with other Princes.

An Army ſent into *France*.

Another into *Scotland*.

1297. *Anno Reg.* 24.

Barwicke is firſt wonne with the death of fifteene thouſand *Scots*, (our Writers report more) but nothing is more vncertayne then the number of the ſlayne in Battailes: and after that the Caſtles of *Dunbarre*, *Roxborough*, *Edenborough*, *Sterling*, and Saint *Iohns* Towne were wonne or yeelded vnto him, King *Baliol* ſues for peace: Submits himſelfe; takes agayne his Oathe of Fealty to King *Edward* as his Soueraigne Lord. Which done, a Parliament for *Scotland* was held at *Barwicke*, wherein the Nobility did likewiſe Homage vnto him, confirming the ſame by their Charter vnder their Hands and Seales. Onely *William Douglaſſe* refuſes, contept rather to endure the miſery of a Priſon, then yeelde to the ſubiection of *England*. King *Baliol* (Notwithſtanding his ſubmiſſion) is ſent Priſoner into *England*, after his foure yeares dignity, I cannot ſay Raigne: For it ſeemes hee had but little power, and King *Edward* returnes from this expeditron, leauing *Iohn Warren* Earle of *Surrey* and *Suſſex*, Warden of all *Scotland*, *Hugh Creſſingham* Treaſurer, and *Ormeſby* Chiefe Iuſtice, with Commiſſion to take in his name, the Homages, and Fealties of all ſuch as helde Lands of that Crowne.

King *Edwards* Victories in *Scotland*.

1298. *Anno Reg.* 25.

And heere this Conqueſt might ſeeme to haue beene effected, which yet was not. It muſt coſt infinite more Blood, Trauayle and Treaſure, and all to as little effect. And now the French buſineſſes (that require ſpeedy helpe) are wholly intended. For which King *Edward* calls a Parliament at Saint *Edmonds Bury*, wherein the Citizens, and Burgeſſes

Burgeſſes of good Townes granted the eighth part of their goods, and other of the people a twelfth part. But the Clergy (vpon a prohibition from Pope *Boniface*, that no Tallage or Impoſition, layde by any Prince, vppon whatſoeuer appertayned to the Church ſhould bee payd) abſolutely refuſe to giue any thing. Which Prohibition may ſeeme to haue beene produced by themſelues, in regard of the many Leuyes lately made vppon the eſtate Eccleſiaſticall. As in *Anno Reg.* 22. they payed the moety of their goods: of which the Abbay of *Canterbury* yeelded 596. pounds 7 ſhillings and 10. pence; and beſides furniſhed ſixe horſes for the Sea-coaſts. This Leauy as *Stow* notes in his Collection, amounted to ſixe hundred thouſand pounds. And in *Anno Reg.* 23. the King ſeized into his hands all the Priories Aliens, and their goods. Beſides he had a Loane of the Clergy, which amounted to 100. thouſand pounds, whereof the Abbot of *Bury* payed 655. pounds.

The King puts the Clergy out of his protection.

Notwithſtanding now, vppon this their refuſall, the King puts the Clergy out of his protection, whereby they were to haue no Iuſtice in any of his Courts (a ſtrayne of State beyond any of his Predeceſſours) which ſo amazed them beeing expoſed to all offences and iniuries whatſoeuer, and no meanes to redreſſe themſelues, as the Arch-biſhop of *Yorke*, with the Biſhops of *Dureſme*, *Eley*, *Saliſbury*, *Lincolne*, yeelded to lay downe in their Churches the fifth part of all their goods, towards the mayntenance of the Kings Warres: whereby they appeazed his wrath, and were receiued into grace. But the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* by whoſe animation the reſt ſtood out, had all his goods ſeized on, and all the Monaſteries within his Dioceſſe and part of *Lincolne*, taken into the Kings hands, and Wardens appoynted to miniſter onely neceſſaries to the Monkes, conuerting the reſt to the Kings vſe. At length by much ſuite, the Abbots, and Prieſts giuing the fourth part of their goods, redeeme themſelues, and the Kings fauour. Thus will Martiall Princes haue their turnes ſerued by their Subiects, in the times of their Neceſſities howſoeuer they oppoſe it.

The Lords refuſe to goe to *Gaſcoigne* except the King went in perſon.

During this contract with the Clergy, the King calles a Parliament of his Nobles at *Saliſbury*, without admiſſion of any Church-men; wherein, *Hee requires certayne of the great Lords to goe vnto the Warre of* Gaſcoigne, which required a preſent ſupply, vpon the death of his brother *Edmond* (who hauing ſpent much Treaſure, and time in the ſiege of *Burdeaux* without any ſucceſſe, retyres to *Bayon*, then in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, and there ends his life. *But they all making their excuſes, euery man for himſelfe; the King in great anger threatned they ſhould either goe, or hee would giue their lands to others that ſhould. Whereupon* Humphrey Bohun *Earle of* Hereford *high Conſtable, and* Roger Bigod *Earle of* Norfolke *Marſhall of* England, *make their declaration, that if the King went in perſon they would attend him, otherwiſe not.* Which anſwere more offends, and beeing vrged agayne: *The Earle Marſhall proteſted hee would willingly goe thither with the King, and march before him in the Vantgard, as by right of inheritance he ought to doe. But the King told him plainely hee ſhould goe with any other, although himſelfe went not in Perſon. I am not ſo bound ſaid the Earle, neither will I take that iourney without you. The King ſweare by God, Sir Earle you ſhall goe or hang. And I ſweare by the ſame oath, I will neyther go, nor hang,* ſayd the Earle; and ſo without leaue departs.

Mat. Weſt.

The French King inuites the Earle of *Flanders* to *Paris*, and there impriſons him.

Shortly after, the two Earle aſſembled many Noblemen, and others their friends to the number of thirty Bannerets, ſo that they were fifteene hundred men at Armes well appoynted, and ſtood vpon their owne guard. The King like a prudent Prince who knew his times, proſecutes them not as then, but lets the matter paſſe: In regard that both his buſineſſe in *France*, and the preſſing neceſſity of ayding his Confederates (whereon his honour, and whole eſtate abroad depended) called him ouer into *Flanders*; which the King of *France* had now inuaded; pretending the ſame Title of Soueraignty to that Prouince, as King *Edward* did to *Scotland*. And hauing had intelligence of the intended Alliance, and other deſignes of the Earle *Guy*, ſends for him (as if knowing nothing thereof) to come with his Wife and Daughter, to make merry with him at *Paris*: where in ſteed of Feaſting, hee makes him priſoner, and takes from him his Daughter, in regard he ſought being his vaſſall to match her to the Sonne of his Capitall enemy. The Earle excuſes it the beſt he could, and by much mediation is releaſed,

and

and ſuffered to depart, but without his Daughter: Of whoſe ſurprize, and detention (contrary to the Law of Nations) he complaines to the Pope, and other Princes, who earneſtly vrge the releaſe of the young Lady, but all in vayne; and thereuppon this Earle (preſuming on the ayde of his Confederates) takes armes, and defies the King of *France*. Who now comes with an Army of ſixty thouſand againſt him; which cauſed the King of *England* to make what ſpeed hee could, to relieue this diſtreſſed Earle, and to leaue all his other buſineſſes at home in that broken eſtate which hee did; the *Scots* in reuolt, and his owne people in diſcontent. For which yet hee tooke the beſt order hee could: Leauing the adminiſtration of the Kingdome during his abſence to the Prince, and certayne eſpeciall Councellors, as the Biſhop of *London*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lord *Reginald Gray* and *Clifford*, and beſides, to recouer the Clergy receiued the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* into fauour.

The French inuades *Flanders*.

And being ready now to take ſhip, the Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Earles, Barons, and the Commons ſend him in a Roll of the generall grieuances of his Subjects: *Concerning his Taxes, Subſidies, and other Impoſitions; with his ſeeking to force their ſeruices, by vnlawfull courſes: his late impoſt layd of forty ſhillings vpon euery ſacke of Wooll, being before but halfe a Marke, eſtimating the Wooll of* England, *to a fift part of all the ſubſtance thereof.* The King ſends anſwer, *that he could not alter any thing without the aduiſe of his Counſell, which were not now about him: And therefore required them, ſeeing they would not attend him in this Iourney (which they abſolutely refuſed to doe though he went in Perſon, vnleſſe he had gone into* France *or* Scotland) *that they would yet doe nothing in his abſence preiudiciall to the peace of the Kingdome. And that vpon his returne, hee would ſet all things in good order as ſhould be fit.*

This Roll of grieuances is recorded by *Tho. Wa.* viz.

1299. *Anno* Reg. 26.

And ſo with 500. Sayle, eighteene thouſand men at Armes, he puts out for this iourney, wherein Fortune ſhewed him, how ſhe ſhould not be alwayes his: For contrary to his expectation he found the Country of *Flanders* diſtracted into popular factions; a rich and proud people, who though they were willing to ayde their Prince, and defend their Lyberties (which they reſpected more then their Obedience) yet would they not be commanded otherwiſe then themſelues pleaſed. And now the King of *France*, dayly getting vppon them (hauing wonne *Liſle*, *Donay*, *Courtray*, *Burges*, and *Dam*; and the Emperour *Adolph* fayling of his ayde and perſonall aſſiſtance, as vn-intereſſed confederates often doe, eſpecially hauing receiued their gage before hand, as had this Emperour to the ſumme of 100. thouſand Markes) drawe the King of *England* into great perplexity, and held him within long delayes, to his extreame trauayle and expences: which forced him to ſend ouer for more ſupply of Treaſure, and giue order for a Parliament to be held at *Yorke* by the Prince, and ſuch as had the manage of the State in his abſence. Wherein, for that hee would not bee diſappoynted, he condiſcends to all ſuch Articles as were demaunded concerning the great Charter: Promiſing from thence-foorth neuer to charge his Subjects otherwiſe then by their conſents in Parliament, and to pardon ſuch as had denied to attend him in this iourney. For which the Commons of the Realme granted him the ninth penny of their goods: The Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, with the Clergy of the Province, the Tenth penny: *Yorke*, and his Province, the Fifth: ſo the Kings inſtant wants are relieued, and the Kingdome ſatisfied for a preſent ſhift. But it is not well with a State, where the Prince, and people ſeeke but to obtayne their ſeuerall ends, and worke vpon the aduantages of each others neceſſities: for as it is vn-ſincere, ſo it is often vnſucceſſefull, and the good ſo done hurts more, then it pleaſures.

King *Edward* paſſes ouer into *Flanders* to the aide of the Earle *Guy*;

A Parliament held at *Yorke* in the abſence of the King.

The King thus ſupplyed, ſtayes all this Winterin *Gaunt*, where his people committing many outrages, ſo exaſperates the *Gantois*; as they tooke armes, made head againſt them, ſlew many, and put the Kings perſon in great danger: ſo that, doe what the Earle *Guy*, and himſelfe could to appeaſe them, in ſatisfying ſuch, as had receiued wrong, and giuing the reſt fayre words, he hardly could eſcape ſafe out of the Countrey; which rather deſired to haue the Engliſh commodities, then their Companies. This was the ſucceſſe of his iourney into *Flanders*, which hee leaues at the Spring of the yeare, hauing concluded a truce with the King of *France* for two yeares. And the

The *Gantois* takes armes againſt the Engliſh. King *Edward* in danger. Hee returnes into *England*.

the poore Earle *Guy* left to himſelfe is ſhortly after made the prey of his enemy, and his Priſoner in *Paris*; where he and his daughter both dyed of griefe. And *Flanders* is reduced to a poſſeſſion, though not to the ſubiection of the King of *France*. For after they had receiued him for their Lord, his exactions and oppreſſions vpon them, contrary to their auncient Liberties ſo armed the whole people, being rich and mighty, as they gaue *France* the greateſt wound that euer before it receiued at one blow; which was at the famous battell of *Courtray*, wherein the Earle of *Artoſe* Generall of the Army, *Arnold de Nesle* Conſtable of *Fraunce*, and all the Leaders with Twelue thouſand Gentlemen were ſlaine. And to ſhow what the King of *France* got, by ſeeking to attaine this Soueraigntie of *Flanders* (as well, as we ſhall heare of the King of *Englands* getting vpon *Scotland* for the ſame title.) It is recorded in their Hiſtories, that in the ſpace of Eleuen yeeres, this quarrell coſt the liues of a hundred thouſand *French* men. Beſides it draue the King likewiſe to conſume the ſubſtances of his people, as well as their blood, and to loade them with new impoſitions as, that of *Malletoſte* and the Tenth *Denier* vpon *liure* of all Merchandiſes, which in the Collection bred great outcries, and dangerous ſeditions among his ſubiects: And theſe were the fruits of theſe great attempters.

The Hiſtory of *France*.

1300. *Anno Reg.* 27.

Now for King *Edward* of *England*, he preſently after his returne, falles a new vppon *Scotland*, which in his abſence had beaten his officers, and people almoſt out of the Countrey, ſlaine Sir *Hugh Creſſingham* with 6000. Engliſh: recouered many Caſtles, and regained the Towne of *Berwicke*. And all by the animation and conduct of *William Wallice* a poore priuate Gentleman (though Nobly diſcended) who ſeeing his Countrey without a Head, and thereby without a Heart (all the great men either in Captiuitie or ſubiection) aſſembles certaine of as poore and deſperate eſtate as himſelfe, and leades them to attempt vpon whatſoeuer aduantages they could diſcouer, to annoy the *Engliſh*. And hauing therein good ſucceſſe, it ſo increaſed both his Courage and Companie; as he afterwards comes to be the Generall Gardian of the whole Kingdome: Leades their Armies; effects thoſe great Defeits vpon the Enemie: and was in poſſibilitie to haue abſolutely redeemed his Countrey, from the ſubiection of *England* (had not ſome priuate Emulation amongſt themſelues, and the ſpeedie comming of King *Edward*, with all his power) preuented him. So much could the ſpirit of one braue man worke, to ſet vp a whole Nation vpon their feete, that lay vtterly caſt downe. And as well might hee at that time haue gotten the Dominion for himſelfe, as the place he had: but that he held it more glory to preſerue his Countrey, then to get a Crowne. For which he hath his immortall honour; and whatſoeuer praiſe can be giuen to meere Vertue, muſt be euer due to him.

King *Edward* proſecutes his Scottiſh buſineſſe.

William Wallice animates the Scots againſt the ſubiection of *England*.

And now King *Edward* to bring his worke neere together, remooues his *Exchequer* and Courts of Iuſtice to *Yorke*: where they continued aboue ſixe yeares. And thither cals he a Parliament, requiring all his ſubiects that held of him by Knights ſeruice, to be ready at *Roxborough* by a peremptorie day: where are aſſembled three thouſand men at Armes on barded Horſes, and foure thouſand other armed men on Horſe without bards, with an Army on foote anſwerable, conſiſting moſt of *Welſh* and *Iriſh*: beſides, Fiue hundreth men at armes out of *Gaſconie*, and with this power makes he his ſecond expedition into *Scotland*.

King *Edward* remooues his Exchequer and Courts of Iuſtice to *Yorke*.

The Earles of *Hereford* and *Norfolke*, notwithſtanding their former contempts, attend him. And although hee were thus girt with all this ſtrength, and in the midſt of his mightineſſe, they vrge the ratifications of Two Charters, and their Pardons: which they held not ſufficient to ſecure them, in regard the King was out of the Realme, at the late graunting thereof. The Biſhop of *Duriſme*, the Earles of *Surrey Warwicke*, and *Gloceſter* vndertooke for the King, that after he had ſubdued his Enemies, and was returned, hee ſhould ſatisfie them therein. And ſo theſe two Earles with the Earle of *Lincolne*, Led his Vauntguard at the famous Battaile of *Fonkirke*, which the King of *England* gat, wherein are reported to be ſlaine 200. Knights, and Fortie thouſand ſoote of the *Scots*. But *William Wallice* with ſome few eſcaped to make more worke.

The famous battell of *Fonkirke*. The Scots ouerthrowne.

And

And here againe that Kingdome might ſeeme, as if quite ouer-come. Moſt of the eſtates of the Earles, and Barons of *Scotland* (with their Titles) that had ſtood out were beſtowed on the Engliſh Nobility, to make them the more egar to maintayne and proſecute this Conqueſt. And a Parliament is called at Saint *Andrewes*, where all the great men of that Kingdome (except onely *Wallice*) againe ſweare Fealty to the King of *England*.

A Parliament at St. *andrewes*

The *Scottiſh* Writes heere ſet a wide marke of Tyranny vppon King *Edward* in this expedition, *As not content to carry away Captiue all ſuch as might ſeeme to haue any the leaſt ability to ſtirre; but alſo endeauours to extinguiſh if it were poſſible, the very memory of the Nation: aboliſhing all their ancient Lawes, traducing their Eccleſiaſtical rights, to the cuſtome of* England: *diſpoiling them of their Hiſtories: their inſtruments of State; their Antique Monuments, left either by the* Romanes, *or erected by themſelues: tranſporting all their Bookes and Booke-men into* England: *Sending to* London *the Marble ſtone, wherein (as the Vulgar were perſwaded) the Fate of the Kingdome conſiſted; and left them nothing that might either incite them to remember their former fortune, or inſtruct generous ſpirits in the way of vertue and worthines. So that he bereaued them not only of their ſtrength; but of their minds: ſuppoſing thereby to eſtabliſh a perpetuall Domination ouer that Kingdome.*

The *Scottiſh* Writers inueigh againſt the tyranny of King *Edward*.

This iourney ended, a Parliament is called at *Weſtminſter*, wherein the promiſed confirmation of the Two *Charters*, and the allowance of what diſforeſtation had heeretofore beene made, was earneſtly vrged, and in the end with much a doe granted, with omiſſion of the *Clauſe, Saluo Iure Coronæ noſtræ*, which the King laboured to haue inſerted, but the people would not indure the ſame: the perambulation of the Forreſts of *England* is committed to three Biſhops, three Earles and three Barons.

A Parliament at *Weſtminſter*.

In this little pauſe of Peace at home, a Concord is, by the mediation of Pope *Boniface*, concluded with the King of *France*: Whoſe ſiſter *Margaret*, the King of *England* takes to Wife in the ſixty two yeares of his age (ſomething too late for ſo young a March) and the Daughter of the ſame King is likewiſe affianced to the Prince. And thereupon reſtitution made of what had beene vſurped by the French King in *Gaſcoigny*. *Burdeaux* returnes to the obedience of the King of *England*, to the Merchants of which City he payd 150. thouſand pounds for his brother *Edmonds* expences in the late Wars, and all is well on that ſide. Beſides the ſame Pope obtayned permiſſion, for *Iohn Baliol* the Captiue King of *Scots* to depart and liue in *France* vpon certayne lands he had there, and vndertooke for his obſeruation of the Peace, and his confinement; who ſhort after dyes, haning had little joy of a Crowne, or ſcarce leiſure to know he was a King. The Decrying and calling in of a certayne baſe Coyne named *Crocard* and *Pollard*, with the new ſtamping them againe, yeelded ſomething to the Kings Coffers: which muſt bee emptied in *Scotland*, whether agayne (hauing beene ſcarce Eighteene Moneths at home) he makes his third expedit, but did little, beſides the regayning of *Sterling* Caſtle which held out three moneths ſiege againſt all his power, and Ingines reared with infinite charge and labour. And in the end not won but yeelded vp by the Defendant *William Oliuer*, vpon promiſe which was not kept with him. The reſt of the *Scots* made no head, but kept in the Mountaynes and Faſtneſſes of their Countrey, whereby the Kings Army hauing more to do with barrenneſſe then men, ſuffered much affliction and many Horſes were ſtarued.

1301. *Anno* Reg. 28.

Now vppon this Peace with *France*, the *Scots* beeing excluded and hauing none to relieue them, ſend their lamentable complaynts to *Pope Boniface*, *Shewing him the afflicted ſtate of their Country: the vſurpation of the King of* England *vpon them, and his moſt tyrannicall proceeding with them, contrary to all right and equity. Proteſting they neuer knew of any Soueraigntie hee had ouer them, but that they were a free Kingdome of themſelues; and ſo at firſt hee dealt with them, vpon the Death of their laſt King* Alexander, *both in the treaty of the marriage for his ſonne* Edward, *with* Margaret *their of* Scotland: *And alſo after her death for the decision of the Title, wherein hee ſought by their conſents to be made Arbitor, as he was. Howſoeuer afterward they were conſtrained to giue way to his will; yet, what they euer yeelded vnto was by reaſon they were otherwiſe vnable to reſiſt, &c.* Vppon this remonſtrance of the *Scots*, the Pope writes his powerfull Letters

to

to the King of *England*, to forbeare any further proceeding against them; clayming withall, the Soueraigntie of that Kingdome, as belonging to the Church.

The King answeres the Popes Letters at large. *Alledging from all Antiquity, how the direct and superiour Dominion of* Scotland *had euer appertayned to this Crowne, euen from* Brute *to his owne time:* And with all the whole Nobility write to the Pope, avowing *the same right. And absolutely conclude that the King their Lord should in no sort vndergo his* Holinesse *iudgement therein. Neither send his Procurators (as was required) about that businesse, whereby it might seeme that doubt were made of their Kings Title, to the preiudice of the Crowne, the Royall Dignity, the Liberties, Customes and Lawes of* England; *which by their oath and duty they were bound to obserue, and would defend with their liues. Neither would they permit, nor could, any vn-usuall, vnlawfull, and detrimentall proceeding. Nor suffer their King, if he would, to doe, or any way to attempt the same. And therfore besought his* Holinesse *to intermeddle no more in this matter.* These Letters subscribed with all their names were dated at *Lincolne*; where, then was held the Parliament *Anno Domini* 1301.

The Pope vpon this answer, or rather hauing his hands full of other businesse, stirres no more in this. The King of *France* whom he had excommunicated, and giuen away his Kingdome to the Emperour *Albert* of *Austrich*, shortly after so wrought, as his *Spiritualty* was surprized at *Anagne* a City of *Abruzzo*, whither he was retyred from the troubles of *Rome*: and so violently treated by *Sciarra Colonesse*, a *Banditto* of *Rome*, and *Nogoret*, and *Albigioye* (whom he had both persecuted) as in extreame rage and anguish, within few dayes after he ends his turbulent life.

And the King of *England* (hauing beene supplied, with a fifteenth vppon Confirmation of the *Charters* againe, at the Parliament at *Lincolne*) hee makes his fourth expedition into *Scotland*, and as it were the fourth Conquest thereof, hauing had foure times Homage and Fealty sworne vnto him. VVhich might seeme sufficient to confirme his Soueraignty, whereof now he rests secure, and home returnes in Tryumphant manner: Remooues his *Exchequer* from *Yorke*: Feasts his Nobility at *Lincolne* with all Magnificence: From thence he comes to *London*, and renders solemne thankes to *God* and Saint *Edward* for Victory. Which to make it seeme the more intire, shortly after, *William Wallice* (that renowned Guardian of *Scotland*, betrayed by his Companion) is sent vp Prisoner to *London*: adjudged according to the Lawes of *England*, to be drawne, hangd and quartered, for his treasons committed against the King (whom at his Arraignment he would not yet acknowledge to be his King) protesting neuer to haue sworne Fealty unto him.

1305. *Anno Reg.* 32.

Thus suffered that worthy man for the defence of his owne in a strange Countrey, and remaines amongst the best examples of Fortitude and Piety in that kinde.) And now King *Edward*, being (as he supposed) at an end of all his businesse: an vniuersall Lord at home: strong in Alliance, and Peace abroad; beginnes to looke more seuerely to the gouernment of this Kingdome, and to draw profit out of those disorders, which the Licence of Warre, and Trouble had bred therein. And first, amongst other examples of his power (which it seemes hee would haue equall to his will) is the case of Sir *Nicholas Segraue*, one of the greatest Knights then of the Kingdome, who being accused of Treason by Sir *Iohn Crombwell*, offers to iustifie himselfe by *Duell*, which the King refuses to grant, in regard of the present VVarre then in hand. VVhereuppon *Segraue* without Lycence, and contrary to the Kings prohibition, leaues the Kings Campe, and goes ouer Sea to fight with his enemy, for which the King (as against one that had not onely contemned him, but as much as in him lay exposed him to death, and left him to his enemies) would haue Iustice to proceede against him. Three dayes the Iudges consulted of the matter, and in the end adjudged *Segraue* guilty of death, and all his moueables and immoueables forfeited to the King. Notwithstanding in regard of the greatnesse of his blood, they added. Hee went not out of *England* in contempt of the King, but onely to be reuenged of his accuser, and therefore it was in the Kings power to shew mercy vnto him in this case. The King hereto in great wrath replyed, haue you beene all this while consulting for this? I know it is in my power

The case of Sir *Nicholas Segraue*.

power to conferre grace, and on whom I will to haue Mercy, but not the more for your sakes then for a Dogge. VVho hath euer submitted himselfe to my grace, and had repulse, but let this your Iudgement bee Recorded, and for euer hold as a Law. And so the Knight for example and terrour to others, was committed to prison, though shortly after by the labour of many Noble men of the Kingdome. Thirty of his Peeres girt with their swords standing out to be bound body for body, and goods for goods to bring him foorth whensoeuer hee should bee called; the King restored him to his Estate. *Mat. Weſt.*

Shortly after, the King likewise sends out a new Writ of inquisition, called *Trailbaston*. For Intruders on other mens Lands, who to oppresse the right owner would make ouer their Land to great men: For *Batterers* hyred to beate men, For *Breakers* of the Peace: For *Rauishers, Incendiaries, Murtherers, Fighters, False Assisors*, and other such Malefactors. Which Inquisition was so strictly executed, and such fines taken, as it brought in exceeding much Treasure to the King. So did likewise another Commission the same time sent foorth to examine the behauiour of Officers, and Ministers of Iustice, wherein many were found Delinquents, and payed dearely for it. Informers here, as fruitfull Agents for the *Fisk* (and neuer more imployed then in shifting times) were in great request. Besides these meanes for Treasure aboue ground, this King made some profit of certayne siluer Mynes in *Deuonshire*, as is to be seene in *Hollingshead*, but it seeme the charge amounting to more then the benefit, they afterwards came dis-continued. The inquisition of *Trailbaston*.

The King likewise now begins to shew his resentment, of the stubborne behauiour of his Nobles towards him in times past; and so terrifies *Roger Bygod* Earle Marshall, as to recouer his Fauour, the Earle made him the Heire of his Lands (though he had a brother liuing) reseruing to himselfe a Thousand pounds pension *Per Annum*, during his life. Of others likewise, hee got great summes for the same Offence. The Earle of *Hereford* escapes by death. But the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* (whom he accused to haue disturbed his peace in his absence) he sends ouer to Pope *Clement* the fift (who succeeded *Boniface*) that he might be crusht with a double power. This Pope was Natiue of *Burdeaux*, and so the more regardfull of the Kings desire, and the King more confident of his fauour; which to entertaine and increase he sends him a whole Furnish of all Vessels for his Chamber of cleane gold: which great griefe so wrought with the Pope, as he let loose this *Lyon*, vntyed the King from the couenants made with his Subiects concerning their Charters confirmed vnto them by his three last Acts of Parliament, and absolued him from his oath: an Act of little Piety in the Pope, and of as little conscience in the King, who (as if he should now haue no more neede of his Subiects) discouered with what sincerity hee granted what hee did. 1306. *Anno Reg.* 33.

But suddainly hereupon there fell out an occasion that brought him backe to his right Orbe againe, made him see his error and reforme it, finding the loue of his people lawfully ordred to be that which gaue him all his power and meanes he had, and to know how their subsistances were intermutuall. The news of a new King made, and Crowned in *Scotland* was that which wrought the effect hereof. *Robert Bruce* Earle of *Carrick*, son to that *Robert* who was competitor with *Baliol*, escaping out of *England*, becomes head to the confused body of that people, which, hauing bin so long without any to guide them, any intire Councell, scattered in power, dis-united in mind, neuer at one together, were cast into that miserable estate as they were. For had they had a King as well as their enemies to haue led them, held them together, and managed their affaires accordingly, that which they did in this distraction, shews how much more they would haue done otherwise. And therefore no sooner did *Bruce* appeare in his designe, but he effected it: had the Crowne, and hands ready to help him at an instant; and that before rumour could get out to report any thing of it. Although *Iohn Comyn* his cousen German being a Titeler himself, a man of great loue and alliance in *Scotland*, wrote to haue bewrayed *Bruces* intention to the King of *England*, in whose Court they both had liued, and were his Pensioners. But *Bruce* (as great

Bruce murthers Iohn Comyn in the Church.

great vndertakers are euer awake, and ready at all houres, prevents him by ſpeed; and eyther to be auenged on him for his falſhood, or rid of him as a Competitor, finding him at *Dunfraies*, ſets vpon and murthers him in the Church.

Which foundation layd on blood (the Place, the Perſon, and the manner making it more odious) much ſtayned his beginning, and effected not that ſecurity for which hee did it, but rayſed a mighty party in *Scotland* againſt him. King *Edward* (though ſo late acquaynted heerewith, as hee could not bee before hand with him, yet would hee not bee long behind to ouertake him) ſends *Aymer de Valence* Earle of *Pembrooke*, the Lords *Clifford* and *Percy* with a ſtrong power to relieue his Wardens of *Scotland*, who vppon his Reuolt were all retyred to *Berwicke*, whilſt himſelfe prepares an Army to follow. Wherein to be the more free, and Nobly attended, Proclamation is made, that whoſoeuer ought by their paternall ſucceſſion, or otherwiſe had meanes of their owne for ſeruice, ſhould repayre to *Weſtminſter* at the *Feaſt of Penticoſt*, to receyue the Order of Knight-hood, and a Military ornament out of the Kings Ward-Robe.

King *Edward* ſends and prepares for *Scotland*.

Three Hundred young Gentlemen, all the Sonnes of Earles, Barons, and Knights, aſſemble at the appointed day, and receiue Purples, Silkes, Sindons, Scarfs wrought with gold or ſiluer, according to euery mans eſtate: For which trayne (the Kings houſe being too little, by reaſon a great part thereof was burnt vppon his comming out of *Flanders*) roome is made, and the Apple Trees cut downe at the New Temple for their Tents, where they attyre themſelues and keepe their Vigil. The Prince (whom the King then likewiſe Knighted, and girt with a Military Belt, as an Ornament of that Honour; and withall gaue him the Dutchy of *Acquitaine*) kept his Vigile with his Trayne at *Weſtminſter*, and the next day girds theſe three Hundred Knights with the Military Belt, in that manner as himſelfe receyued it. At which Ceremony the Preſſe was ſo great, as the Prince was fayne to ſtand vpon the high Altar (a place for a more Divine Honour) to performe this: Which beeing ſolemnized, with all the State and Magnificence could be deviſed, the King before them all makes his vowe, that a liue, or dead, hee would reuenge the death of *Cumyn* vppon *Bruce*, and the perjured *Scots*: Adjuring his ſonne, and all the Nobles about him vpon their Fealty, that if hee dyed in this Iourney, they ſhould carry his Corpes with them about *Scotland*, and not ſuffer it to be interred, till they had Vanquiſhed the Vſurper, and abſolutely ſubdued the Country. A deſire more Martiall then Chriſtian, ſhewing a minde ſo bent to the World, as he would not make an end when hee had done with it, but deſignes his Trauayle beyond his life.

The Prince giues the honor of Knighthood to 300. Gentlemen.

1307. Anno Reg. 34.

The Prince, and all his Nobles promiſe vppon their fayth to employ their vtmoſt power to performe his Vowe, and ſo vppon grant of the *Thirtieth peny of the Clergy and the Laity*, and the *twentieth* of all Merchants, hee ſets foorth with a Potent Army preſently vpon *Whitſuntide* and makes his laſt expedition into *Scotland*, *Anno Reg.* 24. The Earle of *Pembrooke*, with that power ſent before, and the ayde of the Scottiſh partie (which was now greater by the partakers of the Family of *Cumyn*, beeing many mighty, and egar to revenge his death) had, before the King arriued in *Scotland*, defeited in a battle neere St. *Iohns* Towne, the whole Army of the new King, and narrowly miſſed the taking of his Perſon: Who eſcaping in diſguiſe recouered an obſcure ſhelter, and was reſerued for more, and greater battailes: His brother *Nigell Bruce*, and ſhortly after *Thomas* and *Alexander* a Prieſt, were taken and executed after the manner of Traytors at *Berwicke*; ſo that King *Edward* at his comming, had not ſo much to doe as hee expected. But yet he paſſed ouer the Country, to ſhew them his power and to terrifie his enemies, cauſing ſtrict inquiſition to bee made for all who had beene ayding to the murther of *Cumyn*, and the advancement of *Bruce*. Many, and great Perſonages are found out (beeing impoſſible amongſt a broken people for any to remayne undiſcouered) and were all executed in cruell manner to the terrour of the reſt. The age of the King of *England*, his choler, wrath and deſire of reuenge made him vowe inexorable, and to ſpare none of what degree ſoeuer they were. The Earle of *Athol* (though of the Royall Blood, and allyed vnto him) was ſent to *London*, and preferred to a higher Gal-

A great execution made of the Scots.

lowes

lowes then any of the reſt. The Wife of *Robert Bruce* taken by the Lord *Roſſe* is ſent priſones to *London*, and his daughter to a Monaſterie in *Lindſey*. The Counteſſe of *Boughan* that was ayding at the Coronation of *Bruce* is put into a woodden Cage, and hang out vpon the wals of *Berwicke*, for people to gaze on.

Which rigorous proceeding rather exaſperates the Enemie, and addes to the partie of *Bruce*, then any way quailed it: *Deſperation* beeing of a ſharper edge, then *hope*. And though *Bruce* now appeared not, but ſhifted priuily from place to place, in a diſtreſſed manner (attended onely with two noble Gentlemen, who neuer forſooke him in his fortunes, the Earle of *Lenox*, and *Gilbert Hay*) yet ſtill expectation, loue, and the well-wiſhing of his friends went with him, and ſo long as he was aliue they held him not loſt; this affliction did but harden him for future labours: which his enemies (who now neglected to looke after him, as either holding him dead, or ſo downe as neuer to riſe againe) found afterward to their coſt. For this man, from being thus layde on the ground, within few yeares after, gets vp to giue the greateſt ouerthrow to the greateſt Army, that euer the *Engliſh* brought into the field, and to repay the meaſure of blood in as full manner as it was giuen.

All this Summer the King ſpends in *Scotland*, and Winters in *Carliel*, to be readie the next Spring if any fire ſhould breake out, to quench it. For reſolued he is not to depart, till he had ſet ſuch an ende to this worke, as it ſhould neede no more. And heere hee holds his laſt Parliament, wherein the State was mindfull of the Popes late action, gotte manie Ordinances to paſſe for reformation of the abuſes of his Miniſters, and his owne former exactions; who beeing but poore, ſought to get where it was to bee had. Wringing from the elect Arch-biſhop of *Yorke* in one yeare nine thouſand fiue hundreth Markes: And beſides, *Anthony* Biſhop of *Dureſme* to bee made Patriarke of *Ieruſalem* gaue him and his Cardinals mightie ſummes. This Biſhop *Anthony* is ſayd to haue had in purchaſes, in inheritances, fiue thouſand Markes *per annum*, beſides what belonged to his Myter: which ſhewed the Pope the riches of this Kingdome, and moued him to require the fruites of one yeares reuenue, of euery Benefice that ſhould fall voide in *England*, *Scotland*, *Wales* and *Ireland*; and the like of Abbayes, Priories, and Monaſteries: which though it were denied him, yet ſomething he had; the King and he diuiding it betwixt them. The Pope graunted the King the Tenth of all the Churches of *England* for two yeares: and the King yeelded that the Pope ſhould haue the firſt fruites of thoſe Churches. And the better to effect this buſineſſe, the Pope makes an errand, and ſends *Petrus Hiſpanus* Cardinall, a *Latere* to call vpon the King for conſummation of the Marriage betweene Prince *Edward*, and *Iſabell* daughter to the King of *France*. And this Cardinall got ſomething, but not ſo much as he expected.

Whileſt they were thus buſie at *Carliel*, about the opening of the Spring, opens himſelfe the hidden King *Robert Bruce*, and with ſome forces hee had gotten together, ſuddenly aſſayles the Earle of *Pembrooke* at vnawares, and gaue him a great deſeit; and within three dayes after chaſes the Earle of *Glocester* into the Caſtle of *Ayr*, where he beſieged him, till by the Kings forces, he was driuen againe to his former retire. But this ſhewed, that ſo long as he was (in what eſtate ſoeuer he was) there would be no end of this Warre.

Which cauſed King *Edward* to ſend out his firſt commaundement, that whoſoeuer ought him ſeruice ſhould preſently, vpon the Midſommer after, attend him at *Carliel*. And withall he ſends the Prince to *London*, about the buſineſſe of his Marriage. In Iuly, although hee found himſelfe not well, hee enters *Scotland* with a freſh Armie, which hee ledde not farre; for falling into a *Diſſenterie*, he dyes at *Burough* vpon the Sands, as if to ſhew on what foundation hee had built all his glorie in this world; hauing Reigned thirtie and foure yeares ſeuen monethes, Aged ſixtie eight. A Prince of a generous ſpirit, wherein the fire held out euen to the very laſt; borne and bred for action and Militarie affaires, which hee managed with great iudgement: euer wary, and prouident for his owne buſineſſe: watchfull and eager to enlarge his power: and was more for the greatneſſe of *England*, then the quiet thereof. And this we may

A Parliament at *Carliel*.

The King and Pope deuide the benefit of the Clergie.

King *Bruce* recouers newe forces.

King *Edward* enters *Scotland* and dies there.

1340.

Anno Reg. 35.

iustly say of him, that neuer King before, or since shed so much Christian blood within this *Isle of Brittaine*, as this Christian Warrior did in his time, and was the cause of more in that following.

His Issue.

He had issue by his first Wife Queene *Elianor* foure sonnes, whereof onely *Edward* survived him, and nine daughters, *Elianor* married first to *Iohn* Earle of *Bar*. *Ioan* to *Gilbert Clare* Earle of *Gloceſter*; *Margaret* to *Iohn* Duke of *Brabant*. *Mary* liued a Nun in the Monastery of *Amsbury*. *Elizabeth* married first to *Iohn* Earle of *Holland*, after to *Humphrey Bohun* Earle of *Hertford*, the rest dyed young. He had by his second Wife two sonnes *Thomas* surnamed *Brotherton* which was Marshall and Earle of *Norfolke*, and *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*.

The end of the Life, and Reigne of Edward *the first.*

The Life, and Reigne, of Edward *the second.*

1307. *Anno Reg.* 1.

EDward of *Carnarvan*, remooued more then one degree from the Father in heighth of Spirit, and neerer the Grand-father in flexibility, and easinesse of Nature (which made him apt to be taken) began his Raigne in *July* 1307. in the three and twentieth yeare of his age. A Prince which shewes vs what confusion and mischiefe attends ryot, disorder, neglect of the State, and aduancing vnworthy, or ill-disposed Minions to the preiudice of others, the griefe of his people, and the diminution of the Royall Maiestie. And though his youth might somewhat excuse the first sickneſſe of his priuate Fauours, yet those often Relapses of his shewed it was an habituall indisposition in the whole estate of his minde, not to be cured.

King Edward the first, imprisoned his son, and exiled *Pierce Gaueſton Anno Reg.* 33.

Neuer was Prince receiued with greater loue, and opinion of all, or euer any that sooner lost it. For his very first actions discouered a head-strong wilfulneſſe that was vnaccountable: Whereof the entertayning agayne his old Companion *Pierce Gauestons* was one, whom the Father had banished the Kingdome, finding him to haue corrupted the youth of his Sonne, and leade him to commit any ryots: Amongst which was the breaking of the Parke of the Bishop of *Chester*, for which hee both imprisoned his sonne, and exiled *Gauestons*. Besides this Prouident King (as if fore-seeing the mischiefe might ensue) at his Death charged his sonne (vppon his blessing) neuer to recall or entertayne *Pierce Gaueſton* agayne about him, and required the Lords (who were present) to see his Will obserued therein: VVhich notwithstanding, hee brake before his Fathers Funeralls were performed and not only entertaynes but inuests *Gauestons* in the Earledome of *Cornwall*, and the Lordship of *Man*; being both of the Demaines of the Crowne, and makes him his chiefe Chamberlaine. Then to be reuenged on the Bishop of *Chester* his Fathers Treasurer (who had abridged his expences, and complayned of him for his Ryot) hee caused him to be arrested, committed to Prison, and seises vpon all his goods, which he gaue to *Gauestons*: makes a new Treasurer of his owne: remooues most of all his Fathers Officers; and all without the aduise, or consent of his Councell, which gaue them their first discontent, and bewrayed his disposition.

Pierce Gaueſton recalled and preferred by the king.

A Parliament at *Northampton* held before the Coronation.

Before his Coronation, a Parliament was held at *Northampton*, wherein was ordayned, that the Monies of his Father (notwithstanding the people helde them base, should bee Current; and a Fifteenth of the Clergy, a Twentieth of the Temporalty is there granted. After the Funeralls performed at *Westminster*, hee passes ouer to *Bologne*, where his Nuptialls with *Isabell*, Daughter to *Philip le Bel*, are sumptuously Solemnized, at which were present the King of *France*, the King of *Nauarre*, his Sonne, the King of *Almaine*, the King of *Sicile*, and three Queenes besides the Bride, with an extraordinary concourse of other Princes. At which Feast *Gauestons* is sayde to haue exceeded them all in brauery, and daintinesse of attire, wherewith afterward he infected the Court of *England*. A mischiefe the most contagious to breede Consumption in a State, that can be introduced. For, the imitation thereof presently distends it selfe ouer all, and passes beyond the example, and at length all meanes to maintaine it.

The Marriage of king *Edward* solemnized at *Bologne*.

And

And had hee done no other hurt to the Kingdome then this, it had beene enough to haue made him (as hee was) odious thereunto. But besides, he afterwardes filled the Court with Buffons, Parasites, Minstrels, Players, and all kinde of dissolute persons to entertaine, and dissolue the King with delights and pleasures. Whereby hee so possest him, as he regarded no other company, no other exercise, but continually day, and night spent his time, and treasure in all wantonnesse, ryot, and disorder: neglecting the affaires of the State: and the company, and counsell of all the rest of the Nobles: who assembling together (at the instant, when he was to be crowned with his Queene at *Westminster, Anno, Reg.* 2.) *require him that* Gauestō *might be removed from out the Court, and Kingdome; otherwise they purposed to hinder his Coronation, at that time.* Whereupon the King to auoide so great a disgrace, *promises on his faith, to yeelde to what they desired in the next Parliament*; and the solemnity with much festination, and little reuerence is performed. Wherein *Gauestō* for carrying Saint *Edwards* Crowne before the King, aggrauates the hatred of the Clergy, and Nobility against him.

Gauestō corrupts the King.

The Lords are displeased with *Gauestō*.

Shortly after his Coronation, all the Knights Templars throughout *England* are at once arrested, and committed to prison. They were an order of Knights instituted by *Balduin* the fourth King of *Ierusalem* about 200. yeares past, and first appointed for the defence of that City, and the safe conueying of all such as trauailed thither: afterwards they were dispersed through all the Kingdomes of Christendome and by the pious bounty of Princes, and others, enriched with infinite possessions, which made them to degenerate from their first institution, and become execrably vitious. So that all the Kings of Christendome at one instant (combining together) caused them to be apprehended within their Dominions, and put out of their order, and estates. The King of *France* began, hauing a purpose to make one of his sons King of *Ierusalem*, and possesse him of their reuenues. Their accusation followes their apprehension, and condemned they are (rather by fame then proofe) in the generall Councell at *Vienna*; as appeares by the condemnatory *Bull of Pope Clement* the third: wherein he hath this clause, *Quanquam de iure non possimus, statuere id quod nudum ac priuatis, dictum ordinem reprobamus.* Their estates are after giuen to the *Hospitalers*.

The Knights Templiers arrested & committed to prison.

Their dissolution.

These businesses passed ouer, the Lords prosecute their purpose against *Gauestō*, whose insolency, and presumption vppon the Kings fauour; made him so farre to forget himselfe, as he scorned the best of them all, as much as they hated him. Tearming *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster* the *Stage player*: *Aymer de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Ioseph the Iew*: and *Guy* Earle of *Warwicke*, the *blacke dogge of Ardern*: Which scoffes, leauing behinde them the sting of reuenge (especially where they touch) drewe such a party vpon him, as in the next Parliament, the whole Assembly *Humbly besought the King to aduise, and treate with his Nobles, concerning the State of the Kingdome, for the auoiding of eminent mischiefe, likely to insue through neglect of gouernment*; and so farre vrges the matter, as the King consents thereunto, and not onely graunts them libertie to draw into Articles what was requisite for the Kingdome, but takes his Oath to ratifie whatsoeuer they should conclude. Whereupon they elect certaine choyce men both of the Clergie, Nobilitie, and Commons, to compose those Articles. Which done, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, lately recalled from exile, with the rest of his Suffragans, solemnly pronounce the sentence of Excommunication against all such who should contradict those Articles, which are there publickly read before the Barons and Commons of the Realme, in the presence of the King. Amongst which *the obseruation and execution of* Magna Charta *is required, with all other ordinances necessary for the Church and Kingdome. And that as the late King had done, all Strangers should be banished the Court, and Kingdome, & all ill Counsellors removed. That the busines of the State should be treated on by the Councell of the Clergy, and the Nobles. That the King should not begin any war, or go any way out of the Kingdome, without the common councell of the same.*

The Lords prosecute *Gauestō*.

1310. *Anno Reg.* 3. A Parliament.

The king takes his Oath to ratifie whatsoeuer Articles the Lords would conclude in Parliament.

Which Articles though they seemed harsh to the King, yet to auoide further trouble he yeeld vnto them, but especially to the banishment of his Minion, as if that would excuse him for all the rest; and away is he sent into *Ireland*, where he liued a while, not as a man exiled, but as the Lieutenant of the Countrey. The King not

Gauestō banished into *Ireland*.

enduring to be without his company, neuer ceaſed working till hee had recalled him backe againe: which within a few moneths after he did. And to make him (as hee thought) to ſtand the faſter on his feete, he marries him to his Neece (the daughter of *Ioan de Acres*) ſiſter to *Gilbert de Clare* Earle of *Gloceſter*, a man beloued and highly eſteemed of all the Nobility: for whoſe ſake he hoped *Gaueſton* ſhould find the more fauour amongſt them, but all this could not ſhelter him. Either his behauiour, or their malice was ſuch as they could not indure to haue him about the King, who by making him ſo great, leſſened him, and the more he was enriched, the worſe was his eſtate. The ſubiects ſpectators of their Kings immoderate gifts, held it to be taken out of the bowels of the Common-wealth, and as it were of their ſubſtance that was ſo waſted. For it is reported, the King gaue him the Iewels of the Crowne, which he ſold to Merchant ſtrangers, and conueyed much treaſure out of the Kingdome, wherby the King ſuſtained great wants, and the Queene is abridged of her allowance, whereof ſhe complaines to the King of *France* her father.

Gaueſton recalled.

The Lords threaten the King.

These ſtingues put the Barons on to ſend plaine word to the King, *That vnleſſe he put from him* Pierce Gaueſton, *and obſerue the late Articles, they would all with one conſent riſe in armes againſt him, as a periured Prince.* The King (whom they found was apt to be terrified) yeeldes againe vpon this meſſage to the baniſhment of his Minion: whoſe fortune beeing to haue a weake maiſter, was driuen to theſe ſudden extreamities, and diſgracefull expulſions, at their will who were his enuiers; and who now obtaine this Clauſe; *That if hereafter he were found againe within the Kingdome he ſhould be condemned to death as an enemy to the State. Ireland* was now no more to protect him: *France* moſt vnſafe for him (wait being there laid to apprehend him) in *Flanders* he lurks a while, but in great danger: and finding no where any ſecurity, backe againe he aduentures vpon *England*, and into the Kings boſome (the ſanctuary he thought would not be violated) hee puts himſelfe, and there is he receiued with as great ioy as euer man could be. And to be as farre out of the way and eye of enuy as might be, the King carries him into the North parts, where notwithſtanding the Lords ſhortly after found him out. For no ſooner had they heard of his returne, and receiuing into grace, but they preſently combine and take Armes, electing *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter* for their Leader. This *Thomas* was the ſonne of *Edmond*, the ſecond ſonne of *Henry* the third: and was likewiſe Earle of *Leiceſter*, *Ferrers*, and *Lincolne*, a moſt powerfull and popular ſubiect, with whom ioynes *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, *Aymer de Valence*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, *Guy de Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwicke*, the Earle of *Arundell* (with many other Barons.) But *Gilbert* Earle of *Gloceſter* the Kings Nephew, for that he would neither offend him, nor be wanting to his Peeres, ſtands as Mediator for their liberties, and the peace of the Kingdome. The Earle *Warren* remained a while doubtfull, and fauouring rather the Kings part, till the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* induced him to conſent with the Lords: who being thus prepared ſend to the King in the behalfe of the whole Communalty, *Beſeeching him to deliuer vp vnto them* Pierce Gaueſton, *or elſe to ſend him away with his traine out of England.* The King neglecting their petition, they ſet forward in armes toward the North. The King and *Gaueſton*, withdrew to *Newcaſtle*, and there being aduertiſed of the ſtrength of the Lords, they take Ship (leauing the Queene in much griefe behinde) and land at *Scarborough* Caſtle; whereinto the King puts *Gaueſton* with the beſt forces he could prouide for his defence, and departs himſelfe towards *Warwickeſhire*.

Gaueſton againe baniſhed.

Gaueſton returnes.

The Lords take Armes.

Gaueſton taken and beheaded.

The Earles of *Pembrooke* and *Warren* ſent by the Earle of *Lancaſter* lay ſiege to the Caſtle. *Gaueſton* is forced to render himſelfe into their hands, but intreates thus much that he might bee brought once more to ſpeake with the King, and then after they ſhould do with him what they pleaſed. The Earle of *Pembrooke* vndertakes vpon his honor he ſhould, but as his ſeruants were conducting him towards the King, the Earle of *Warwicke* tooke him from them by force, and commits him to the Caſtle of *Warwicke*, where after ſome conſultation among the Lords (notwithſtanding the Kings earneſt ſolicitation for his life, they contemned him to the blocke, and tooke off his head.

This

This was the end of *Pierce Gaueſton*, who for that he was the firſt *Primado* of this kind euer noted in our Hiſtorie, and was aboue a King in his life, deſerues to haue his Character amongſt Princes being dead. Natiue he was of *Gaſcoine*, and for the great ſeruice his father had done to this Crowne, entertained and bred vp by King *Edward* the firſt, in companie with his ſonne this Prince, which was the meanes that inueſted him into that high fauour of his. He was of a goodly perſonage, of an haughtie and vndauntable ſpirit, braue and hardy at Armes, as he ſhewed himſelfe in that Turneament which he held at *Wallingford*, wherein he challenged the beſt of the Nobilitie, and is ſayd to haue foyled them all; which inflamed the more their malice towards him. In *Ireland* where he was Lieutenant during the ſhort time of his baniſhment, he made a Iourney into the mountaines of *Dublin*, brake and ſubdued the Rebels there, built *Newcaſtle* in the *Kerns* Country, repaired Caſtle *Kenis*, and after paſſed vp into *Munſter* and *Thomond*, performing euery where great ſeruice with much valour and worthineſſe. (Hee ſeemes to haue bene a Courtier which could not fawne nor ſtoope to thoſe hee loued not, or put on any diſguiſe vpon his Nature to temporize with his enemies.) But preſuming vpon his fortune (the misfortune of ſuch men) grew in the end to that arrogancie as was intollerable, which the priuacie of a Kings fauour vſually begets in their Minions, whoſe vnderſtanding and iudgement being dazled therewith, as is their ſight who ſtand and looke downe from off high places neuer diſcerne the ground from whence they aſcended. And this extraordinary fauour ſhewed to one though hee were the beſt of men, when it ariſes to an exceſſe, is like the predomination of one humour alone in the body, which indaungers the health of the whole, and eſpecially if it light vpon vnworthineſſe, or where is no deſert, and commonly Princes raiſe men rather for appetite then merit, for that in the one they ſhew the freedome of their power, in the other they may ſeeme but to pay their debt.

The deſcription of *Pierce Gaueſton*.

The miſerable eſtate of Minions.

But this violent part of the Lords ſhewed the nature of a rough time, and was the beginning of the ſecond Ciuill Warre of *England*. For now hauing had their deſire in this, and finding their owne power and the weakneſſe of the King, they peremptorily require the confirmation and execution of all thoſe Articles formerly granted; threatning the King that vnleſſe hee preſently performed the ſame, they would conſtraine him thereunto by ſtrong hand. Thus will Libertie neuer ceaſe till it grow licentious, and ſuch is the miſery of a State, where a King hath once loſt his reputation with his people, and where his Nature agrees not with his Office, or anſwers the duties thereunto belonging. And with this menacing meſſage they had their Swords likewiſe ready drawne, and with ſtrong forces aſſemble about *Dunſtable* making towards *London*, where the King then lay.

The peremptory proceedings of the Lords.

The great Prelates of the Kingdome, with the Earle of *Gloceſter* labours to appeaſe them, and (with two Cardinals, which at that time were ſent by the Pope to reforme theſe diſorders of the Kingdome) they repaire to Saint *Albons* and deſire conference with the Lords, who receiue them very peaceably, but the Letters which the Pope had written vnto them, they refuſe to receiue, ſaying, *They were men of the Sword, and cared not for reading of letters: that there were many worthy and learned men in the Kingdome whoſe Counſels they would vſe, and not ſtrangers, who knew not the cauſe of their commotion: abſolutely concluding, that they would not permit Forrainers and Aliens to intermeddle in their actions, or in any buſineſſe that concerned the Kingdome.* With which anſwer the Cardinals returne to *London*. But the Prelates of *England* ſo labour the buſineſſe as the Lords were content to yeeld vp to the King ſuch Horſes, Treaſure, and Iewels as they had taken of *Pierce Gaueſton* at *Newcaſtle*, ſo that the King would graunt their petitions. And thereupon *Iohn Sandall* Treaſurer of the Kingdome, and *Ingelard Warle* Keeper of the Wardrope, are ſent to Saint *Albons* to receiue thoſe things at their hands.

The Prelates and the Earle of *Gloceſter* labour to pacifie and bring in the Lords.

Their ſubmiſſion.

1313. *Anno Reg.* 5.

About this time Queene *Iſabel* is deliuered of a ſon at *Winſor* whom *Louys* her brother, and other great men and Ladies of *France*, would haue had chriſtened by the name of her father *Philip*, but the Nobility of *England* had him named *Edward*. And here

Queene *Iſabell* deliuered of a Sonne.

here the King keepes his Chriſtmas, feaſts the *French* with great Magnificence, and is ſayd (or rather ſuſpected) to be euill counſelled by them againſt his Nobles, betweene whom there being ſo ill correſpondence already, any imagination ſerues to make it worſe, *Suſpition* cauſing all things to be taken in ill part.

Suſpited.

A Parliament.

Shortly after, a Parliament is called at *London*, wherein the King complaines *of the great contempt was had of him by the Barons, their riſing in Armes, their taking and murthering* Pierce Gaueſton, &c. Whereunto with one accord they anſwer: *how they had not offended therein, but rather merited his loue and fauour, hauing taken armes not for any contempt of his Royall perſon, but to deſtroy the publike enemy of the Kingdome, baniſhed before by the conſent of two Kings: a man by whom his fame and honor was moſt highly diſparaged his ſubſtance, and that of the Kingdome waſted, and a moſt dangerous diſſention betweene him and his ſubiects raiſed. Wherof otherwiſe with all their labour and trauell they could neuer haue had an end.* Beſides they tell him plainely, *they would now no longer attend vaine promiſes, nor be deluded with delayes, as they had hitherto bin concerning their required Articles.* Which ſtout reſolution of theirs, the Queene with the Prelates, and the Earle of *Gloceſter* ſeeing, they ſeeke by all perſwaſions to quallifie their heate, and at length ſo far preuailed with them; as to appeaſe the Kings wrath they brought them and their confederates in open Parliament, to humble themſelues to the King, and to craue pardon for what they had done, which they obtained, and the King receiues them into grace, as his loyall ſubiects, grants them their Articles, and particular pardons by his Charter, for their indemnity concerning the death of *Gaueſton*. And for this, the State vpon his great wants granted him a Fifteenth. *Guy de Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwicke* is here appointed to be one the Kings Councell, who being a man much enuied by ſuch as poſſeſt the King, ſhortly after dies, not without ſuſpition of poyſon.

The Lords are pardoned.

A fifteenth graunted.

1314.

Anno Reg. 6.

Whilſt the State of *England* ſtood thus diſeaſed at home, through the infirmity of a weake Head, that of *Scotland* grew ſtrong by the prouidence of a vigilant King, who had not onely ouercome the *Scottiſh* faction, and recouered the moſt of his owne Countrey, but alſo made ſpoyles on this, waſting all *Northumberland* in ſuch ſort, as King *Edward* wakened with the out-cries of his people, and the great diſhonour of the Kingdome, is drawne to take armes for redreſſe thereof, and enters *Scotland* with the greateſt Armie that euer yet went thither, conſiſting as the *Scottiſh* Writers report of 100. thouſand men, whereof were great numbers of *Flemings*, *Gaſcoines*, *Welſh* and *Iriſh*, who in imagination had deuoured the Country before they came thither, and thought not of Battailes, but of deuiding the prey. Beſides the King had with him moſt of the Nobilitie, and eſpeciall men of *England*, except *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter*, the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Warren* and *Arundell*, who refuſed to goe, for the King protracted the execution of the foreſayd Articles.

King *Bruce* grows ſtrong in *Scotland*.

King *Edward* goes with a mighty Army into *Scotland*.

The Caſtle of *Sterling* is the peece that is to be releeued, which chiefly now held out, defended by *Philip Mowbray* a valiant Knight, who ſeeing the daily ſucceſſe of *Bruce*, had manned and victualed the ſame for many moneths. Neere to this place vpon the Riuer *Bannocke* is incountred this great Army of *England* of *Bruce*, with thirty thouſand *Scots*, a ſmall number ſay their Writers, in reſpect of their Enemies: but as men hardened with daily vſe of Warre and Domeſticall euils, fierce and reſolute, carrying all their hopes in their hands, of life, eſtate, and whatſoeuer was deere vnto them. The aduantage of the ground was theirs, hauing behind vnacceſſable Rockes to defend them, before a Mooriſh vncertaine ground wherein they digged trenches, which they pitched full of ſharpe ſtakes, and couered them ouer with hurdles, ſo that the footemen might paſſe ouer ſafely without impediment, but it ſo confounded the Horſe, as it gaue the *Scots* the day, and the greateſt ouerthrow to *England* that euer it receiued. There periſhed in this Battaile (called of *Bannocks Bronough*) *Gilbert* the laſt *Clare* Earle of *Gloceſter*, a maine Arch of the State of *England*, and *Robert* Lord *Clifford* the Nobleſt of our Barons, with the Lord *Tiptoft*, the Lord *Marſhall*, the Lord *Giles de Argenton*, the Lord *Edmond de Mauley*, and 700. Knights, Eſquires and Gentlemen of ſort: of common ſouldiers, theirs ſay fiftie thouſand, ours ten: taken priſoners

The battell of *Bannocks Borough*.

The deſeit of the *Engliſh*.

ſonnes *Humphrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, *Ralph de Mortheimore* (who married *Ioan de Acres*, Counteſſe Dowager of *Gloceſter*) with many others: the King and thoſe who were preſerued eſcaped by flight.

This defeit put *Scotland* both into Armes and Wealth, ſo that they held their owne the better for a long time after, and diſcouraged ſo much this Kingdome for many yeares, as it wrought not (though it often attempted) any great reuenge. King *Edward* vpon his comming backe to *Yorke*, ſhewed a great deſire to repayre this diſhonour, but nothing was done; his people grew colde, home they returne, and ſit downe by their loſſe. The poore Borderers haue the worſt of it, and become ſo deiected as 100. of them would flye from three *Scots* ſayth *Walſingham*. To ſuch a ſuddain faintnes are the inferiours brought, when the nobler parts of a State, which ſhould giue them ſpirit, are ill affected.

This diſaſter (as miſchiefe neuer comes alone) was attended with inundations, which brought forth Dearth, Dearth Famine, Famine Peſtilence, all which exceeded any that euer before had beene knowne. A Parliament is called at *London* vpon the beginning of this Dearth to abate the prices of Victuals, which ſuddainely grew to be exceſſiue. And therefore it was ordained, that an Oxe fatted with graſſe ſhould be ſold for ſixteene ſhillings, fatted with Corne for twenty ſhillings; the beſt Cow for twelue ſhillings, a fat Hogge of two yeares old three ſhillings foure pence, a fat Sheepe ſhorne, foureteene pence, with the fleece twenty pence, a fat Gooſe for two pence halfe penny, a fat Capon two pence, a fat Hen a peny, foure Pygeons a penny, whoſoeuer ſold aboue ſhould forfeit their ware to the King. Heere ſeemes then to haue beene no Calues, Lambes, Goſlings, Chickings, young Pigges, to bee ſold, thoſe daynties were not yet in vſe.

A Parliament at *London*. 1315. *Anno Reg.* 8.

Rates for Victuals.

After theſe rates impoſed, all kinde of Victuals grew more ſcarce then before, and ſuch a Murren followed of all kinde of Cattell, with a generall falling of all fruites of the earth, by the exceſſiue raynes and vnſeaſonable Weather, as prouiſion could not be had for the Kings houſe, nor meanes for other great men to maintayne their Tables (ſuch a iuſt puniſhment had exceſſe and ryot inflicted theron in thoſe dayes) in ſo much as men put away their ſeruants in great numbers, who hauing beene daintily bred, and now not able to worke, ſcorning to beg, fell to robbery and ſpoyle, which addes more miſery to the Kingdome. Three yeares this affliction held, and was attended with ſo great a Peſtilence and generall ſickneſſe of the common ſort, cauſed by the ill nutriment they receyued, as the liuing ſcarce ſufficed to bury the dead.

A Death which laſted 3. yeares. 1317. *Anno Reg.* 10.

Notwithſtanding could all this extinguiſh the rancour betweene the King and his Nobles, but daily one miſchiefe or other brake out, to holde in and increaſe the ſame. The wife of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaſter* is taken out of his houſe at *Canford* in *Dorſetſhire*, by one *Richard* Saint-*Martin*, a deformed Dwarffe (as hee is deſcribed) a follower of the Earle *Warren*: Clayming her for his VVife, and auowing how he had layne with her before ſhee was married to the Earle; which the Lady her ſelfe to her perpetuall ignomy, and the ſhame of honour, voluntarily confeſſed. This baſe creature claymes by her the Earledomes of *Lincolne* and *Salisbury*; whereunto ſhee was Heire: Which with out being ſupported by great Abbettors, hee would neuer haue preſumed to attempt. The King is noted an Actor herein, which beeing in ſo tender and reſerued a buſineſſe as marriage, added much to his other violations of order, and gaue occaſion and hardineſſe to inferiour perſons to reproue his courſes as may bee noted by this paſſage. Being at the Celebration of the feaſt of *Pentecoſt* at dinner in the open Hall at *Weſtminſter*, a woman fantaſtically diſguiſed enters on Horſe-backe, and ryding about the Table deliuers him a Letter, wherein was ſignified the great neglect he had of ſuch as had done him, and his Father noble ſeruices, taxing him for cheriſhing men of vnworthy parts, &c. which Letter read, and the woman departed, put the King into a great rage. They who guarded the doore beeing ſharply reprehended for ſuffering her to enter in that manner, excuſed themſelues, alleadging, it not to bee the faſhion of the Kings Houſe in times of Feſtiuals, to keepe out any which came in that manner, as they thought to make ſport. Search beeing made for this VVoman, ſhee is found

The Wife of the Earle of *Lancaſter* taken out of his houſe at *Canford*.

The king admoniſhed of his errors.

ſound and examined who ſet her on. Shee confeſſed a Knight gaue her money to doe as ſhee did. The Knight is found, and vpon examination boldly confeſſed, he did it for the Kings honor and to none other end, and eſcapes without further ado.

The miſerable affliction of the Bordeters.

Thus while the North parts were not onely infeſted with the *Scots*, but likewiſe by ſuch of the Engliſh as vnder colour of vſing ayde for reſiſtance robbed and ſpoyled all where they came, to the miſerable vndoing of the people. Beſides *Robert Bruce* now abſolute King of *Scots*, ſends his brother *Edward* with a mighty power into *Ireland*, whereof he got a great part, and the Title of a King, which he held three yeares. Thus all things went ill, as euermore it doth in diſſolute and diſſentious times wherein the publike is alway neglected.

A reconciliation betweene the King and the Nobles. A new occaſion of trouble.

But theſe miſchiefes abroad was the occaſion that a reconciliation betweene the King and the Earle of *Lancaſter*, is made by the mediation of two Cardinalls vppon ſuch conditions as were ſoone after vniuſtly broken by the King. A Knight is taken paſſing by *Pomfret* with Letters ſealed with the Kings Seale, directed to the King of *Scots* about murthering the Earle, which Meſſenger is executed, his head ſet vppon the top of the Caſtle, and the Letters reſerued to witneſſe the intended plot. Which whether it were fayned or not, the report thereof caſt an aſperſion vppon the King, and wonne many to take part with the Earle. After this, vppon an inuaſion of the *Scots* forraging as farre as *Yorke*, a Parliament is aſſembled at *London*, wherein againe the King by the working of the Cardinall, and Clergy of *England* yeeldes, faithfully to obſerue all the former required Articles. Whereuppon an ayde is granted him of Armed men to goe againſt the *Scots*. *London* ſets foorth 200. *Canterbury* 40. Saint *Albons* 10. and ſo of all Cities and Boroughes according to their proportion, where by a great Army was leauied. VVhich comming to *Yorke*; throught mutinity, emulation, and other impediments was diſſolued, and turned backe without effecting any thing.

1318. *Anno* Reg. 11. A Parliament at *London*.

The next yeare after vppon the rendring vp of *Berwicke* to the *Scots* by the Treaſon of *Peter Spalding* who had the cuſtody thereof; the King of *England* rayſes an Army and beleagers it: the *Scots* to diuert his forces, enters vpon *England* by other waies, and were like to haue ſurpriſed the Perſon of the Queene, lying neere *Yorke*. The ſiege not withſtanding is eagerly continued, and the King in great poſſibility to haue regayned the Towne, had not the Earle of *Lancaſter* with Followers with-drawne himſelfe vppon diſcontent, hearing the King ſay, how hee would giue the keeping thereof to the Lord *Hugh Spenſer* the yonger, who was now growne an eſpeciall Minion (the ſucceſſor both of the Office, and priuate fauour of *Gaueſton*) and therefore not to indured by the Earle.

1319. *Anno* Reg. 12. The lord *Hugh Spencer* the yonger ſucceeded *Gaueſton* in the Office of Lord Chamberlayne.

Thoſe of *Yorke* and the Countrey adjacent, hauing receyued ineſtimable damages by the *Scots*, collect an Army of 10000. men, and incounter them at *Milton* on *Swayle*; but beeing not well led, nor experienced, they receyued the defeite, with the loſſe of 3000. men. Whereof the King being certified and ſeeing all things to ſucceede ill with him, concludes a Truce with the *Scots* for two yeare, and agayne returnes with diſhonour from thoſe parts. In the time of this peace, a great flame ariſes from a ſmall ſparke, and tooke beginning vpon this occaſion. A Baron named *William Brewes*, hauing in his lycentious age, waſted his eſtate, offers to ſell vnto diuerſe men a part of his inheritance called *Powes*. *Humphrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, in regard the Land lay neere his, obtaynes leaue of the King to buy it, and bargaines for the ſame. The two *Roger Mortimers*, Vncle and Nephew, great men likewiſe in thoſe parts, not vnderſtanding it ſeemes any thing of the former bargaine, contract alſo for the ſame land, with the ſayd Sir *William Brewes*. *Hugh Spencer* the yonger hearing of this ſale, and the Land adjoyning to part of his, obtaynes a more eſpeciall leaue of the King, being now his Chamberlayne, and buyes it out of all their hands.

1321. *Anno* Reg. 14. Another occaſion of reuolt.

The Earle of *Hereford* complaynes himſelfe to the Earle of *Lancaſter* (the refuge of all diſcontented men) who at *Sherborne* enters into a Confederation with diuers Barons there Aſſembled, taking their Oathes intermutually to liue and dye together, in maintayning the right of the Kingdome, and to procure the Baniſhment of the

two

two *Spencers* Father, and ſonne, whom they now held to be the great ſeducers of the King and oppreſſours of the State, diſpoſing of all things in Court at their Will, and ſuffering nothing to bee obtayned but by their meanes: Which the State accounted a miſchiefe moſt intollerable and grieuous vnto them, ſeeing all graces and diſpatches were to paſſe out but at one doore, whereby the Kings benignity and power is diminiſhed, the Kingdome diſhonoured, all corruptions introduced to the ouer-throw of Iuſtice and good order.

The Lords oppoſe the *Spencers*.

And take armes

And vnder this pretence they take Armes, wherein themſelues proceede not in that euen way of right as they made ſhewe, but follow the fury of their willes, beeing once out and aſtray, they ſeize vppon, and make ſpoyle of the Lands and goods of thoſe perſons they proſecuted, and all ſuch as had friendſhip and affinity with them, killing their ſeruants and diſpoſing their Caſtles at their pleaſure. And comming armed thus to St. *Albons* they ſend to their King, reſiding then at *London*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Salisbury*, *Hereford* and *Chicheſter* (who were there aſſembled to conſult for peace) *requiring him as he tendred the quiet of the Realme to rid his Court of thoſe Traytors the* Spencers, *condemned in many Articles of high Treaſon, by the Communalty of the land, and withall to grant his Letters Patents of Pardon and Indemnity both to them, and all ſuch as tooke part with them, and that for no offences paſt or preſent they ſhould hereafter be puniſhed.* The King returnes anſwere, *That* Hugh Spencer *the Father was beyond the Seas imployed in his buſineſſe, and the ſonne was guarding the Cinq-Portes according to his Office, and that it was againſt Law and Cuſtome, they ſhould be baniſhed without being heard. Moreouer that their requeſt was voyd of Iuſtice and Reaſon, for that the ſaid* Spencers *were euer readie to anſwer to all complaints made againſt them, according to the forme of Law, and if the L L. could proue they had offended the Statutes of the Realme, they were willing to ſubmit themſelues to the triall thereof. And beſides ſwore he would neuer violate the oath made at his Coronation, by granting letters of Pardons to ſuch notorious offenders who contemned his perſon, diſturbed the kingdom, and violated the Royal Maieſty.* Which anſwer ſo exaſperated the Lords as preſently they approach to *London*, and lodged in the Subvrbes, till they obtayned leaue of the King to enter into the City: VVhere they peremptorily vrge their demands, which at length by mediation of the Queene, and the Chiefe Prelates, the King is wrought to condiſcend vnto, and by his Edict publiſhed in *Weſtminſter* Hall, by the Earle of *Hereford*, are the *Spencers* baniſhed the Kingdome. *Hugh* the Father keepes beyond the Seas, but the ſonne ſecretly hides himſelfe in *England* expecting the turne of a better ſeaſon. The Lords (having thus obtayned their deſire with the Kings Letters of impunity) depart home, but yet not with ſuch ſecurity, as they gaue ouer the prouiſion for their owne defence.

The King excuſes the *Spencers*. Denies the Lords their demaunds.

The Lords come armed to *London*.

the king yeelds vnto them.

The Earle of *Hereford* publiſhes the Kings Edict in *Weſtminſter* Hall.

Shortly after, there fell out an vnexpected accident that ſuddainely wrought their confuſion. The Queene who had euer beene the Nurſe of peace, and laboured to accord the King and his Barons, making her Progreſſe towards *Canterbury*, was diſpoſed to lodge in the Caſtle of *Leedes*, appertayning to the Lord *Badleſmere* (who had beene long the Kings Steward, but lately tooke part with the Barons) and ſending her Marſhall to make ready for her and her trayne, they who kept the Caſtle told him playnely, that neyther the Queene, or any elſe ſhould enter there, without Letters from their Lord. The Queene her ſelfe goes to the Caſtle, and receynes the like anſwere, whereupon ſhe is driuen to take ſuch lodging other where as could be prouided. Of which indignity ſhe complaynes to the King, who tooke it ſo to heart, as preſently with a power of armed men out of *London*, hee layes ſiege to the Caſtle, takes it, hangs the keeper, *Thomas Culpeper*, ſends the Wife and Children of the Lord *Badleſmere* to the Tower, and ſeiſes vppon all his goods and Treaſure. And hauing this power about him, and warmed with ſucceſſe and the inſtigation of the Queene, ſuddainly directs his courſe to *Chicheſter* where hee kept his Chriſtmas, and there prouides for an Army agaynſt the Barons, whereof many (ſeeing the Kings power encreaſing) left their aſſociates and yeeld themſelues to his mercy, amongſt whom were the two *Roger Mortimers*, men of great might and meanes, the Lord *Hugh Audeley*, the Lord *Maurice Barkley*, and others, who notwithſtanding, contrary to their expectation, were ſent to

The occaſion of the Queens diſpleaſure with the lords. She is denyed lodging in the Caſtle of *Leeds*.

The King takes the Caſtle of *Leeds*. Growes ſtrong.

diuers

diuers Prisons. The Earles of *Lancaster* and *Hereford* seeing this suddain change withdrew themselues and their Companies from about *Gloucester* towards the North parts. The King followes them with his Army wherein were the Earles of *Athol* and *Angus*, and at *Burton* vppon *Trent*, where they had made head, discomfited their Forces and put them all to flight. Wherupon seeking to escape they retire further North, and at *Burrough Brigs* are encountred by Sir *Simon Ward* Shriefe of *Yorke*, and Sir *Andrew Harckley* Constable of *Carleil*, who (after the Earle of *Hereford* was slayne in striuing to passe the Bridge) tooke the Earle of *Lancaster*, with diuerse other Lords, and brought them to *Pomfret*, where the third day after, the King sitting himselfe in iudgement with *Edmond* Earle of *Kent* his brother, the Earle of *Pembrook*, the Earle *Warren*, *Hugh Spencer* lately created Earle of *Winchester* and others, sentence of death is giuen against *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, by drawing, hanging and beheading as a Traytor. The two first punishments are pardoned in regard he was of the Royall blood, and only beheaded he was the same day without the Towne of *Pomfret* before his owne Castle. And by the like iudgement were Condemned, the Lord *Roger Clifford*, the Lord *Warrein Lysle*, the Lord *William Tuchet*, *Thomas Mandit*, *Henry Bradburne*, *William Fitz-Williams*, *William* Lord *Cheyny*, *Thomas* Lord *Mowbray*, *Ioseline* Lord *Daynll*, all which were executed at *Yorke*. Shortly after the Lord *Henry Teyes* is taken drawne, hanged and quartered at *London*, the Lord *Aldenham* at *Windsor*, the Lords *Badlesmere* and *Ashburnham* at *Canterbury*, the Lord *Gifford* at *Gloucester*; principall men in principall places, to spread the more terrour ouer the Kingdome. All their estates and inheritances are Confiscated, and many new men aduanced by the same. And this is the first blood of Nobility, that euer was shed in this manner in *England*, since *William* the first, which beeing such, and so much as it was, opened veynes for more to follow, and procured a most hideous reuenge, which shortly after insued. This is the beame of power turned and Regality (now in the heauier scale) weighes downe all.

The Lords withdraw into the north parts and are ouerthrowne.

The execution of the Earle of *Lancaster*, with diuers other Lords in diuers places.

The first of any Earle or Baron of *England* that euer was executed vppon Scaffold, or otherwise, since the time of *William* the first.

And presently vpon this Master-worke, the King both to busie the mindes of his people, and to keepe their hands doing whileſt the terrour thereof lasted, marches from *Yorke* with a mightie hoast (but small prouisions) into *Scotland*. Where, the *Scots* conuaying themselues and all succours out of his way, put that want vpon him, as confounded his great Army without blowes, forcing him to returne with much dishonour. And hauing passed farre within his owne Countrey, they assayled him at vnawares, and had like to haue taken his Person, as well as they did his Treasure with the Earle of *Richmond* (with whom hauing miserably ransackt all the Countrey ouer, euen to the Walles of *Yorke*, they returne loaden with mighty spoyles safe into *Scotland*; and this was the successe of this Vnfortunate King (not borne for Tryumphes) in his third Scottish expedition.

The Kings ill successe in *Scotland*.

1323. *Anno Reg.* 16.

And now being at leisure, in a calmer humour it seemes, hee began to haue a sense of the Execution of the Earle of *Lancaster*, which hee discouers vppon this occasion. Some about him making earnest suite to grant a pardon to one of the Earles Followers (a man of meane estate) and pressing him hard thereunto, hee falles into a great passion, exclayming agaynst them as vniust and wicked Councellors, which would vrge him so to saue the life of a most notorious Varlet, and would not speake one word for his neere kinsman the Earle of *Lancaster*: Who sayd he, had he liued might haue beene vsefull to mee and the whole Kingdome; but this fellow, the longer hee liues the more mischiefe hee will commit, and therefore by the Soule of God, hee shall dye the death hee hath deserued. Sir *Andrew Harckley* who was the man which tooke Prisoner the Earle of *Lancaster* at *Burrough Brigges*, beeing aduanced for his seruice to the Earledome of *Carlisl*, enioyed his honour but a while: For the next yeare after, eyther thrust out into discontent, by the *Spencers* enuying his high preferment, or combyning with the *Scots*, allured with the hope of a great Match (as hee was accused) is degraded of all his honours, drawne, hanged and quartered at *London* for Treason, and (remaynes amongst the examples of suddaine downe fals from high places, vnder an inconstant and ill gouerning Prince.

The Earle of *Carleil* degraded and executed.

Occasion

1324. *Anno Reg.* 17.

Occaſion drewe on a Parliament to conſult, amongſt other important buſineſſes concerning the Sommons lately ſent to King *Edward*, from the new King of *France Charles le Bell* (who ſucceeded his brother *Phillip de Long*) to come and doe his Homage for *Gaſcoigne*, and it was by the common conſent of all decreed that the King ſhould not go in perſon at that time, but ſend ſome ſpeciall men to excuſe or deferre his apparance.

A Parliament.

Beſides in this Parliament, the King required a Subſedie both of the Cleargie and Laiety, for the redemption of *Iohn Brittaine* Earle of *Richmond*, lately taken priſoner by the *Scots*. *But it was denied and alledged that no contribution ought of right to be made but for the redemption of the King, the Queene or Prince*, and ſo nothing was there gotten but more diſpleaſure. The Biſhop of *Hereford* was arreſted, and accuſed of high Treaſon before the King and his Councell for ayding the Kings enemies in their late rebellion, but he refuſed to anſwere (being a conſecrated Biſhop) without leaue of the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, whoſe Suffagan hee was (and who he ſayde was his direct Iudge next the Pope) or without the conſent of the reſt of his fellowe Biſhops, who then all aroſe and humbly craued the Kinges Clemencie in his behalfe; but finding him implacable, they tooke away their fellow Biſhop from the Barre, and deliuered him to the cuſtodie of the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, till ſome other time the King ſhould appoint for his anſwer to what he was charged withall. Shortly after hee was againe taken and conuented as before, which the Cleargie vnderſtanding, the Arch-biſhops, *Canterbury*, *Yorke*, and *Dublin*, with ten other Biſhops, all which with their Croſſes erected went to the place of Iudgement, and againe tooke him away with them, charging all men vpon paine of Excommunication to forbeare to laye violent hands on him, with which audacious act, the King was much diſpleaſed, and preſently commanded inquiry to be made *ex officio Iudicis*, concerning thoſe obiections againſt the Biſhop, wherein he was found guilty, though abſent, and had all his goods and poſſeſſions ſeiſed into the Kings hands.

The king is denied a Subdie.

The Biſhop of *Hereford* accuſed of treaſon.

He refuſed to anſwer.

The Biſhop taken from the barre.

This act loſt him the Clergy, and added power to the diſcontented party, which was now growne to be all in generall, except the *Spencers* and their followers, who inriched with the ſpoyles of the Barons, gouerned all at their pleaſure, ſelling the Kings fauours, and ſhutting him vp from any others, but where they pleaſed to ſhew him: and in this violence which knowes no bounds, they preſume to abridge the Queene of her maintenance, and leſſened her houſhold traine, which was the rocke whereon they periſhed.

The Biſhop being abſent is condemned *ex Officio*.

The preſumption of the *Spencers*.

The proceeding of the King of *France* againſt the King of *England* for the omiſſion of his Homage, was grown ſo farre, as that all his territories there, were adiudged to be forfeited, and many places of importance ſeiſed on by the *French*, whereupon *Edmond* Earle of *Kent* the Kings brother is ſent into *Gaſconie* but to little effect, the King of *France* was before hand, his power ready and his people in thoſe parts yeelding that way where they ſaw moſt force. So that, either the King of *England* muſt go in perſon to appeaſe this trouble, or ſend his Queene to her brother to mediate an accord, otherwiſe all was there in danger to be loſt. For the Kings going in perſon, the *Spencers* held it vnſafe both for him, and them, if he ſhould leaue his Kingdome at home in ſo great, and generall diſcontents as then it was. Wherefore the Queene with a ſmall traine is ſent ouer to accomodate the buſineſſe, which ſhe negotiates ſo well, as all quarrels ſhould bee ended vpon condition the King of *England* would giue to his ſonne *Edward* the Duchie of *Aquitaine* with the Earledome of *Pontbieu*, and ſend him ouer to do him Homage for the ſame, which after many conſultations the King is wrought to yeeld vnto.

The Earle of *Kent* ſent into *Gaſcoine*.

The Queene is ſent to accomodate the buſines of *France*.

The Prince is ſent with the Biſhop of *Exeter* and others, to the Court of the King of *France*, where he was moſt welcome to his Mother, who herein had her deſire, and beeing wholly bent to reuenge (whereof none are ſayd to bee more eager then Women) found there, beſides her great party in *England*, thoſe who nouriſhed that humour in her amongſt whom was chiefe *Roger Mortimer* Lord of *Wigmor*, lately eſcaped out of the Tower of *London*, a gallant young Gentleman whom ſhe eſpecially

The Prince is ſent to do his Homage for the Duchy of *Aquitaine*.

The Biſhop of *Exceter* diſcouers the Qu. plots.

fauoured. The Biſhop of *Exceter* perceiuing ſome plots to be in hand, and their cloſe conſultations made without him, withdrawes ſecretly from thence, and diſcouers to the King ſo much as he obſerued of their courſes. The King ſends preſently for the Queene and Prince, ſoliciting withall, the King of *Eraunce* to haſten their returne, which when he ſaw was neglected and delayed, he cauſed them openly to be proclaimed enemies to the Kingdome, baniſhed them and all their adherents out of the Land: and withall cauſes all the Ports to be ſtrongly kept, and ſends three Admirals to attend on ſeuerall Coaſts to oppoſe their landing.

The Queene proclaimed enemy to the Kingdome.

The Queene returnes with forces.

The Queene to inflame her the more is informed of a plot layd to murther her, and the Prince: and either doubting how much the money of *England* might worke in thoſe ſhould be tempted therewith, or elſe finding little forwardneſſe in her brother to ayde or countenance her courſe againſt her husband, withdrawes to the Earle of *Haynault* beeing then a Prince of great meanes, and likewiſe the Earle of *Holland*, to whoſe daughter *Phillippa* ſhe contracts her ſonne the Prince, and gets ayde and mony of him to tranſport her into *England*. Arriuing at *Harwich* with the Prince, the Earle of *Kent* the Kings brother (whom ſhe brought with her from the Court of *France*) the Earle of *Pembrooke*, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and *Iohn* brother to the Earle of *Heynault* with 2500. *Henowayes* and *Flemings*, ſhe was receiued with great ioy and concourſe of all the diſcontented Nobility and others: and eſpecially by the Biſhop of *Hereford* and *Lincolne*, who ſoone reſorted vnto her, as men who had loſt, to recouer their fortunes.

1326. *Anno* Reg. 19.

The King demands ayde of the City of *London*.

The King, vpon notice of this ſudden and ſafe arriuall of the Queene, demands ayde of the City of *London*, which returnes anſwer, *That they would with all duty honour the King, Queene and Prince, but their gates they would ſhut againſt all forreiners and traytors to the Realme, and with all their power withſtand them.* The King with his ſmall Councell about him, repoſing no aſſurance in this aunſwere (after Proclamation made that none, vpon paine of death, ſhould ayde the Queene, and commandement giuen to deſtroy all her adherents, onely her owne Perſon, the Prince, and his brother the Earle of *Kent* excepted, and that whoſoeuer brought the head of *Roger Mortimer* ſhould haue 1000. pounds) he leaues the City, committing the keeping of the Tower to Sir *Iohn Wenſton* with the gard of his yonger ſon *Iohn* of *Eltham*, and his Neece the Counteſſe of *Gloceſter* (firſt wife to *Pierce Gaueſton*, now of *Hugh Spencer* the yonger: a Lady vnfortunate by the ouer great fortunes of both her husbands) and departs towards the Weſt, hoping to find ayde in thoſe parts as formerly he had done againſt the Barons, but he ſaw the world was altered, and no man there to regard him.

The King departs towards the Weſt.

The Queene aduertiſed of his courſe marched after him (growing dayly greater as ſhe marched) and comes to *Oxford*, where the Biſhop of *Hereford* preached before her and the whole aſſembly, and deliuers the cauſe of her proceeding, taking for his Text, *My head aketh, My head aketh*: and concludes moſt vndiuinely, that an aking and ſicke head of a Kingdome, was of neceſſity to be taken off, and not otherwiſe to be cured. A moſt execrable Doctrine, and repugnant to the ſacred Word, which in all corrupted times is euermore produced to abuſe mens *Credulity* and iuſtifie *Impiety* in whatſoeuer *Ambition* or *Malice* ſhall attempt: a ſinne beyond all other that can bee committed vpon earth. And the more to countenance the Queenes proceeding, it was noyſed two Cardinals were ſeene in her Campe, ſent by the Pope to Excommunicate ſuch as tooke Armes againſt her, and the cauſe of hers to be for the deliuering the Kingdome from the miſleaders of the King, the *Spencers*, the Lord Chancellour, and their adherents, all others to be ſafe. And here Proclamation is made, *That nothing ſhould be taken from any ſubiect without paying ready money*, and a penalty impoſed on whomſoeuer did the contrary, as for the value of three pence to looſe a finger, ſix pence the hand, twelue pence the head, and that whoſoeuer brought to the Queene the yonger *Spencers* head ſhould haue 2000. pounds. Thus is a bad cauſe defended with ſhew of Iuſtice, and an vnnaturall preſumption made to ſeeme right by power and Authority: An impotent Woman led with paſſiſſion, and abuſed by wicked Councell is brought to make head againſt her owne head, to conduct an innocent ſonne againſt the

The Queenes Proclamation.

2. Kings 24.

the Father; to vndertake an action ſhe knew not how to manage, and to put her ſelfe into their hands, who (hauing other ends then hers, would worke beyond, though vnder her authority, what pleaſed themſelues.) And though the euent (as commonly it doth in ſuch attempts) prooue worſe then the intention of the vndertaker; yet howſoeuer, the infamy of all what was acted lyes foule and open vppon her Memory, and no Apology extant any way to couer it, and therefore we muſt leaue the ſame as wee finde it. And better had it beene for the honour of the ſtate of *England* to haue beene without her great Dowry, then to haue had her example, the worſt of a Queene it euer yet had. The miſerable King hauing his reputation (the maine ſupport of Maieſty) blowne vp with the hurle-winde of his purſuers, found few or no hands to aide him: So that, after he had put *Hugh Spencer* the Father into the Cattle of *Briſtol*, with what defence could be prouided for the guarding thereof; he leaues to truſt the Land, and commits himſelfe to a more vnfaithfull element, the Sea, with purpoſe eyther to hide himſelfe a while in the Iſle of *Lundy*, or to paſſe ouer into *Ireland*; but toſt too and fro with contrary Winds (after Sir *Thomas Blunt* his Steward with others were ſhrunk from him) he lands in *Wales* in *Glamorgan* ſhire; where, though he found not ſafety, he found loue and was hidden in the Abbey of *Neth*.

The King betakes him to the Sea.

The Queene with her Army from *Oxford* goes to *Gloceſter*, where the Lords *Percy* and *Wake*, with ayde from the North, met her; and thence to *Briſtoll*: aſſayles and wins the Caſtle: puts to death the defender *Hugh Spencer* Earle of *Wincheſter*, without forme or triall of Law: cauſing him to be drawne and hanged on the common Gallowes in his Coate armour, cut vp before hee was dead, headed and quartered. This done, ſhe paſſes to *Hereford*, and the King beeing not to be found, Proclamation is made, that if hee would returne and conforme himſelfe to rule the State as hee ought to doe, hee ſhould come and receyue the gouernement thereof, by the generall conſent of his people. But hee, eyther not daring (as deſtitute both of courage and counſell) to truſt to this offer, or not well informed thereof, keepes himſelfe ſtill concealed. Whereuppon (as may ſeeme was intended) aduantage is taken to diſpoſe of the gouernement, and the Prince who is now vnder their guard, is made Guardian of the Kingdome, hath Fealty ſworne vnto him, and a new Chaucellor and Treaſurer are appoynted.

Hugh Spencer the Father hanged at *Briſtol*.

Long it was not ere the King came to be diſcouered as a Perſon too great for any couer, and was by *Henry* Earle of *Lancaſter*, brother to the late *Thomas*, *William* Lord *Zouch*, and *Rice ap Howell* taken and conueyed to the Caſtle of *Kenelworth*. The yonger *Spencer* with *Baldocke* the Chancellour, and *Simon Reading* apprehended with him, are ſent to the Queene to *Hereford*, *Spencer* (who was now Earle of *Gloceſter*) is drawne and hanged on a Gallowes fifty foote high (wherein hee was exalted aboue his Father, otherwiſe had the like execution) and likewiſe in his Coate armor, whereon was written, *Quid gloriaris in malitia. Pſal.* 52. *Simon Reading* was hanged ten foot lower then he: But *Baldocke* in regard he was a Prieſt, had the fauour to be pined to death in *Newgate*. And here likewiſe a little before was the Earle of *Arundel*, with two Barons, *Iohn Daryll*, and *Thomas Micheldeuer* executed as Traytors by the procurement of *Roger Mortimer*, for adhering to the Kings part.

The king taken Priſoner.

To accompany theſe miſchiefes of the Country, the Commons of *London* made inſurrection, and force their Maior, who held for the King to take their part, let out all priſons, poſſeſſes them of the Tower, put to death the Conſtable therof, Sir *Iohn Weſton*, murther the Biſhop of *Exeter*, to whom they bare an eſpeciall hatred, for that beeing the Kings Treaſurer, hee cauſed the Iuſtices Itenerants to ſit in *London*, by whom they were grieuouſly fined, and thus all is let out to liberty and confuſion.

A Parliament at *London* where the Prince is elected King.

After a moneths ſtay at *Hereford*, the Queene with her ſonne returning kept Chriſtmas at *Wallingford*, their Candlemaſſe as *London*, where the Parliament beeing aſſembled agreed to depoſe the King, as vnfit to gouerne (obiecting many Articles againſt him) and to elect his eldeſt ſonne *Edward*: Which they did in the great Hall at *Weſtminſter*, with the Vniuerſall conſent of the people there preſent, and the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* makes a Sermon vpon this Text, *Vox populi, Vox Dei*, exhorting the people to inuoke the King of Kings for him they had there choſen.

1327. *Anno Reg.* 20

The Queene, eyther out of the conſideration of the difference of a husband and a ſonne, whom now ſhee was not like long to guide) or through remorſe of conſcience, looking backe vpon what ſhee had done, takes this election grieuouſly to heart, inſomuch as her ſonne to re-comfort her, ſwore hee would neuer accept of the Crowne without the conſent of his Father, whereuppon by a common decree, three Biſhops, two Earles, two Abbots, foure Barons, three Knights of euery Shiere, with a certayne number of Burgeſſes of euery Citty and Borough, and eſpecially of the Cinque-Ports, are ſent to the impriſoned King at *Kenelworth*, to declare vnto him election of his ſonne, and to require the renuntiation of his Crowne and Royall dignity, whereunto if hee would not conſent, the State was reſolued to proceede as it thought good. The King beeing firſt priuately made acquainted with the Meſſage (the moſt harſh to Nature that could bee imparted) and by two, whom hee eſpecially hated (for hauing eſpecially offended them, the Biſhops of *Hereford* and *Lincolne* was brought foorth before the Aſſembly; to whom as ſoone as his paſſion (wherewith hee was ouer-charged, would giue him leaue) he confeſſed, *How he had beene miſ-guided (the common excuſe of a poore ſpirit) and done many things whereof now hee repented, which if he were to gouerne againe, hee would become a new man, and was moſt ſorrowfull to haue ſo much offended the State, as it ſhould thus vtterly reiect him*; but yet gaue them thankes that they were ſo gracious vnto him, as to elect his eldeſt ſonne for King, Hauing ſpoken to this purpoſe, they proceede to the Ceremony of his reſignation (which chiefly conſiſted in the ſurrender of his Crowne) for the forme whereof, beeing the firſt that euer was ſeene in *England*, they could follow no precedent but muſt make one, and *William Truſſell* a Iudge put it into the Stile of Lawe to render it the more authenticall, and pronounced the ſame in this manner. *I* William Truſſell *in the name of all men of the Land of* England, *and of all the Parliament Procurator, reſigne to thee* Edward *the Homage that was made to thee ſometime, and from this time forwards now following, I defie thee and prize thee of all my royall power, and I ſhall neuer be tendant on thee as King after this time.* This was the laſt act and the firſt example of a depoſed King, no leſſe diſhonorable to the State then to him. He was a Prince more weake then euill, and thoſe exorbitances of his met with as great or greater in his people, who as we ſee, dealt ouer roughly and vnciuilly with him. He is reported by ſome to haue beene learned (which perhaps might make him the ſofter) to haue written Verſes when he was in Priſon: to haue Founded *Oriall Colledge*, and St, *Mary Hall in* Oxford.

The King is brought to reſigne his Crowne.

The forme of his reſignation.

He had by his Wife *Iſabell* two ſonnes, *Edward* borne at *Winſor*, who ſucceeded him and *Iohn* ſurnamed of *Eltham*, who was created Earle of *Cornwall*, *An.* 1315. and dyed in the flower of his youth in *Scotland*. And alſo two Daughters, *Ioan*, married to *Dauid* Prince of *Scotland*, and *Elianor* to the Duke of *Gelders*.

His Iſſue.

The end of the Life, and Reigne of Edward *the ſecond.*

The Life, and Reigne, of Edward *the third.*

1327. *Anno Reg.* 1.

VPon the reſignation of *Edward* the ſecond: *Edward* his ſonne of the age of foureteene yeares, beganne his Raigne the twentieth of *Ianuary* 1327. and ſends forth Proclamations of his Peace into all Shieres, in this Forme. Edward *by the Grace of God, King of* England, *Lord of* Ireland, *Duke of* Aquitayne, *to N. N. our Shriefe of S. greeting. Whereas the Lord* Edward, *late King of* England *our Father, by the Common Councell and aſſent of the Prelates, Earles, Barons, and other Chiefe men, with the whole Communalty of this Realme, did Voluntarily amoue himſelfe from the Gouernement thereof, willing and granting that We as his eldeſt ſon and Heire, ſhould aſſume the ſame, &c.* Which Proclamation made to palliat a wrong did, but the more diſcouers it. Within fiue dayes after he was crowned at *Weſtminſter* by *Walter* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: At which ſolemnity the Queene made ſhew of great ſorrow and heauineſſe

nesse, but beeing after pacified by the inlargement of her Ioynture (which tooke vp three parts of the Kings reuenewes) she beganne to be of better cheere. Twelue especiall men are here appointed to mannage the affaires of the Kingdome, till the King were of fis yeares to gouerne of himselfe: The Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *Yorke*, the Bishops of *Winchester*, *Hereford*, and *Worcester*, *Thomas Brotherton* Earle Marshall, *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*, *Iohn* Earle *Warren*, *Thomas* Lord *Wake*, *Henry* Lord *Piercy*, *Oliuer* Lord *Ingham*, and *Iohn* Lord *Rose*; but the Queene and *Roger* Lord *Mortimer* vsurped this charge, and tooke all wholly to themselues. And to busie the present and vphold this *Change*, and expedition instantly is vndertaken for *Scotland*, wherein (those strangers still retained which the Queene brought ouer with her) are imployed vnder the conduct of the Lord *Iohn Beaumont* brother to the Earle of *Hayenult*, and at *Yorke* the whole Army were to meete, where the *English* (being not all of a party) quarrell with those strangers, and so great a conflict arose betweene them as cost some blood and was hardly appeased, an ill presage of that iourney.

The Queene hath her ioynture inlarged. Twelue especiall men chosen for the gouernment.

An expedition into *Scotland*.

At *Stanhop* Parke the *English* Army incounter the *Scottish*, and though the *English* were thrice greater, and might presently haue vanquished them, yet by the treason of some great men (as it was bruited) they escaped all away, and nothing was done; so that the young King borne for victories, was depriued the honour of his first action, which yet, being not conducted by his owne Spirit, was held more dishonourable to others then to him. Vpon their returne, all the *Hannowayes* and Stipendaries are sent home into their owne countries.

The *Scots* retire from *Stanhope* Parke, and nothing done.

During this businesse the deposed King remaines prisoner at *Kilingworth*, with the allowance of a hundreth markes a moneth for his expences, depriued of all those comforts the world should yeeld him. His Wife whom he loued (though now the Author of all his misery) sends vnto him letters and apparell, but excuses her comming as beeing not permitted by the State: Neither was he thought safe enough where hee was, nor so straitly lookt vnto, as they desired to haue him, being in the custody of his Vnkle the Earle of *Lancaster*; And therefore they commit him to other Guardians, and men of the most rough natures could be found, the Lord *Matreuers* and *Thomas Gourney*, who from thence remooued him to the Castle of *Berckley* in *Glocester-shire*, where long he stayd not, but was conueyed to *Corfe* Castle, and thence to other places vp and downe to beguile and disappoint his friends, by the vncertainety of his being, if any plot were layd (which they doubted) to restore him. Besides to disguise him the more, and that he might not be easily knowne, they shaue his *head* and *beard*, which as a seruant of his Sir *Thomas de la More*, a Knight of *Glocestershire* reports (who wrote his life) was done in the open fields, by the commandement of *Gourney*, who most barbarously caused the miserable King to sit on a Mole-hill whilest the Barber shaued him, and to take cold water out of a ditch to wash him withall, which the patient King (saith this Reporter) seeing, told them, *That in despight of them he would haue warme water at his Barbing*, and therewithall shed aboundance of teares. Other vile reproaches this sauage Iaylor put vpon his annointed Soueraigne, as he re-conueyed him backe to *Berckley* Castle, where shortly after he, and *Matreuers* caused him to be murthered in a most hideous manner by thrusting vp a hot Iron into his bowels through an hollow instrument, whereby no outward note might appeare to bewray how he came by his death: For the body being after layd foorth, and vewed by many substantiall Citizens of *Bristoll* and *Glocester* (called thither for that purpose) they could finde no signe either of wound or poyson, so that their euidence confirmed the report that was giuen out, how he dyed of extreame griefe. This was the end of *Edward* the second, within eight moneths after his deposing.

The miserable estate of the imprisoned King.

He is murthered at *Barckley* Castle.

The deed-doers *Matreuers* and *Gourney* though they had Commission and great hopes giuen them to do as they did, yet beeing by those who were ashamed to vowe it, they durst not abide the tryall, but as Fugitiues fled presently their Country: *Gourney* three yeares after was taken at *Merseilles*, and murthered on the sea before he came to *England*, that he might tell no tales who set him on worke. But this was not all the blood this deede cost, the iudgement of God fell heauily, not onely vpon the great

contriuers, but euen vpon the whole Kingdome: and what the iſſue of this preſent Prince, whoſe throne (though without his guilt) was thus ſet vp on his f thers bloud, ſuſtained in after times, the many imbrued Scaffolds, the diuerſe bloudy fields, the infinite ſlaughters in the ciuill diſcord of their diuided families, which the conſumed race of the moſt part of all this preſent Nobility will teſtifie. But now for the preſent, the authors of this change vſe all meanes to increaſe and fortifie their owne fortunes, whilſt the State in generall receiues no great ſatisfaction thereby. Mens expectations are not anſwered in that manner as they were conceiued. The Queene Mother and her Minion *Mortimer* (lately created Earle of the Marches of *Wales*) guide all and all that is not well done, or amiſſe in the Gouernement is now attributed to them and their councell: So that diſcontentments ingender new factions according to the nature of turbulent times.

The Kings marriage with *Philippa* of *Haynault* is ſolemnized, and a Parliament is held at *Northampton*, where a diſhonourable peace is concluded with the *Scots*, and confirmed by a match between *Dauid Bruce* Prince of *Scotland*, ſonne to *Robert Bruce*, and *Ioane* ſiſter to the King of *England*, which match by reaſon of the tender age of the Prince, beeing but ſeuen yeeres old, could promiſe little good. Beſides by the ſecret working of the Queene Mother, the Earle of *March*, and Sir *Iames Douglaſſe*, *The King ſurrenders by his Charter his title of Soueraignitie to the Kingdome of Scotland, reſtores diuerſe deedes, and inſtruments of their former Homages and Fealties, with the famous euidence called the* Ragman Role *and many ancient Iewels and Monuments, amongſt which was the* Blacke Croſſe of Scotland, &c. *Moreouer any Engliſhman is prohibited to hold lands in Scotland, vnleſſe he dwelt there.* In conſideration whereof *King Bruce was to pay 30. thouſand Marks.* Shortly after another Parliament is held at *Winchester*, where *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*, brother to the late depoſed King, is accuſed and condemned vpon his confeſſion, for intending the reſtoring of his brother, and conferring with diuers great men concerning the ſame, but without any manner of fact. This miſerable Earle ſtood on the ſcaffold from one till fiue, and no executioner could be found to diſpatch him, at length a ſilly wretch of the *Marſhalſey* cut off his head.

1328. *Anno Reg.* 2.

A Parliament at North.

A diſhonorable peace made with *Scotland*.

These violences and vnpleaſing courſes in a new alteration, could not long holde without effecting another, which the next yeare produced. A Parliament is helde at *Nottingham* wherein all the power and glory of the Queene & *Mortimer* (being ſcarce of three yeares growth) were ouerthrowne; the Queene hath all her great ioynture taken from her, and put to her pention of 1000. pounds *per annum*, *Mortimer* is accuſed *to haue procured the late Kings death; to be the Author of the Scots ſafe eſcaping from Stanhope Parke, corrupted with the gift of* 20000. *pounds: to haue procured the late mariage, and peace with Scotland, ſo diſhonorable to the King and Kingdom: to haue conſumed the Kings Treaſure, beſides all what was taken from the Spencers, to haue beue too familiar with the Queene, &c.* And for theſe hainous offences is condemned of high Treaſon, ſent vp to *London*, drawne and hanged at the common Gallows at the *Elmes*, now called *Tyburne*, where his body remained two dayes as an oppobrious ſpectacle for all beholders. Such were the Tragicall and bloudy returnes, thoſe ambitious ſupplants of others, got by exchange of the time, which now, may ſeeme, made the world weary of ſuch violences, and more wary to runne into them. And the King growing to yeares of more Ability to gouerne of himſelfe, wrought a greater reſpect of his ſeruice in thoſe who were of power about him, ſeeing him to be of a ſpirit likely to go through with his worke, and therefore they vſe their beſt aduice to put him into courſes that might be moſt honourable for him and the Kingdome. The ſtaines which his youth had receiued by ſuch as gouerned the ſame, are now diſcouered, and meanes deuiſed how to take them off. And withall, occaſions fall out to put him into Action.

A Parliament at *Nottingham*.

Articles againſt *Mortimer*.

He is hanged at Tyborne.

King *Edward* is ſummoned to do his Homage to *Philip de Valois* King of *France*.

And firſt a new King of *Fraunce* lately crowned (vpon the death of *Charles de Bell* without iſſue Male) requires his homage according to the cuſtome for the Duchy of *Guien* and his other lands in *Fraunce* held of that Crowne: whereunto though King *Edward* was ſuppoſed to haue the better right, yet ſeeing *Philip de Valois* was now in poſſeſſion of the ſame, and himſelfe then yong, his owne Kingdome factious, turbulent and

and vnſettled, he was not as yet otherwiſe then by Law (which ſeldome get a Crowne) able to debate his Title; and therefore is content to temporiſe, and go ouer in perſon to performe this ceremony, which did much preiudice his after claime, layd an imputation vpon the iuſtneſſe of his cauſe, hauing thereby acknowledged and made good the right of his Competitor.

The Title of King *Edward* to the Crowne of *France*.

The difference betweene them ſtood thus: *Philip le Bell* father to *Iſabell*, Mother to King *Edward*, had three ſonnes, *Lowys*, *Philip* and, *Charles*, which all were ſucceſſiuely Kings of *France*, and died without any iſſue Male to inherite the Kingdome, and notwithſtanding *Lowys* the eldeſt ſonne had a daughter, whom *Endes* Earle of *Bologne* her Vncle by the Mother laboured to haue crowned Queene, yet for that it was adiudged contrary to the *Salicq Lawe*, which debarred Women from the ſucceſſion, *Philip* the younger brother of *Lowys* is admitted to the Crowne. This *Philip* likewiſe left foure daughters, and yet doth *Charles* his brother ſucceede him by the force of the ſame Law (which paſſed now as a caſe adiudged) without any controuerſie. *Charles* dying leaues his Wife young with childe: difference ariſes about the Regencie of that Kingdome, betweene King *Edward* of *England* the Nephew, and *Philip de Valois*, Cozen-germane to the laſt King *Charles*. This *Philip* was the firſt Prince of the blood, ſonne to *Charles de Valois*, brother to *Philip le Bell*. And though King *Edward* was in degree neerer then hee, yet was the Regencie adiudged to *Philip* (if the Queene brought foorth a ſonne) as deſcending from a brother more capeable of the Crowne then King *Edward* deſcending from a daughter that was vncapeable, as they alleaged.

The Queene at length deliuered of a daughter the proceſſe is ended, and *Philip* receiued and Crowned King of *France*, by their *Salicq Lawe*, maintained to bee vnuiolable. *Robert de Artois* a Peere of great power, was a ſpeciall meanes of his preferment, and the excluſion of King *Edward*, who ſhortly after vpon Sommons giuen (as is aforeſayd) goes ouer and meetes King *Philip* at *Amiens*, where, by the Councels of both Kings, two eſpeciall points are debated, *The one concerning the quality of the Homage, pretended liege by the Councell of King* Philip, *but denied by that of King* Edward. The ſecond point, *For the Lands in* Guiene, *which the laſt King* Charles *had detained as his, whereof the Councell of King* Edward *demanded reſtitution, as appertaining to that Dutchy*. The Compoſition for this laſt point was eaſie, in regard of the Treatie of Peace made betweene the ſayd King *Charles* and *Edward* the ſecond, the laſt of *May* 1325. wherein their rights were ſaued by proteſtations, reciprocall, aduiſed and receiued in offer and acceptance of Homage made to the ſayd King *Charles* by this *Edward* before he was King, which proteſtations were agreed to bee followed and repeated in this, with Couenant that if King *Edward* would purſue his right in Parliament, he ſhould haue Iuſtice done him accordingly for thoſe things in controuerſie. Now for the firſt poynt concerning the qualitie of his Homage, it was accorded without ſpecifying the ſame, that it ſhould be done and receiued according to the vſuall manner of former Kings, with ſufficient time graunted to King *Edward* to inquire of the ſayd quallitie, and to make his declaration thereof. And thereuppon the ſixt of *Iune* 1329. King *Edward* in a Crimſon Veluet gowne Imbroydered with *Leopards*, with his Crowne on his head, his Sword by his ſide, and Golden Spurres on his heeles, preſents himſelfe in the body of the Cathedrall Church at *Amiens* before King *Philip*, ſitting in a Chaire of Eſtate in a Veluet gowne of a Violet colour, Imbroydered with Floures *de lis* of Gold, his Crowne on his head, and his Scepter in his hand with all his Princes and Peeres about him. The Viſcount *Melun* Chamberlaine of *Fraunce*, firſt commaunds King *Edward* to put off his Crowne, his Sword, and his Spurres and to kneele downe, which hee did on a Crimoſine Veluet Cuſhion before King *Philip*, and then the Viſcount putting both his hands together betweene the hands of the King of *Fraunce*, pronounced the wordes of the Homage, which were theſe: *You become Liegeman to the King my Maſter here preſent as Duke of* Guyene *and Peere of* France, *and you promiſe to beare* Faith *and* Loyalty *vnto him. Say yea, and King* Edward *ſayd, Yea, and kiſſes the King of* France (*as the Lord of the Fee*)

1331. *Anno Reg.* 5.

Iean Tillet. King *Edward* doth Homage to the *French* King.

The forme of the Homage.

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in the mouth, the like Homage hee likewise did for the Earledome of *Ponthieu*.

This act of submission performed in the person of a King, young, active, hauty and powerfull, who held himselfe wronged in doing it to whom hee did, bred that rancor in his heart, as it had beene better for all Christendome that Ceremony had beene spared at this time, and not so punctually then exacted by King *Philip*; whom their owne Historians blame for standing so much vpon his Regality, with one as mighty as himselfe, and more able and likely to shake his new gotten Throne then any other whatsoeuer: to whose passion considering the fiery heate of his youth, he should rather haue ministred *Oyle* then *Vinegar*, and more hospitably intertained him in his Court comming with that State and Magnificence, as he did, attended with the best of all the Kingdome of *England* to shew what hee was, and to beget a respect of his high estate. But these are the errours of improuident Princes, who carried with the sway of their owne will, imbroyle themselues and their Subiects, that euer suffer the worst and are sure to pay dearely for others faults.

King *Edward* returnes out of *France* intertaines the *Scottish* businesse. *Edward Balliol* comes out of *France* defeited his opposers and is crowned king of *Scots*.

And now thus wounded in reputation, with a minde swolne for reuenge, the King of *England* returnes to settle his affayres at home, where Scottish businesses fall out to entertayne him. The late peace concluded with them is held so dishonourable, as it must not hold, and to breake the same, followed an occasion begun vpon their owne quarrels. The tender age of their King (the affliction of Kingdomes) with the emulation and factions in great men, put *Edward Balliol* sonne to *Iohn Balliol* (sometime King of *Scotland*) thirty two yeares after his Fathers deposition, to attempt the recouery of that Crowne: And out of *France*, where he had all that while remayned, hee comes by the solicitation of his friends into *England*, where he was permitted vnderhand to get ayde, and had all such Scots and English who were of the faction against *Bruce* to take his part, and with them he suddainly assayles those who had the gouernement of that Kingdome, during the nonage of the young King *Dauid* (beeing at that time with the King of *France*) and ouercame them in a battaile, with the slaughter of many Noblemen, and thousands of the common people, and thereupon was immediately Crowned King of *Scotland* at *Scone*. But this party being not so potent as they could maintayne and defend his quarrell against all those which opposed it, hee was forced notwithstanding this great defeite, to retire him into *England* to get more ayde of King *Edward*; who now shewes himselfe in the action, joynes with *Balliol* against his brother in Law King *Dauid*, goes in Person with a strong Army to recouer *Berwicke*, which after three moneths siege, beeing Valiantly defended by the Lord *Seton*, was agayne taken in, and the Army of the *Scots* which came to the rescue thereof at *Halidowne hill* vtterly defeited: where were slayne seuen Earles, 900. Knights and Baronets, foure hundred Esquires, and about two and thirty thousand common Souldiers, as our Writers report, theirs, foureteene thousand. And with the effusion of blood is *Balliol* returned to his miserable Kingdome.

Berwicke recouered.

The battell of *Halidowne hill*.

In this oppugnation of *Berwicke*, though my haste bee great, I must not so much trespasse Vertue, as to ouerpasse one memorable particular, recorded by the Scottish Writers, which is, how the Lord *Seton* seeing all reliefe fayling, and the assaults Violent, as hee could not long hold out, conditions with King *Edward*, if rescue came not at such a day to render him vp the Towne; and for assurance deliuers him two of his sonnes. Shortly after King *Edward*, hauing notice of the Scottish Army approaching with greater power and speede then hee expected, and likely to be there before the day, *Summons the Lord* Seton *to render the Towne presently, otherwise he should see his two sonnes executed before his face*, and withall a Gallowes is made ready within sight of the Towne, the young Gentlemen brought forth and vnder the hand of the Executioner; wherewith the distressed Lord, rent betweene those powerfull passions of Nature and Honour, standing doubtfull what to doe, his Wife the mother of those sonnes, a Lady more then a Woman, comes vnto him, exhorts him *To remember his Fealty sworne to the King, his Charity to his Country, the dignity of his noble Family, that they had other children left though these were destroied, and besides themselues were not so olde, but that they might haue more. How those, if they should be preserued from death at*

A memorable act in the oppugnation of *Berwicke*.

this

this time might otherwise shortly perish by some worse occasion: And what a staine he should lay on the name of Seton, *and their Posteritie for euer, by a base act of yeelding and betraying the place committed vnto him: whereby also he was not certaine whether hee should preserue his children or no: For how could he hope that this King, who had violated his first promise with him, would performe the last. And therefore besought him that he would not preferre an vncertaine and momentany benefite, before a certaine and perpetuall ignominy.* And so recouering the Lords resolution for holding out, withdrew him from the Walles, into some other parts aside, that he might not be Spectator of the execution of his innocent Children.

1333. *Anno Reg.* 7. *Edward Balliol* doth Homage for the kingdome of *Scotland.*

The next yeare after this defeite at *Hallidowne* Hill, *Edward Baliol* King of *Scots* at *New-Castle* doth Homage to the King of *England* as his Superiour Lord, and takes his Oath of *Fealty, Binding himselfe and his heires to hold that Kingdome of him and his successors for euer, with the inheritance of fiue Countries next adioyning to the Borders.* So large a part yeelds hee to forgoe, rather then to be in danger to loose the whole, which yet could not secure his estate, but rather imbroyled it the more, by reason of the discontent which most part of the Nobles of *Scotland* conceiued vpon this act of Alienation, and subiection of their Countrey. Insomuch as it gaue both Kings, continuall occasion of trouble for a long time after, with the expence of infinite Treasure. There was granted to the King of *England* for these Warres a *fifteenth* of the *Temporalty*, a twelfe of Cities and Boroughes, and a tenth of the Clergy, in a Parliament holden at *London.* And three yeares together the King goes in Person with Armies into those parts, and neuer returned without destruction and blood-shed of that afflicted people: In so much as it may mooue vs to admire, how it could be possible that little corner of this Isle, being no more fertile, and withall so often wasted could breed so many (had it bred nothing but men) as had beene slaine in battaile within these fifty yeares past, and yet still to be able to supply and furnish their fields with such numbers as they did, both to maintayne their owne quarrells, defend their liberties, and that poore grouud they dwelt vpon, which was not worth so much blood as it cost them, deseruing to haue had a better peece of earth, and a more perspicuous place in the world to haue shewed those acts of magnanimity and courage, as they did.

A Parliament at *London.*

A remarkeable consideration.

1336. *Anno Reg.* 10. *Robert de Artois* discontented with the *french* King.

The reason that mooued King *Edward* with such violence to prosecute the businesse of *Scotland* was out of a desire, so to settle the same, as hee might be wholy for the designes he had vppon *France*, which chiefly hee intended, and was the sooner put thereinto by the instigation of *Robert de Artois*, who beeing chased from thence by King *Philip* his brother in Law, comes ouer into *England*, and here is intertayned with great honour.

This *Robert* a Prince of the blood of *France*, descended from *Robert* sonne to *Louys* the eighth, brother to S. *Louys*, had long contention with *Maud* his Aunte Counteſſe of *Burgogne* about the Earledome of *Artois*; and presuming vpon his owne power, his alliance with King *Philip*, who had married his sister, and the seruice he had done in aduancing him to the Crowne, counterfeites a *Deede* thereby to ouer-throw his Auntes right, which beeing afterward discouered, made it the more, and mooued the French King to giue iudgement on her side, so that the County of *Artois* was by arrest of Parliament, confirmed vpon *Maud*, which so offended *Robert*, as in his rage, he openly sayd, *Hee would vnmake the King by the same power he made him*: Which rash menace vttered before many witnesses so stung the French King, as presently he layes to apprehend him, but sayling therein, causes him to be Proclaymed Traytor, Confiscates all his estate, forbids his Subiects whosoeuer, eyther without or within the Kingdome, which held of that Crowne, in any sort to receyue him, comfort, counsell or ayde him, vppon payne of Confiscation of body and goods: And withall charges them by any meanes to seise vppon his Person, and to send him Prisoner vnto him. Whereuppon this chased Prince, finding no place on that side safe for him, ouer hee comes into *England*, is ioyfully entertayned by King *Edward*, made of his Councell, inuested in the Earledome of *Richmond*, and heere is he the *Kindle-fire* betweene these two mighty Nations, and beganne such a flame, as lasted aboue an hundred yeares after

Iean Tillet.

Robert de Artois comes into *England.*

ter, and the ſmoake thereof much longer. Firſt he diſcouers to King *Edward* the ſecrets of their Councels at *France*, and what meanes had bin vſed for the aduancement of King *Phillip*, whoſe Title he now diſapprooues, and prefers that of King *Edward*, as moſt iuſt; and a declaration is publiſhed and ſent to the Pope, and all the Neighbour Princes ſhewing the vſurpation of *Phillip de Valois* vppon that Crowne.

King *Edward* made Vicar generall of the Empire.

Now had King *Edward* euer ſince his returne from *Amiens* prepared to make good his party to oppoſe the French King, and by the aſſiſtance of his Father in Law *William* Earle of *Haynault*, combined with the Dukes of *Brabant* and *Gelders*, the Earle of *Iuliers*, the Arch-biſhop of *Cologne*, *Valeran* his brother, *Iohn* of *Haynault*, and other Princes of *Germany*. And beſides, had of late obtayned by great gifts of *Louys de Bauier*, the preſent Emperour, to be Vicar Generall of the Empire, whereby hee was to haue all thoſe Princes confiners vpon *France*, who beld of the ſame, to doe him ſeruice. And this grace the Emperour did him, the rather for that hee had ſtood for him againſt his competitor *Fredericke* of *Auſtrich*, with whom the French King tooke part; and beſides he had married King *Edwards* Wiues ſiſter, which might bee a motiue to procure him this honour. Then ſeekes he to gaine and draw in the *Flemings*, whoſe Earle though adhering to the French King as his Vaſſall; yet the Cities which euer entertayned a kind of liberty among themſelues, were eaſily won to take part with King *Edward*, in regard their wealth chiefly grew by the Wools of this Kingdome, which by a Parliament holden at *London*, *Anno Reg.* 9. were prohibited to bee tranſported vnwrought. *That Clothes ſhould be made here, and habitation with all Priuiledges and Liberties allowed to ſuch Artificers as would come from other parts to inhabite.* Beſides it was enacted, *That none ſhould weare other then Engliſh Cloath, except the King, Queene and their Children, that no man ſhould weare any facing of ſilkes or furres, but ſuch as could diſpend 100. pounds per annum.* But thoſe ordinances (more beneficiall to this Kingdome then theſe Warres will be) were vpon this new entertayned correſpondence with the people of *Flanders*, ſoone after neglected; but yet the making of cloath continued, and many come out of *Flanders* to exerciſe that trade in *England*.

The making of cloath introduced in this kingdome.

The firſt ſumptuary Law wee finde in our Hiſtory.

King *Edward* wins *Iaques de Arteuile*.

Now there was among the *Flemings* one *Iaques de Artevile*, Citizen of *Gaunt*, a Brewer as ſome ſay (but of more then Beere) a man of greateſt eſtimation amongſt the people, and was as their Tribune or Chiefetayne in their tumults, him King *Edward* gets by great rewards to take his part, and thereby had them all ready to aſſayle the French King vppon any occaſion.

Meanes vſed for money.

Hauing thus prepared his party abroad, all means are deuiſed to raiſe monies at home to ſupply this buſines. *A tenth peny of Townes and Boroughs, a fifteenth of others, and a tenth of the Clergy is granted in a Parliament at* Northampton. *All ſuch treaſure as was committed to Churches throughout* England, *for the Holy Warre is taken out for the Kings vſe in this. The next yeare after, all the goods of three orders of Monks, Lombards, Cluniacks and Ciſtercences are likewiſe ſeiſed into the Kings hands; and the like Subſidie as before granted at* Nottingham. *Honors are likewiſe beſtowed on many Noblemen to encourage them in this intended action. Henry* of *Lancaſter* the younger, is created Earle of *Derby*, *William Mountacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, *Hugh Audeley* Earle of *Gloceſter*, *William Clinton* Earle of *Huntington*, *William Bohun* Earle of *Northampton*, *Robert Vfford* Earle of *Suffolke*: Prince *Edward* was likewiſe at this time created Earle of *Cheſter*, and Duke of *Cornewall*. In *Anno Reg.* 12. at a Parliament at *Northampton*, (as ſome write in the abſence of the King) *Was granted by the Laity, one halfe of their Wools, but of the Clergie was leuied the whole, and they were cauſed to pay nine Markes for euery ſacke of fine Wooll. The next yeare after a fifteenth was likewiſe paid in Wooll by the Communalty.* And now for the better managing of this worke abroade (hauing well accommodated the Scottiſh affaires) hee goes ouer into *Flanders*, takes with him his Queene and Children, lyes at *Antwerp*, where, by perſwaſion of the *Flemings* he tooke vppon him the Stile, Title, and Armes of the King of *France*, whereby they held they might the better iuſtifie their partaking in his quarrell; and diſpence with their Oathe formerly made to the French King, hauing beſides bound themſelues in 20. hundred thouſand crownes, neuer to beare Armes againſt the King of *France*, and thereuppon the league was eſta-

1338. *Anno* Reg. 12.

A Subſidy of VVooll.

King *Edward* goes into *Flanders* with his wife and children.

bliſhed betweene them and King *Edward*. The French King was not behind in his preparations and Confederacies, hauing to take his part the King of *Bohemia*, the Count Palatine of *Rhene* (who couenanted to ſerue him againſt King *Edward* and his adherents, with 300. horſe for 56000. *Florins*.) The Biſhop of *Mets*, *Albert* and *Otho* Dukes of *Auſtrich*, *Theodore* Marqueſſe of *Monferat*, *Ame* Earle of *Geneua*, beſides many Princes of Eſtate, and diuers great Captaines out of *Germany*, French-Country, *Sauoy*, *Dauphine*, *Spaine* and other Countryes. So that all the beſt of the Chriſtian World, are eyther in Armes, or ayding in this quatrell, betweene theſe two mighty Kings. Long were they preparing and making a noyſe before they came to grapple: and much was wrought by the Pope, and the King of *Sicile*, a great Aſtrologer, who deuined by skill he had in the Starres of much future calamity to *France*, to haue accorded them, which would not be.

The French kings partakers

Meanes to appeaſe theſe two Kings.

The Preface of this Warre beganne on the Borders of each others State: On this ſide King *Edward* ſets vpon *Cambray* defended by the French. *Philip* on the other, ſeiſes on the Duchy of *Guyen*, and thither ſends *Conte d' En* Conſtable of *France* with the Earles of *Foix* and *Arminiacq*, who ſurprize many ſtrong peeces there of: Beſides hee hath a great Nauy at Sea which committed much ſpoyle on the Coaſt of *England*. King *Edward* enters *France* by the way of *Vermandois* and *Thierache*, approaches neere to King *Philip*: Both Armies were lodged betweene *Viron foſſe*, and *La Flamenguere*, the day of the fight appoynted vpon the Friday after, the Battailes on both ſides made ready, the aduantage of number was on the French; but both Armies furniſhed with braue men of Warre, and circumſpect, depart without encounter: The French eſteeming it no diſcretion to put the perſon, and ſtate of their King to the hazard of Battell within his owne Kingdome: And the Engliſh conſiſting of leſſe number, thought fit not to aſſaile them: And ſo they paſſed the day in Countenances, and nothing was done. Only this accident fell out, which after gaue matter of ſport: A Hare ſtarting before the head of the French Army, a great ſhout was ſuddainly made, which they who were behind ſuppoſing to haue beene vpon the on-ſet of a Battell, diſpoſed themſelues to fight: ſome Eſquires for their more incouragement, are according to the cuſtome preſently Knighted, who were euer after called *Knights of the Hare*.

The French King ſeiſes on the Duchy of *Guyen*.

King *Edward* enters into *France*.

Froiſſart.

Knights of the Hare.

The next morning earely both Kings diſlodge, the French retires to *Paris*, the King of *England* into *Brabant*, where after he had ſtrongly faſtened his Confederates, and diſpoſed of his Affayres, he leaues the Queene and returnes into *England* about Candlemaſſe, hauing beene in *Brabant* aboue a yeare, lands at the Tower about Midnight (and finding it vnguarded was much diſpleaſed) ſends for the Maior of *London*, whom hee commanded to bring before him the Chancellor and Treaſurer, with *Iohn* S. *Paul Michael Wath*, *Phillip Thorp*, *Henry Stratford* Clergy men (who it ſeemes were Officers for his receites) and *Iohn Scoter* Iuſtice of the Bench, all which, except the Chancellour were arreſted and committed to priſon, as were afterward in like manner diuerſe Officers of Iuſtice and Accountants vpon inquiry made of their vniuſt proceeding.

1330. *Anno Reg.* 14.

Then cals he a Parliament at *London* in Lent *which granted vnto him for cuſtome of euery ſacke of Woole, forty ſhillings, for euery* 300. *Woolfells forty ſhillings, for euery laſt of Leather, forty ſhillings; and of other Merchandizes according to that rate*, the ſame to indure from that Eaſter to the Whitſontide Twelue-moneth after. Beſides, there was granted *of Citizens and Burgeſſes, a ninth part of goods, of Forraigne Merchants and other a fifteenth, of Husbandmen the ninth Sheaffe, the ninth Fleece, the ninth Lambe for two yeares*. Alſo *another tenth of the Clergy*. And for his preſent ſupply, he hath Loanes of diuers wealthy *Perſons, and the City of* London *lent* 20000. *Marks*. For the grant of which mighty Subſidy, the King *(beſides his Pardon to diuers kinds of offenders) remits all Amercements for tranſgreſſion in his Forreſts, Reliefes and Scutage vnto the firſt time of his going into* Flanders: *Beſides all aides for the marriages of his Sonnes and Daughters during his raigne: pardoning and remitting all ancient debts and arrerages both of his Fermors and others any way due, in the time of his Progenitors and his owne, till the tenth yeare of his Raigne (excepting ſuch as were compounded for, and determined to be paide into his Exchequer) and here he likewiſe confirmes the great Charter.*

A Parliament at *London*. Great ſubſidies granted. Cuſtome, at firſt but temporary.

Pardons and Remiſſion of ancient debts

Retribution.

During

The Earles of *Salisbury* and *Suffolke* taken priſoners in *France.*

During King *Edwards* abode in *England*, *William Montague* Earle of *Salisbury*, and *Robert Vfford* Earle of *Suffolke*, left in *Flanders* to oppoſe the proceeding of the *French*, hauing performed diuers great exploits with happy ſucceſſe, and preſuming ouermuch vpon their fortune, were in an incounter about *Leſle*, ſo ouerlayd by multitude, as they were both taken and ſent priſoners to *Paris*, to the great ioy of the *French* King: who now to impeach the King of *Englands* returne, had prepared a mightie Nauy in the Hauen of *Sluce*, conſiſting of two hundreth Sayle of Ships (beſides many Gallies) and two thouſand armed men in the Port, ready to incounter him vpon his landing: Whereof King *Edward* being aduertiſed, prouides great ſtrength, with the like number of Ships, and ſets out to Sea vpon Midſomer Eue, is met the morrow after with a Nauy likewiſe from the North parts, conducted by Sir *Robert Morley*, and incounters his enemy which lay to intercept him, with ſuch force and courage, and aduantage of wind and Sunne, as he vtterly defeited their whole Nauie, tooke or ſunke all their ſhips, ſlue thirty thouſand men, and landed with as great glory, as ſuch a victory (the greateſt that euer before was gotten by the *Engliſh* at Sea) could yeeld. Moſt of the *French*, rather then to indure the Arrowes, and ſharpe ſwords of the *Engliſh*, or be taken, deſperately leape into the Sea. Whereupon the *French* Kings Ieſter, ſet on to giue him notice of this ouerthrow (which being ſo ill newes, none elſe willingly would impart on the ſudden) ſayd, and oftentimes re-iterated the ſame, *Cowardly Engliſhmen, Daſtardly Engliſhmen, Faint-hearted Engliſhmen.* The King at length asked him *Why*: For that ſayd he, *They durſt not leape out of their Ships into the Sea, as our braue French-men did.* By which ſpeech the King apprehended a notion of this ouerthrow: which the *French* attribute to *Nicholas Bieches* one of their chiefe Commanders, who had armed his ſhips with men of baſe condition (content with ſmall pay) and refuſed Gentlemen, and ſufficient Souldiers, in regard they required greater wages: and it often happens that the Auarice of Commanders haue bene the occaſion of great defeits.

King *Edward* vanquiſhes the *French* kings great Nauy.

But this loſſe much abated the power of the *French* King, who notwithſtanding in theſe Martiall times was ſoone ſupplied, both out of his owne Dominions, and thoſe of his Confederates, and makes a mightie head againſt this victorious, powerfull and freſhly furniſhed King of *England*; who ſuddainely ſet downe before *Tourney*, with all his owne and his adherents forces. And from *Chyn* (a place neere by where hee lodged) ſends his *Cartill* the 17. of Iuly, to *Philip de Valois*, lodging at S. *Andrew les Aire* with his puiſſant armie. Declaring *how he with the power of his owne Kingdome, and ayde of the Flemmings, was come to recouer his right in the Kingdom of France vniuſtly detained from him, contrary to the Lawes of God and Man: and that ſeeing no other meanes would ſerue, he was forced in this manner to haue recourſe to his Sword. Notwithſtanding ſeeing the buſineſſe was betweene them two, he offers for the auoiding of Chriſtian blood, and deuaſtation of the Countrey, to try the ſame by Combat in cloſe Campe body to body, or each of them accompanied with* 100. *choyce perſons: which if the ſaid* Phillip *refuſed, then to ſtrike battell within ten dayes after, before the Citty of* Tourney.

Iean Tillet.

King *Edward* beſieges *Tourney*, and ſends his Challenge to the *French* king.

Phillip de Valois returnes anſwer the laſt of *Iuly* in this manner, Phillip *by the grace of God King of* France, *to* Edward *King of* England: *We haue peruſed your letters ſent to the Court of* Philip de Valois, *containing certaine requeſts to the ſayd* Philip: *and for that it appeares thoſe letters & requeſts were not written or made vnto vs, we will in no ſort anſwer you. But ſeeing by thoſe letters, and otherwiſe we vnderſtand how you, led by wilfulneſſe, without all reaſon, haue entred our Kingdome of* France *with armed power, and committed no ſmall dammage in the ſame, and on our people, contrary to the duty of a Liegeman: hauing lately ſworne Homage vnto vs, acknowledging vs, as by right King of* France, *and haue promiſed that obedience which is due from the Vaſſall to his Liege-lord, as is manifeſt by your Letters Patents vnder your great Seale, which we haue with vs, and you likewiſe ought to haue the ſame with you. And therefore our intention is as becomes our Honour, to chace you out of our Kingdome, as we firmely hope in Chriſt (from whom we haue our power) to do. For that by this your warre, moſt wickedly begun, our Iourney vndertaken for the Eaſt is hindred, no ſmall number of Chriſtians there murdered, the Holy ſeruice neglected, and the Church diſhonored. And whereas you alledge you poſſeſſe the ayde of the* Flemmings, *we are aſſuredly*

The *French* kings anſwer to the Challenge.

aſſuredly perſwaded, that they with the Communalty of their Country, will ſo beare themſelues towards our couſen their Earle and vs their ſuperiour Lords, as they will not omit to obſerue their honor and fidelity, whatſoeuer hath beene by ſome, through ill counſell perpetrated for their owne priuate, contrary to the common good.

The French write how King *Philip* with this Letter ſent word to King *Edward, how by his Cartell he aduentured nothing of his owne, but onely expoſed the dominion of another, which was without all reaſon. If he would hazard the kingdom of* England, *(though it were leſſe) againſt the kingdom of* France, *the ſaid king* Philip *would enter combate in cloſe campe with him, on condition the Victor ſhould enioy both Kingdomes.* But that, they ſay, King *Edward* would not doe.

Three moneths the ſiege of *Turney* had continued (and nothing effected but the waſte of the Countrey about) all the eyes of Chriſtendome bent vppon this action, both Kingdomes deeply ingaged, expecting with anxiety the doubtfull euent thereof, when *Iane de Valois* ſiſter to *Philip*, widow of *William* late Duke of *Haynault*, and mother to *Philippa* wife to King *Edward*, a Princeſſe of excellent vertue, came from *Fountenelles* where ſhe had rendered her ſelfe a Nun vowed to God, to mediate a peace betweene theſe two inraged Kings, her brother and her ſonne in Law; and labours to ſtay the ſword of deſtruction lift vp for blood, trauailing from one to another (ſtubbornely bent to their intentions) and neuer left them (though often denied) till ſhee had with great patience, and wiſe counſell qualified their boyling paſſions, in ſuch ſort as ſhe obtayned day and place for both Kings to parle together. A memorable worke to be effected by a woman, eſpecially in ſuch an age of Iron as that was. This parle brought forth a truce for one yeare, and both theſe great Armies are diſſolued. The French King returnes home, and ſo doth the King of *England* with his Queene: who had remayned in thoſe parts three yeares, and had there brought forth two ſonnes, *Lionell*, afterwards Duke of *Clarence*, and *Iohn* borne at *Gant*, who firſt was Earle of *Richmond*, and after Duke of *Lancaſter*.

A mediation for peace.

A Truce concluded.

Anno Reg. 35.

But King *Edwards* condiſcending to this ſuddaine truce, had indeed no other motiue then the want of his ſupplies of Treaſure, which came ſhortly to his expectation, notwithſtanding thoſe mighty impoſitions which were layde on his Subiects. And whereas hee had vpon his laſt returne into *England*, in great diſpleaſure, remooued his Chancellour, and impriſoned his Treaſurer, with other Officers (moſt of them Clergymen) and ſtill held them in durance, *Iohn Stratford* Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, (on whom the King layd the blame of his wants) writes him a moſt bold and peremptory Letter to this effect: firſt ſhewing him, *How it was for the ſafety of Kings and their kingdoms, to vſe graue and wiſe Councellors, alledging many examples out of holy Writ of the flouriſhing happineſſe of ſuch as tooke that courſe, and their infelicity who followed the contrary. Then wills him to remember how his father led by euill counſell vexed the kingdome, putting to death, contrary to the Law of the Land, diuers of the Nobility, and wiſhed him to conſider what hapned thereby vnto him. Alſo to call to minde, how himſelfe at firſt, through euill Councell about him, had almoſt loſt the hearts of his people.* But afterwards, *by the great circumſpection and care of his Prelates and Nobles, his affaires were reduced into ſo good order as he recouered them, and now poſſeſſed them in ſuch ſort, as they all, both Clergie and Lay, haue yeelded their helping hands, more to him then to any of his Progenitors, whereby he had gloriouſly Triumphed ouer his enemies, the* French *and* Scots, *and is reputed the nobleſt Prince of* Chriſtendome. *But now at this preſent, through the wicked counſell of ſuch as effect their owne profit more then his honour, or the welfare of his people, hee had cauſed Clergy men and others to be arreſted, and held in priſon by the vndue proceeding, contrary to the Laws of* England *(which he was bound by his oath at his Coronation to obſerue)* and againſt *Magna Charta*, which whoſoeuer ſhall preſume to infringe, are to bee by the Prelates (according to the Bull of Pope *Innocent* the fourth) Excommunicate. *So that hereby he incurred no ſmall danger to his ſoule, and detriment to the State and honour.* Then hee telleth him, *how he doubted that if the King proceeded in this manner he ſhould loſe both the hearts of his people and their helpe, in ſuch ſort as he ſhould not be able to proſecute his War in hand, and thereby giue his enemies heart and occaſion to riſe againſt him,*

Iohn Stratford Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* his letters to king *Edward.*

to the hazard of his honour and the Kingdome. And therefore adviſes him to aſſemble the Nobles and prudent men of the land, and to conſult with them (without whoſe ayde and counſell he could not governe his kingdom, or performe his enterprises) concerning what was amiſſe. And whereas, ſaid he *certaine neere about you by their adulation and ſoothing, falſly betray and deceive you, we here denounce them excommunicate, and beſeech you as your ſpiritual Father, that you hold them ſo.* Beſides, he vrges him, that *whereas through the negligence of ſome Miniſters of his, the City of* Turney *was not gotten, the matter might be examined in Parliament, and inquiry made, to whoſe hands, from the beginning of the War, the Wools and Monies are committed to be beſtowed, and by whoſe default the City of* Turney *was not ſubdued, but left in ſuch manner as it was; and that as an equall and wiſe Lord he would chaſtiſe ſuch as were culpable, and not condemne or miſdeeme his ſubiects without ſufficient tryal, &c.* The letter bare date the 1. of *Ianuary.*

Then writes he alſo to *Robert Bouſer* Chancellor of *England*, ſhewing him what contribution the Clergy had yeelded to the King by their free conſents, and that none other were to be exacted of them. Requiring him to doe nothing preiudiciall to the *Lawe of Magna Charta; and that if any Writ, Commiſſion, or Precept had gone out of the* Chancery *contrarie thereunto, or the Priuiledges and Liberties of the Church or Kingdome, hee ſhould within ten dayes after the receipt of theſe his Letters (as hee ſaide the Chancellour was bound to doe) reuoke and annull the ſame.* This bare date the 28. of *Ianuary.*

Another Letter he likewiſe ſends to the King and his whole Councell, declaring that *Whereas contrary to the priuiledges and liberties of the Church and Kingdome contayned in* Magna Charta, Iohn de Saint Paul, Michael de Wath, Robert Chickwill, Iohn Thorpe *and* Henry Stratford, *were arreſted, committed to priſon, and there detayned without beeing indited, or conuicted of any notorious crime; and that whoſoeuer were ayding or counſelling to this proceeding had incurred the ſentence of the Canon, which he had cauſed to be publiſhed both in his own Dioces, and in all other of his ſuffragans. And therfore beſought the King and his whole Councell, without delay to deliuer the ſaid Priſoners, otherwiſe (hee plainly writes) that according to his Paſtrall charge, he muſt proceede to the execution of the ſentence. Concluding how notwithſtanding it was not his intention to include therein the King Queene, or their children, ſo farre as they might by Law be excuſed.*

Quatenus de iure poterunt excuſari.

To this purpoſe hee likewiſe ſends to the Biſhop of *London*, and other his Suffragan Biſhops, (whom after hauing complayned of the great exactions and wrongs done to the Church by lay men) hee charged him not onely to denounce and publiſh in their Church, but fixe vp in all eminent places the ſentence of Excommunication, againſt all offenders in thoſe articles of Magna Charta: which are at large added to his Letter, to the end (as he ſaid) that euery man might know the danger, and none pretend to be ignorant thereof.

King *Edward* accuſes the Arch-biſhop of falſe dealing.

The King wakened with this clamour of the Arch-biſhop, is faine to apologize for himſelfe, by his letters written to the Biſhop of *London*, wherein, after hauing declared how much hee had euer honoured and truſted the Arch-biſhop, hee accuſes him of manifeſt wrong, for that *Relying vpon his councell, hee was put at firſt vpon this action againſt the French King, and by him aſſured he ſhould not want treaſure and meanes for the performance thereof, and that he needed not to care but onely to prouide men to execute the worke. And how notwithſtanding, through the negligence or malice of the ſaid Arch-biſhop and his Officials, thoſe proviſions granted him by his ſubiects in Parliament, were in ſo ſlender proportion leuied, and with ſuch delaies ſent ouer, as he was preſt of neceſſity (to his great griefe and ſhame) to condiſcend to the late truce, and through extreame wants (charged with mighty debts) forced to throw himſelfe into the gulph of the Vſurers; in ſuch ſort, as hauing juſt cauſe, he began to looke into the dealing of his Officers: ſome of whom vpon apparant notice of their ill adminiſtration of iuſtice, their corruptions and oppreſſion of his ſubiects, he remoued from their places, and ſome of inferiour degree culpable of the ſame offences, hee committed to Priſon, and there detayned them, to the end he might finde out by their examinations, the truth of their proceedings, whereof none could ſo well informe him as the Archbiſhop, to whom of long time, he had committed the whole adminiſtration of the Kingdome. And therfore deſirous*

ſignes to confer with him at London, he had of late ſent an eſpecial Meſſenger, his truſty ſeruant Nicholas de Cantelupe, that he ſhould repaire thither: Which the Arch-biſhop refuſed to do, alledging how he ſtood in feare of ſome about the King, and therefore would not endanger himſelfe, nor depart from his Church. Then the King ſent Ralph Stafford, the Steward of his houſe, with ſafe conduct vnder his great Seale for the Arch-biſhops ſecurity. Notwithſtanding he refuſes to come, returning word how he would haue no conference with the King but in an open Parliament: which at that time (ſaid the King) was not for eſpecial reaſons conuenient to be called. Then aggrauates he the vndutifull contempt of the Arch-biſhop and his hypocriticall dealing with him: auowing that although by hereditary right, and the diuine grace he was aduanced to that ſublimity of regall power, hee held it alwayes to haue beene a deteſtable thing to abuſe the greatneſſe thereof, and how he affected nothing more in the world, then to gouerne his ſubiects with mildneſſe, clemency, and moderation of Iuſtice, that he might with peace enioy their loue. And how notwithſtanding the Arch-biſhop had moſt iniuriouſly (by his letters publiſhed in diuerſe parts) taxed his innocency, and ſlandered the faithfull ſeruice of his Counſellors and Officers, who executed his regall Iuſtice, exclaiming how the people were oppreſt, the Clergie confounded, the Kingdome agrieued with taxations, and all kinde of exactions. Whereby the King argues not to no other end, but to raiſe ſedition amongſt his people, and to withdraw their loue and obedience from him. Laſtly, to giue notice of the Arch-biſhops corruption, he declares how, himſelfe being vnder age, had through his counſell made ſo many prodigall donations, prohibited alienations and exceſſiue gifts, as thereby his treaſury was vtterly exhauſted, and his reuenues diminiſhed, and how the Arch-biſhop corrupted with bribes, remitted without reaſonable cauſe, great ſummes which were due vnto him, applying to his proper vſe, or to perſons ill-deſeruing many commodities, and reuenues which ſhould haue beene preſerued for his neceſſary prouiſions. And therefore concluded, vnleſſe he deſiſted from this his rebellious obſtinacy, hee intended in due time and place more openly to proceed againſt him; inioyning them to publiſh all and ſingular theſe his malignities, and to cauſe others to do the like for the manifeſtation of his owne pious and Princely intention, in relieuing his owne and his ſubiects wrongs. This letter was ſaid to haue bin penned by *Adam* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and bare date the 12. of February, *Anno Reg.* 15.

Thus the King and his Officers, whoſe proceedings muſt not receiue a checke, are cleared, and the imputation reſts vppon the Arch-biſhop, who is charged with great accounts, and preſſed by ſuch as lent the King mony, to render the ſame. But ſhortly after the King found much to doe in the Parliament held at *London*, being earneſtly petitioned by the whole Aſſembly of the three Eſtates, that the great Charter of Lyberties, and the Charter of Forreſts might be duly obſerued, and that whoſoeuer of the Kings Offices infringed the ſame ſhould loſe their place; that the high Officers of the Kingdome, ſhould as in former times be elected by Parliament. The King ſtood ſtiffe vpon his owne election and prerogatiue, but yet yeelded, (in regard to haue his preſent turne ſerued, as himſelfe after confeſſed) theſe Officers ſhould receiue an oath in Parliament, to doe iuſtice vnto all men in their Offices, and thereupon a Statute was made and confirmed with the Kings Seale; both for that, and many other grants of his to the ſubiects, which notwithſtanding were for the moſt part preſently after reuoked.

Vid. Stat. 15. Edward. 3.

The truce agreed on before *Turney* for one yeare, was by the Commiſſioners of both Kings, and two Cardinals from the Pope, concluded at *Arras*, which yeelded ſome ceſſation of Armes, but not of plotting more miſchiefe. *Lewis* of *Bauier* (intituled Emperour) is won to the party of the *French* King, becomes his ſworne Confederate, and reuokes the Vicariſhip of the Empire, formerly confirmed on the King of *England*, pretending the cauſe to be for concluding the late truce without him, as appeares by his letters to King *Edward*, which are agayne by him fully and diſcreetly anſwered.

The Articles. The Emperour reuokes the Vicariate, the reaſon why.

But in ſtead of this remote and vnconſtant Confederate (whoſe power lay without the limits of *France*) Fortune brought in another more neere, and of readier meanes to offend, within the body of that Kingdome. The inheritance of the Duchy of *Britaine* is in controuerſie betweene *Charles de Bloys*, Nephew to King *Philip*, and *Iohn de Monfort*, vpon this Title: *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine* had by *Beatrix* his firſt Wife, two Sonnes, *Iohn* and *Guy*, by *Yolande* Counteſſe of *Monfort* his ſecond Wife *Iohn*

The controuerſie for the Duchy of *Britaine*.

Iohn de Monfort. *Iohn* the eldeſt ſonne of *Arthur* hauing no iſſue, ordayned *Iane* his Neece, daughter to his brother *Guy* (who dyed before him) to ſucceede him in the Duchy. This *Iane*, *Charles de Blois* marries on condition his iſſue by her ſhould inherit the ſame, wherein after conſummation of the Marriage hee is inueſted, and had homage done vnto him during the life of *Iohn* their Vncle. But after his death, *Iohn de Monfort* claymes the Duchy, comes to *Paris* to doe homage for the ſame to the *French* King. *Charles de Blois* in the right of his Wife, oppoſes him, the controuerſie is referred to the Parliament. Sentence paſſes on the ſide of *Charles*. *Monfort* inraged repayres to the King of *England*, doth homage vnto him for the Duchy, is receyued with great applauſe, and his title (howſoeuer held bad at home) is heere made to bee good. Returning back into *Brittaine* both with comfort and means, after ſome encounters with his enemy, hee is taken and committed Priſoner to the *Louure* in *Paris*: His wife the Counteſſe of *Monfort* ſiſter to *Lewis* Earle of *Flanders* (a Lady who ſeemed to haue more of the man then her brother) proſecutes her husbands quarrell, puts on Armour, leades and incourages her people, ſurpriſes and defends many ſtrong pieces of *Brittaine*; but in the end, like to be ouerlayd by the power of *Charles de Blois*, ſhee craues ayde of the King of *England*, and hath it ſent, vnder the Conduct of the Lord *Walter de Manny*, which relieued her for the preſent, but the future required more, whereof King *Edward* was not ſparing, in regard of his owne deſignes, for aydes are ſeldome ſent to Forrainers but for the ſenders benefit. The Lady her ſelfe comes ouer into *England* to treate both for ſupplyes and alliance, tendring a match betweene her ſonne and a daughter of King *Edward*. The Earles *Salisbury*, *Pembrooke*, and *Suffolke*, the Lords *Stafford*, *Spencer* and *Bourchier*, with *Robert de Artois* Earle of *Richmond*, are ſent with great forces backe with the Lady. Many were the incounters, ſurpriſes and recouerings of Forres betweene the Engliſh and the *French*; and in this action *Robert de Artois* receiued his laſt wound, at the ſiege of *Vannes*, but yet was brought to dye in *England*, it being not in his Fate, that his Country (which by his meanes had ſuffered ſo much affliction) ſhould haue his bones, though it had his blood, which hee loſt with little honour, though with much valour, leauing behinde him but the fame of a Rebell, after he had ſerued the Engliſh about ſixe yeares.

Monfort doth homage for the Duke of *Brittaine* to King *Edward*.

Monfort taken Priſoner.

His wife proſecutes her husbands quarrell.

Forces ſent ouer into *Brittaine*.

The death of *Robert de Artois*

King *Edward* ſhortly after theſe ſupplies ſent into *Brittaine*, goes himſelfe in Perſon with more, and lying before *Vannes* (lately recouered by the French) *Iohn* Duke of *Normandy* eldeſt ſonne to the French King, ſent to ayde *Charles de Blois*, with an Army of forty thouſand, came to giue him battaile, and beeing vpon the poynt of incounter, a mediation of truce is made by two Cardinals, ſent from Pope *Clement* the ſixt, and concluded for three yeares, vpon many conditions, with a reference to the Pope, and the Court of *Rome*, to heare and examine the differences betwixt the two Kingdomes, but not to determine them without the conſent of both Kings. This pauſe agayne gities them more time to worke for greater Wounds, and nothing is left vnpractiſed that might aduance the ſame. And though the people now ſeemed to put off their Armour, they left not off armes, but had diuerſe bickrings, both in *Brittaine* and *Gaſcony*, for which eyther ſide accuſed other.

1343. *Anno Reg.* 17.

King *Edward* returning, makes an expedition into *Scotland* againſt king *Dauid*, whom he chaſed into the Ilands; and here the Iſle of *Man* is conquered by *William Montacute* Earle of *Sälisbury*, whom King *Edward* cauſed to be ſtiled King thereof, and returning backe, ſolemne Turneaments are held at *Dunſtable*, where hee is attended with 230. Knights. For now all the paſtime and exerciſe in *England* were Iuſtes and Turneaments held in *Smith-field*, *Windſor* and other places. A ſociety of Knights of the round Table, in imitation of King *Arthur*, is deſigned, and a magnificent chamber of 200. foot round erected for the ſame at *Windſor*, and to this ſociety many ſtrangers of other Countryes are allured. The French King alſo practiſes the like Martiall aſſociation in *France*.

The inſtitution of the order of the Garter.

And about this time beganne the Order of the Garter, inſtituted at *Windſor* vppon a ſolemne Feaſt there celebrated (which held for many dayes) and ſerued that time as an Emblem of a tye and combinement, in honour of ſuch as were admitted thereunto, which was the end of the conſtitution thereof: Howſoeuer the Garter of the Counteſſe

teſſe of *Saliſbury*, taken vp by the King in dancing with her, was ſayd to haue beene the occaſion. But it were ſome derogation to that noble inſtitution, to impute the originall thereof to an Act of Leuity, ſeeing with what a graue and religious Ceremony it is performed. Although, we ſee oftentimes, accidents of little conſequence giue beginnings to things of great eſtimation, which time makes venerable.

But beſides theſe exerciſes of Armes, this great and prouident King, during this truce, takes eſpeciall care for the gouernment of the Kingdome, and reformation of the abuſes thereof; which daily grow as diſeaſes in full bodies, and muſt of neceſſity haue ſometimes their cure, otherwiſe there will be no health in a ſtate. A Parliament is called at *Weſtminſter*, wherein vpon the grieuous complaint exhibited by the Earles, Barons, Knights and Burgeſſes againſt the collation of Benefices on ſtrangers, a letter was ſent to Pope *Clement* the ſixt, in humble manner beſeeching him to conſider, *How inconuenient and derogatory it was to the ſtate of the Kingdome of* England, *that ſuch reſeruations, proniſions and collations of Benefices as had beene formerly vſed, ſhould in ſuch ſort be continued. For that the Churches of* England *had in times paſt bin endowed by noble and worthy perſons: to the end the people might bee inſtructed by ſuch as were of their owne language; and how by the vſurpation of ſome of his predeceſſors, ſtrangers and ſometimes enemies to the Realme, were preferred to many of them, wherby the money and profits were tranſported, the Cures vnfurniſhed, almes and Hoſpitality vnuſed, the edifices ruinated, the charity and deuotion of the people diminiſhed, and many other grieuous enormities, contrary to the will of the Founders, occaſioned: which they could not ſuffer any longer, and therfore beſought his holineſſe wholy to reuoke ſuch reſeruations, proniſion and collations, that meete and native perſons might exerciſe the Cures, and without delay to ſignifie his intention therein, otherwiſe they meant to employ their diligence, that remedy and redreſſe might be had according to reaſon.* The date of theſe letters was in full Parliament at *Weſtminſter* the 28. of *May*, 1343. with which were likewiſe ſent the Kings Letters to the ſame effect, by Sir *Iohn Shordich*, a graue perſon and of great vnderſtanding in the Law; whoſe meſſage made him ſo vnwelcome to that Court, as hee departed without leaue, or anſwere, which though the Pope afterward ſent: Yet the King proceeded to the prohibition of all ſuch prouiſions and collations within his Realme, on payne of impriſonment, or death to whomſoeuer ſhould in time to come preſent or admit any ſuch perſon or perſons, who by the Pope were ſo preferred to the preiudice of the Kings Royall prerogatiue. And to this effect were Writs directed to al Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and others to whom it appertayned, inhibiting them in no wiſe to attempt any thing preiudiciall to this ordinance.

The Nobility write to the Pope concerning his collation of Benefices in *England*.

Sir *Iohn Shordith* ſent with theſe Letters.

Heere is the Arch-biſhop *Stratford* with much adoe vpon his ſubmiſſion reconciled to the Kings fauour. And much debating there in this Parliament concerning Wools and the aſſeaſement of certayne prices vpon the ſame, more or leſſe, according to the ſeuerall parts of the Realme: And concerning cuſtomes to bee impoſed on them, as at three Markes and a halfe vpon the tranſportation of euery ſacke; but it ſeemes nothing was done in this buſineſſe.

The Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* reconciled.

Prince *Edward* about the age of 13. is created Prince of *Wales*, and Commiſſioners are appoynted to be ſent to the Pope to treate of Peace betweene the two Kings, according to the Articles concluded in the truce, which were *Iohn* Biſhop of *Exeter*, *Henry de Lancaſter* Earle of *Derby*, *Hugh de Diſpencer* Lord of *Glamorgan*, Couſins to the King, *Ralph* Lord *Stafford* with others.

Prince *Edward* created Prince of *Wales*.

1344. *Anno Reg.* 18.

The next yeare after another Parliament, or the ſame proproged, is held at *London*, wherein after much altercation, a tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laytie for one yeare, and a certayne Coyne of gold called the *Florew* of baſe alloy, which had beene for the Warres in *France*, is decryed, and nobles of finer coyned, to the great liking of the ſubiects. And for their better commodity the exchange of monies at *London*, *Canterbury* and *Yorke* is ordayned. Shortly after, generall Muſters are taken throughout the Kingdome, and certificate made of all ſufficient and able Bowmen, and of all other fit to beare Armes. Beſides, a Commiſſion is ſent into euery Country to enquire of mens abilities, and of all fiue pounds to ten of lay Fee, were appoynted to finde an Archer on horſe-backe, of 25. pounds, a Demilance, and ſo ratably aboue.

A Parliament.

Generall muſters and appoynting of Armour.

aboue. The King himſelfe goes in perſon to confirme and make the *Flemings* faſt vnto him; and at *Sluce*, *Iaques de Arteuile* with other Commiſſioners from their chiefe Townes, repaire vnto him, where a motion is made, that either *Lowys* their Earle ſhould do homage to the King of *England*, or elſe be diſinherited, and *Edward* Prince of *Wales* receyued for their Lord; for which King *Edward* promiſes to erect their County to a Dukedome. *Arteuile* was forward to entertayne this motion; but the reſt of the Commiſſioners require leaue to acquant therewith the Townes that ſent them, which though they were all deſirous to haue the Protection of the King of *England*, yet diſliked the diſinheriting of their naturall Lord. *Arteuile* notwithſtanding vndertakes to induce them vnto it, and returnes to *Gant*, guarded with fiue hundreth *Welſh*, which he deſired to haue, for that one *Gerrard Denyſe* Prouoſt of the *Weauers* oppoſed him, and ſought his deſtruction. The people whom he had ſo often led to mutiny againſt others, now vppon his returne roſe agayne himſelfe, and a Cobler with an Axe ſtrake out his braines. And ſo King *Edward* loſt his great Agent, which much diſpleaſed him, and diſappointed his buſineſſe in thoſe parts. Yet the Townes ſent to excuſe themſelues of this accident, laying the fault on the turbulent *Gantoys*, and in all things vowing their faithfull ſeruice vnto him: onely to the diſinheriting of their Earle they could not conſent. But they hoped to perſwade him to become his homager, and to procure a match betweene the ſonne of their Earle, and his daughter. And thus pacifying his preſent diſpleaſure, the league is renued betwixt them, and King *Edward* returnes to proſecute his other deſignes.

But now the Warres in *Guien* grew hot, the Earle of *Derby* Generall of the Army, aſſaults and takes in *Ville-Franche*, *Agenois*, *Angoleſme*, *Rions*, Saint *Baſile*, with many other Cities and Caſtles. The French King ſends his eldeſt ſonne *Iohn* Duke of *Normandy* to encounter him, who recouers the Cities of *Angoleſme* and *Ville-Franche*, and thus is the ſword out before the Truce is expired, the breach whereof, the French King layes on the King of *England*, and hee the ſame on him, for entertayning King *Dauid*, and ſetting the *Scots* vpon attempts of inuaſion of his Realme. So that it ſeemes both were prepared to breake, not able to holde their hands any longer from the fatall worke of deſtruction.

1346. *Anno Reg.* 20. The king goes with a mighty army into *Normandy*.

It was now the twentieth yeare of this mighty and actiue Kings Raigne, wherein hee had prepared the greateſt Fleete that euer yet croſſed the Seas for *France*, and ouer he paſſes into *Normandy* in *Iuly*, leauing for Wardens of *England* in his abſence, the Lords *Piercy*, and *Neuile*, taking the young Prince with him, about the age of fifteene yeeres, to learne him the way of men, and what trauaile greatneſſe was borne to endure, to attayne glory in this World. His Army conſiſted of foure thouſand men at armes, and ten thouſand Archers, beſides Welſh and Iriſh, which followed on Foot; hee had of Earles, *Hereford*, *Northampton*, *Arundell*, *Huntingdon*, *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, and *Oxford*: Of Barons, *Mortimer* (who was after Earle of *Marche*) *Iohn Lowys*, and *Roger Beauchamp*, *Cobham*, *Lucy*, *Baſſet*, *Barkeley*, and *Willoughby*, with diuers other, both Knights and gallant Captaynes. He had of late entertayned *Godfrey de Harecourt*, who had beene as a Minion to the French King, and became another *Robert de Artois*, vppon ſome diſcontent, or doubt of ſome diſcoueries of fauouring the Engliſh party in *Brittaine*, for which cauſe the French King had a little before executed *Oliuer de Cliſſon*, *Bacon*, *Piercy*, *Geffery de Maleſtroit*, men of eſpeciall marke, whom hee had there imployed. And now in ſtead of this *Harecourt* had won from King *Edward* the Lord *Iohn de Beaucham*, who had long ſerued him, was his wiues Vncle, and acquainted with all his courſes. Such is the truſt of mercinaries, who ſell their faith for better entertaynment. Neyther did this *Harecourt* long hold out, but changed colours, and made his peace with the French King, his naturall Lord: But in the meane time, did him and his Countrey much miſchiefe. For vppon king *Edwards* landing with his mighty Army, in the Iſle of *Conſtantine* in *Normandy* by his Conduction, hee made him one of his Marſhals, and the Earle of *Warwicke* the other. The Earle of *Arundel* is appoynted Conſtable. Hee diuides people into three battailes, one to march on his left hand, along the Sea Coaſt; the other on the right, Conducted by the two Marſhalls

Iohn de Beaumont when King *Edward* had made him Earle of *Cambridge*, takes the *French* kings part.

Marſhals, and himſelfe in the midſt with his mayne Army. The Earle of *Huntingdon* employed for Admiral of his Fleet, was to take all the ſhips he found on the Sea coaſt. The three Armies by land lodged euery night in one field. And firſt he ſackes the City of *Caranton*, ſlew all he found armed or diſarmed therein, burnes, razes, deſolates the City, ſaying he ſacrificed thoſe oblations to *Bacon*, *Pierey*, and others (whoſe heads hee found ſet vpon the principall Gate) vniuſtly maſſacred by *Philip*. Thence he marches forward, and tooke Saint *Lo*, a rich Towne of Merchandiſe, and pillaged the ſame. Then after ſome bickering, became Maſter of *Caen*, and put all that Country into ſo great terror, as *Falaiſe*, *Lyſeaux*, *Honfleur*, ſtrong walled Townes, rendered themſelues vnto him. This done, he ſpread his power in the Iſle of *France*, to draw out *Philip* to the combate, giuing out that he would wraſtle with him in the eye of all *France*, on the great Theater before his Capitall City of *Paris*.

The manner of King *Edward* proceeding with his army.

Philip this while helde not his armes in his boſome, but had ramaſſed one of the fayreſt Armies, ſayth the French Hiſtory, that euer was ſeene in *France*, compoſed of *French*, *Lorraines*, *Almaines*, *Genoays*, which hee led towards *Meulan*, where King *Edward* was ſaid to haue made a ſtand and attended him; but vpon report of his comming on, retyres: it was ſuppoſed hee fled for feare, but the euent ſhewed that the great God of Armies had deſtined his victory for another place. King *Philip* followes and ouertakes him at a Village called *Arenet*, a name remarkeable (ſignifying the *Sand*) to ſhew on what vnſtable earth all the truſt of humaine forces, and the deſignes of the great are founded. This mighty Army of King *Philip*, hauing the aduantage to be at home where all was theirs, made him account the Victory certayne. King *Edward* retires to gayne the Riuer of *Some* at *Blanquetaque*, but the paſſage was to be diſputed by the ſword. For *Philip* had before ſent thither *Gundemar de Fay*, with a thouſand Horſe, and ſixe thouſand Foote. King *Edward* notwithſtanding reſolues to paſſe or periſh, and plunges formoſt into the Riuer, crying out: *They who loue me, will follow me.* At which voyce all thruſt in without diſpute, ſtriuing who ſhould be formoſt, and loe preſently the ſhore gayned by the Engliſh. *Gundemar* aſtoniſhed with this vnexpected and bold aduenture, aſtoniſhes his people by his fearefull Countenance. So that the Engliſh encountring the *French* all in diſorder, fell vppon them and put them to flight. But the retreate was neere to *Abbe-ville* and Saint *Requier*. The loſſe was not ſo great as the ſhame, but ſerued as a preſage for a greater miſchiefe to *France*. Theſe diſtouted men all affrighted flocke into *Abbe-ville*. Where King *Philip* inraged with this diſhonour, reſolued to reuenge it, and preſently to prouoke King *Edward* to the Combate. The aduiſe of his Councell was otherwiſe; to ſuffer his troupes to repoſe ſome few dayes, and recouer their ſpirits, and King *Edward* to coole and ſpend his, in the meane while. But hardly had this King the patience to ſtay in *Abbe-vile* one day, whiles the bridge to paſſe ouer his Army was repayring. And with this precipitation and fury, into the field he marches, eleuated with an aſſured hope of a Tryumphant Victory.

The French king prepares to oppoſe king *Edward*.

King *Edward* goes ouer the Riuer of *Some*, deſeites the *French*.

The French king reſolues to encounter king *Edward*.

His impatience and his hopes.

King *Edward* better tempered, manages his worke with admirable diſcretion and Vigilancy, and had now encamped in a Village called *Cracy*, and there entrenched and fortified himſelfe, not onely with the Trees of the Forreſt about it, but with deepe rampiers, and other defences beſides: cauſing alſo a Parke to bee paled vnder the Wood ſide behinde his Hoſte, wherein were placed all the Carts and Carriages. His Army conſiſted of thirty thouſand men, but in order and courage double the number. The Vauntgard he gaue to the Prince, and for guides the Earle of *Warwicke*, *Godfrey de Harecourt*, the Lords *Stafford*, *De la ware*, *Bourcheir*, *Clifford*, *Cobham*, *Holland*, Sir *Iohn Chandos*, Sir *Bartholomew Burwaſh*, Sir *Robert Neuile* with eight hundred men at Armes, and two thouſand Archers, beſides a thouſand other, moſt of them *Welſh men*. The ſecond battaile was committed to the Earles *Arundell*, and *Northampton*, the Lords *Roſſe*, *Willoughby*, *Baſſet*, Saint *Albin*, *Multon*, and others, wherein were eight hundred men at Armes, and twelue hundred Archers. The third battaile the King led himſelfe, hauing ſeuen hundred men at Armes, and two thouſand Archers. Theſe Battailes thus ordered, mounted on a white Hobby, hee rode from ranke to ranke

The ordring of King *Edwards* Army.

ranke to view them, the one Marſhall on his right hand, the other on his left, incouraging euery man that day to haue regard to his right and honor.

The *French* Kings Army was greater both in luſtre and aduantage, compoſed of aboue ſixty thouſand Combatants well armed, whereof the chiefe were, *Charles* Earle of *Alanſon* the Kings brother, *Iohn de Luxembourg* King of *Bohemia*, *Charles de Bloys* the Kings Nephew, *Raph* Duke of *Lorrayne*, the Earle of *Flanders*, *Neuers*, *Sancerre*, the Dolphin *de Viennois*: of Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, aboue three thouſand: and on the Eue of the Battaile, *Amé* Earle of *Sauoy* arriued with a thouſand men at Armes more, which made the *French* King ſwell with aſſurance of the Maiſterie, ſo that he longed to be at the incounter. The Vauntguard he commits to his Brother Conte *d' Alanſon*, the Reere to the Earle of *Sauoy*, the Maine Battaile he leades himſelfe: his heate would ſcarce permit time for a little Councell what was fit to be done. The old King of *Bohemia* aduiſed that the Army ſhould firſt take ſome repaſt, and that the Infanterie conſiſting of *Genoueſe* (which were about fifteene thouſand Croſſe-bowes, and ſure men) ſhould make the firſt front, and the Gauallarie to follow, which was agreed on. After this repaſt the Vauntgard ſet on, the Conte *d' Alanſon*, contrary to this order, tooke it ill that the *Genoueſe*, where in the firſt ranke, and in fury cauſed them to change place, which changed the Seat of the Army, and wrought that diſcontent as it irritated them more againſt the Leader then the enemy: beſides there fell at the inſtant a piercing ſhower of raine, which diſſolued their ſtrings and made their bowes vnuſefull, and at the breaking vp of the ſhower, the Sunne ſhone full in the face of the *French* (dazling their ſight) and on the backes of the *Engliſh*, as if all made for them.

The ordering of the French kings Army at the battell of *Creſſy*.

King *Edward* who had gotten to a Wind-mill-hill, beholding as from a Sentinell, with a ſetled ſpirit, the countenance of the enemy, and diſcouering both this accident, and the hurlement made by the change of place, ſlackes not to take aduantage thereof, and inſtantly ſends to charge that part, without giuing them time to re-accommoderate themſelues; inſomuch as the diſcouraged *Genoueſe* recoyle, which the Conte *d' Alanſon* perceiuing, and comming on with the Horſe, in great rage cryes out, *On, on, let vs make way vpon the bellies of theſe Genoueſe, who do but hinder vs*: and inſtantly prickes on with a full carrier through the midſt of them, attended with the Earles of *Lorrayne*, *Sauoy*, and the Dolphin *de Viennois*, and neuer takes breath till hee came vp to the *Engliſh* Battaile, where the Prince was, which they found better ſetled: their Horſes flanked with troopes of Archers, whoſe ſtrings hauing not felt the Raine, rained ſuch a ſhower of Steele vpon them, as cooled their heate and all diſordered them. The *French* King ſeeing his Brother thus indangered, makes vp to diſ-ingage him, whereupon the Fight grew hot and doubtfull, inſomuch as the Commanders about the Prince, ſend to King *Edward* to come vp with his power to ayde them: the King demaunds the Meſſenger, whether his Sonne were ſlaine or hurt: the meſſenger anſwered no, but hee was like to be ouer layde. Well then ſayd the King, returne, and tell them who ſent you, *That ſo long as my Sonne is aliue, they ſend no more to me what euer happen, for I will that the Honor of this day be his*. And ſo being left to try for themſelues, they wrought it out with the Sword, and recouered the aduantage, by reaſon of the *French* King (hauing his Horſe ſlaine vnder him and in danger to be troden to death, had he not beene recouered by the Lord *Iohn Beamont*, his new Penſioner) was in the great diſcouragement of his people withdrawne out of the field. Whereof notice being once taken by the *Engliſh*, the day was ſoone after theirs, and the greateſt Victory they euer had yet againſt the *French*: and ſo bloody as there is not mention made of one Priſoner taken in the Battell: for they being once put to route, were all, whom the Sword could ouertake, ſlaughtered out right. Some few Troopes that held together, ſaued themſelues by retyring to places neere adioyning. The *French* King himſelfe with a ſmall company got to *Bray* in the night, and in approaching the Wals, the Guard, asked *Who goes there*, he anſwered, *The fortune of France*. His voyce being knowne the Gates are opened, and in is he receiued with the teares of lamentations of the People, whom yet he ſeekes to comfort all he could. The number of the

King *Edward* diſcouers the diſorders of the French.

King *Edward* obtaynes the Victory in this great battell of *Creſſy*.

The *French* king flyes.

ſlaine

slayne on the place are certified to be 30. thousand. The chiefe men were *Charles d' Alanson, Iohn* Duke of *Borbone*, *Ralph* Earle of *Lorraine*, *Louys* Earle of *Flanders*, *Iaques Dauphine de Viennois*, son to *Imbert* (who after gaue *Dauphin* to the Crowne of *France*) the Earles of *Sanserre*, *Haricourt* (brother to *Geffery*) and many other Earles, Barons, and Gentlemen to the number of 1500. This memorable victory hapned vpon the Saturday after *Bartholomew* day, being the 26. of *August*. 1346. The number of the slaine.

All the Markes of an intyre ouer-throw rested with King *Edward*; the field of the Battaile, the bodies of the slayne, and their spoyles. The occasion of this great defeit (according to humaine coniecture) the *French* attribute to the choller, rashnesse and precipitation of their King and his brother; and sure temerity and presumption haue euer beene the ruine of great Actions, especially in Warre.

King *Edward* managed this victory with as great moderation as hee wonne it; and first, hauing imbraced his Sonne, commending his valour shewed that day, hee renders thankes to God after, as he had inuoked his ayde before at the beginning of the Battayle, and earely in the morning, beeing Sunday, hee sent out 300. Lances, and 2000. Archers to discouer what was become of the enemy, who found great Troupes of such as were comming from *Abbe-ville*, St. *Requier*, *Roan* and *Beauvoys*, (ignorant of what had hapned) led by the Arch-bishop of *Roan* and the Prior of *France*, whom they likewise defeated, and slew 7000. Our Writers report, that of Straglers which were fled from the Battaile, or comming on, hauing loft their way by reason of a thicke misle which hapned that morning) were slayne many more then in the field the day before which sheweth vs the wonderfull losse this afflicted Countrey sustayned at one fatal blow.

But this was not all the victories that fell to King *Edward* that yeare, there was an other of more importance gotten in *England*, by the Queene and his people at home, against the King of *Scots*; who being set on by the *French* to diuert the warr there, entred vpon the Kingdome with 60. thousand men, as our Writers report, assuring himselfe of successe, in regard (as he supposed) the mayne strength thereof was now gone into *France*. But he found the contrary: the Lords of the North, as *Gilbert de Humfrauile*, Earle of *Angos*, *Henry Percy*, *Ralph Nimile*, *William Dayncourt* with the Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, the Bishop of *Durham*, and others of the Clergy, gathered so great force, and so well ordered them by the animation of the Queene (who was there in person) as they vtterly defeited this great Army: tooke *Dauid* their King Prisoner, with the Earles of *Fife*, *Menteth Murry*, *Sutherland*, the Lord *Douglas*, the Arch-bishop of Saint *Andrewes* and others, and put to the sword 15. thousand *Scots*. This Victory fell likewise vpon a Saturday, and sixe weekes after that of *Crossie*. And as if all concurred to make this yeare Tryumphant. The aydes sent to the Counteſſe of *Monfort* in *Brittain* lead by Sir *Thomas Dagworth*, ouerthrew and tooke Prisoner, *Charles de Bloys*, pretender to that Duchy; and with him *Monsieur la Val*, the Lords *Rochford*, *Beaumanoyr*, *Loyacé*, with many other Barons, Knights and Esquires; There were slayne in the incounter the Lord *De la Val* (Father of him which was taken) Vicont *Roban*, *Monsieur de Chasteau Brian*, *de Maleſtroit*, *de Quintin*, *de Direnal*, great Lords, besides many other worthy men at Armes, Knights and Esquires, to the number of about 700. Thus all fell before the sword of *England*. King *Dauid* ouerthrowne and taken prisoner. *Charles de Bloys* taken prisoner.

Now King *Edward*, without medling with the great Cities, *Amiens* and *Abbeville*, which were both neere, marches on directly and sets downe before *Calais*, a Towne of more importance for *England*, and the gate to all the rest: wherein *Iohn de Vienna* Marshall of *France*, and the Lord *d' Andregben*, a great man in his time, commanded. All that Winter King *Edward* hauing sheltred his people as in another towne, furnished with all prouisions, lay without any molestation of the *French* King, who this while was likewise besieged with the affliction of his owne state. Misfortune is euer held a great fault, both in mighty men and meane, and opens the mouthes of those whose hearts are peruerse. The people of *France* were in extreame pouerty, yet notwithstanding the necessity of the Kings affaires must constrayne fresh supplyes. The ill managing the publike Treasure, the falshood of the *Financiers*, the decrying of King *Edward* besieges *Calais*.

of Monies, the diminishing of traffick, augmentation of impostes, Subsidies, Gabels, &c. were the causes of this publike murmure, and put the people in dispayre, seeing no end of the troubles wherein their King was daily more and more ingaged. And now was no way to helpe him, but by an assembly of the States. Wherein the Financiers, Receiuers and Managers of monies are called to render an account, and the Treasure committed to the disposing of the Clergy and Nobles, to take away suspition in the people of ill dealing. Foure Bishops, two Abbots, and foure Knights are chosen for that businesse. *Pierre des Essars* Treasurer of *France*, is committed to Prison, condemned in a great Fine to the King. Other Officers and accountants restore at once, what they were long in gathering. The *Banquiers, Lombards* and other vsurers, are put to the presse for their vnlawfull exactions; and the Interests are proiued to exceede the Principall, which is confiscate to the King, and the Interest giuen to the Debtors. Courses, wherewith indigent Kings in expensiue times vse to serue their turnes, and please their oppressed people. Which I haue the rather noted, though it lye without our circle, to shew that other Kings likewise layd hand vppon what they could fasten, as well as ours haue done, and made benefite of mens offences: onely this of the Vsurer is new to vs, but yet like to that practised heretofore vppon the Iewes, and might serue a turne with as much content to the people, and as fayre a shewe of a iust correction as theirs did, the nature of the Extortors being alike.

The State of *France*.

Ayded with this meanes, and the ready seruice of his Nobles and ablest subiects, the *French* king, in the spring, hath an Army in the field, approaches *Calais*, but findes no way open to come to relieue it. The King of *England* was both Master of the Hauen, and possest of all other wayes whatsoeuer were passable, and had the *Flemmings* his friends, who with a huge Army had besieged *Aire*, and did much mischiefe on the confines of *France*. To oppose them, is *Iohn* Duke of *Normandy*, the Prince, sent for out of *Guyen*, who beeing no sooner remooued from thence, but *Henry* of *Lancaster* Earle of *Derby* became master of the field (hauing an Army consisting of twelue hundred men at armes, two thousand Archers, and three thousand other foote English and *Gascoines*) takes in most of the Townes of *Xaintong*, and *Poicton*, in the end besieged and sacked *Poyters*, and so returnes to *Burdeaux* with more pillage then his people could well beare. Thus the *French* suffered euery where. Their King, not beeing able to approach to grapple with the King of *England*, sends to solicite him to appoynt some place of battayle, and hee would incounter him. King *Edward* returnes answer; *If he would make his owne way to come thither vnto him, there he should finde him: for, from thence he would not part, hauing there layne so long, to his great labour and charge, and beeing now so neere the point of gayning the place.*

The two Cardinalls sent from the Pope, labour to mediate a peace, and Commissioners on eyther side meete to treate; but nothing could be effected. So that the French king was forced to breake vp his armie and retyre to *Paris*, leauing *Calais* and the defendants vnrelieued, to the mercy of the Besieger, which when they vnderstood, they sent to desire Parle, had it granted, and therein receyued this small sentence: that sixe of the chiefe Burgesses should be sent to the king bare-headed, bare-footed, in their shirtes, with halters about their neckes, the keyes of the Towne and Castle in their hands, and submit themselues to the kings will: For the residue hee was content to take to mercy. This sentente intimated to the miserable Townesmen, they all in lamentable manner looking each on other, who should be chosen for his sacrifice, one amongst the rest stands vp, and boldly spake to this effect. *Fellow Citizens, for mine owne part I that haue so often exposed my life, in this long siege for my Country (and haue breut euery day to dye) am now most willing to sacrifice the same for my last oblation thereunto, and will chearefully carry my head to the Victory of the King of* England, *not desiring to suruiue the perdition of my miserable Country.* Which free and resolute speech so wrought with this amazed people, as now they striue who should bee one of the sixe; and cryed, *Let vs goe, let vs goe vnto Death, is it the last duty we ought to render to our Natiue soile.* Sixe are presently chosen, and sent according to the sentence, presenting themselues on their bare knees to the king, and beseeching him to shewe

Conditions for the rendering of *Calais*.

mercy

mercy vnto them. The King commaunds them instantly to be carried to their execution, and would not (although great supplication was made for them by his Counsell) be diuerted; in regard as he sayd of his oath: till the Queene, great with Childe, fell on her knees before him, and with teares obtayned their pardon, and had them giuen vnto her; which done she caused them to be clothed, gaue them their dinner, and sixe nobles a man, appoynting them to be safely conuayed out of the Army, and set at liberty. An Act worthy of so great a Queene, and the greater by this her deede of mercie. The King though in this he were sterne, yet was he more sparing of blood then his Grand-father *Edward* the first, and had more of Compassion; as shewed an Acte in this siege. When Victuals within the Towne beganne to fayle, and all vnvsefull persons, as olde men, women, and children put out of the gates, hee forced them not backe agayne which he might haue done, the sooner to consume their store, but suffered them to passe through his Army, gaue them to eate, and two pence a peece to euery one.

The Queene obtaynes pardon for the Burgesses of *Calais*.

King *Edwards* Clemency.

And thus was that strong Towne of *Calais* the third of *August* 1347. gotten, after almost an yeares siege, with infinite cost and labour: All the Inhabitants are turned out, and sent away to seeke new dwellings; a Colony of the English planted therein, and so it remained in the possession of the Crowne of *England* 210. yeares after. And now this tryumphant King hauing made truce for some few moneths, and taken order for the safe keeping of his hard gotten prize, returnes with his Queene, the Prince and his people into *England*, to make Holy-day, and enioy the benefite of their booties brought home out of *France*, which are sayd to bee so great as euery house had some part, and the Wiues of *England*, now flourish with the stuffe and ornaments of those of *France*, who in the meane time lament their losses; and heere is nothing but Feasts and Tryumphes throughout the Kingdome. And to adde to this glory, the Princes Electors send to signifie, that they had chosen King *Edward*, King of the *Romans*: which great dignity, notwithstanding hee refused, being it seemed out of his way, or cumbersome to deale withall.

The conquest of the Towne of *Calais*.

King *Edward* returnes into *England*.

King *Edward* refuseth the Election of king of the *Romans*.

But before that yeare ended, this great iollity, heere in *England* turned to the saddest mourning that could be possible. The inuisible Sword of Heauen makes such a rauage vpon Mankinde, as had not beene knowne before. A contagious Pestilence ariseth in the East and South parts of the World, that dispreads it selfe ouer all Christendome. And in *England* they write that it tooke away more then the halfe of men: As if the Diuine prouidence seeing them thus violently bent to destroy and massacre one another, would lessen their numbers for their fields, and take to it selfe the Vengeance of blood-shew in this terrible manner. Church-yards could not heere suffice to bury the dead, new grounds are purchased for that purpose. It is noted there dyed in *London*, betweene the first of *Ianuary* and the first of *July* 57374. persons. Other Cities and Townes suffered the like, according to their portions. All which calamitie notwithstanding, could not deterre those egar Princes from profecuting their quarrell, nor yet so vnfurnish their fields, but that they found still fresh hands for blood-shed, as shewed their many conflicts shortly after. But yet it gaue some pause, till the feruour of the contagion asswaged, which was also attended with a miserable famine, murraine of Cattle, and sterility of the earth, caused through the indisposition of the Heauens, and wants of culture.

The first great Pestilence.

Anno Reg. 23.

The first Action after this, was the Kings going ouer to *Calais*, vppon an information of a practise to surprise the Towne, contriued by the French, which was thus. *Monsieur de Charny*, Gouernour of Saint *Omers*, had dealt with *Americo de Pauia*, whom King *Edward* had left Captaine of the Castle of *Calais*, offring him 10. thousand Crownes to be receiued into the Castle: *Americo* accepts the offer, and appoynts a night for the businesse. In which night (by aduertisements from *Americo*) King *Edward* arriues with 300. men at Armes, and 600. Archers. *Monsieur Charny* sets out likewise the same night from Saint *Omers* with his Forces, and sent 100. armed men before with the Crownes to *Americo*, and to possesse the Castle. The men are let in at a Posterne Gate, the Crownes receyued, and themselues layd in hold. VVhich done the

King *Edward* goes ouer to *Calais*.

The *French* circumuented in their practise.

the Gates of the Towne are opened, and out marches the King before day, to encounter *Monſieur de Charny*, comming on with his Forces, who perceyuing himſelfe betrayed, put his people to the beſt defence he could, and the King of *England* to a hard bickring; who, for that he would not be knowne there in perſon, put himſelfe and the Prince, vnder the colours of the Lord *Walter Mouny*, and was twice beaten downe on his knees, by *Mongeur de Ribounmont*, a hardy Knight (with whom hee fought hand to hand) and yet recouered, and in the end tooke *Ribounmont* Priſoner. *Charny* was likewiſe taken, and all his forces defeited. King *Edward* the night after (which was the firſt of the new yeare) feaſted with the Priſoners, and geue *Ribounmont* in honour of his valour (wherein he honoured his owne) a rich Chaplet of Pearle, which himſelfe wore on his head (for a New-yeares-gift) forgaue him his ranſome, and ſet him at lyberty. The reſt pay dearely for what they got not, and were well warned how to Trafficke in that kinde. Yet the Engliſh not long after in the like practiſe had better ſucceſſe, and got the Caſtle of *Guiſnes* (a peece of great importance neere *Calais*) for a ſumme of money giuen to one *Beauconroy* a *French man*. Of which Caſtle, when the *French* King demanded reſtitution, in regard of the Truce: King *Edward* returnes anſwere: *That for things bought and ſold betweene their people, therein was no exception*, and ſo held it.

1305. *Anno Reg.* 24.

Shortly after, the *French* King not borne to liue to ſee any better Fortune, dyes, leauing that diſtreſſed Kingdome to his ſonne *Iohn*; who found farre worſe. For theſe fore noted wounds, were but as ſcratches to that State, compared with thoſe horrible maimes it indured in his, and after in the Raignes of *Charles* 6. and 7. till the ſword of *England* was turned home vpon it ſelfe, to let out the blood of reuenge with as Tragical miſchiefes, on the ſucceſſours of theſe actors, who now thus wrought others ruines abroad.

The French king dyes.

King *Edward*, the next yeare after, is againe in perſon with a Fleete on the Sea, to incounter certayne Spaniſh ſhippes, paſſing from *Flanders* loaden with Cloath and other commodities, whom, after a great fight, and much blood ſhed on eyther ſide, hee tooke with all their ſubſtance: For that the *Spaniards* the yeare before, entered the Riuer *Garonne*, and tooke away certaine Engliſh ſhips, loaden with Wines and ſlew all the Engliſh. His forces in *Guyen* were not idle this while, but many conflicts paſſed betweene the *French* and them; notwithſtanding the Truce which was renued. The Wars in *Brittaine* likewiſe contiuue, and are hotly maintayned betweene the two Ladies, the widow of *Monfort*, and the wife of *Charles de Bloys* (whoſe husband remaines priſoner in *England*) eager defenders of eythers pretended right.

King *Edward* in action at Sea againſt the *Spaniards*.

Diuerſe ouertures of peace had beene made by Legates, ſent from the Pope, and Commiſſioners often met, to the great expence of both Kings, but nothing could bee concluded, (the winner and the loſer ſeldome agreeing vpon conditions in regard the one will haue more then the other is willing to yeelde vnto) and ſo temporary Truces (which were but ſlenderly obſerued) are onely taken to winne time. Theſe actions not onely conſumed our men, but the Treaſure of the Kingdome. The Warre, though inuaſiue, could not maintayne it ſelfe. The monies here are altered, and abated in weight, and yet made to paſſe according to the former value. Before this time there were none other peeces but Nobles and halfe Nobles, with the ſmall peeces of ſiluer called ſterlings; but now groates of foure-pence, and halfe groates of two pence, equivolent to the ſterling money, are coyned, which inhanſed the prices of things, that riſe or fall according to the plenty or ſcarcity of Coyne. Which made ſeruants and labourers to rayſe their wages accordingly. Whereupon a Statute was made in the Parliament, now held at *Weſtminſter*, to reduce the ſame to the accuſtomed rate which was giuen before the late great Mortality. This cauſed much murmuring amongſt them, imputing the cauſe thereof, to *William Edington* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Kings Treaſurer, whom they held to be the Author of the abatement of the Coyne.

Alterations of monies.

A Parliament *Anno Re.* 27.

The King conceyuing diſpleaſure againſt the *Flemings*, for beeing diſappointed of the Match betweene a Daughter of his, and their yong Earle of *Louys* (who was eſcaped

ped into *France*, and bestowed on a daughter of the Duke of *Brabant*) with-drawes the Mart of Staple of Woolles from their Townes, greatly inriched thereby, and caused the same to be kept at *Westminster*, *Chichester*, *Canterbury*, *Lincolne*, *Warwick*, *Yorke*, *Newcastle*, *Excester*, *Carmarden*, *Bristoll* and *Hull*. Holding it fitter to aduance his owne Townes then Strangers, by the commodities of the Kingdome. And here are prouident Ordinances enacted, for the gouerning and ordering this Staple.

The Staple established in *England*.

An Acte is also made in this Parliament, that all Weares, Milles, and other Stoppages of Riuers, hindring the passages of Boates, Lighters, and other Vessels should be remooued. An Acte most commodious to the Kingdome, but it tooke little effect, sayth my Authour, by reason of bribing and corrupting Lords, and great men, who regarded more their owne, then the publike benefite: A mischiefe fatall to all good Ordinances; and yet it is an honour to that time, that so behoouefull an Act was ordained. For, this easie conueying and passing of Commodities from that place to place, to impart the same more generally, would (no doubt) be an infinit benefit to this State: And seeing God hath made vs Riuers proper for the same, it is our negligence, or sloth if we marre them, or make them not vsefull in that kind, as other Nations do with farre lesser streames.

Walsingham.

There is mentioned also an Act to be made, at the instance of the *Londoners*, that no common Whore should weare any hood, except prayed, or striped with diuers colours, or Furres, but garments reuersed, the wrong side outward: wherein they did well to set a deformed marke vpon foulenesse, to make it appeare the more odious.

Stow.

After this Parliament, *Henry* Earle of *Derby*, is created Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Raph* Lord *Stafford*, Earle of *Stafford*; and here *Charles de Blois*, a long prisoner in *England*: agreed for his Ransome, which was forty thousand *Florins*, and was permitted to returne into *Britagne* to prouide the same. Great mediation is made by the Pope to accord the two Kings, and Commissioners meete on both sides, to treate and conclude a Peace. The chiefe Article in deliberation, was; *That the King of* England *should enioy all the Lands of his Duchy of* Aquitaine, *without holding the same by reuerence or Homage of the Crowne of* France: *and in consideration thereof, should resigne all his Claime and title to the Kingdome.* And this was in a manner then fully agreed on, yet in the end broken off by the *French* (*Alledging, they could not alienate any thing from the body of that Crowne*) *to their further confusion and mischiefe, hauing bene better to haue spared a formall Ceremony appertaining to a part, then to haue had the whole so miserably rent and torne in peeces as it was.* And yet in the end were they faine to make their agreement vpon the same very Article, at the Treaty of *Bretigny*.

The Earle of *Derby* created Duke of *Lancaster*.

Treaty of Peace.

But now the Commissioners returning without effecting any thing, the King of *England* grew so displeased, as he would not hearken to any further prorogation of Truce, though it were not instantly vrged by two Cardinals, sent from *Auignion* by Pope *Clement* the 6. (who being a *French-man* borne, labored much for the peace of his Countrey) and preparation is made for fresh wars. The Prince of *Wales* now growne a man, is appointed by Parliament to goe into *Gascoigne* with 1000. men at Armes, 2000. Archers, and a great number of *Welshmen*, and in *June* following, sets foorth with 300. Sayle; attended with the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisbury*, *and Oxford*, the Lord *Chandos*, the Lord *Iames Audley*, Sir *Robert Knoles*, Sir *Franke de Hall*, with many others.

Anno. Reg. 27.

About *Michaelmas* following, the King himselfe passes ouer to *Calais* with another Army, taking with him two of his sonnes, *Lionell* of *Antwerpe*, now Earle of *Vlster*, (by the right of his Wife, *Elizabeth* daughter and heire to *William Burgh*;) And *Iohn* of *Gant*, Earle of *Richmond*. There met him at *Calais*, of Mercinaries out of *Germany*, *Flanders*, and *Brabant*, a thousand men at Armes. So that the Army consisted of three thousand men at Armes, and two thousand Archers on horse-backe; besides Archers on foote. The City of *London* sent 300. men at Armes, and 500. Archers all in one Liuery, at their owne charges. But all this great power effected nothing at that time, the *French* King would not be drawne to any incounter: both in regard of the poteney of his enemy, and some turbulencies happening amongst his owne people, but

King *Edward* passes with an Army into *France*.

Returnes without doing any thing.

but he ſo diſfurniſhes the country (where the *Engliſh* were to paſſe) of all prouiſions to ſuſtaine them, as the King of *England* was forced to returne ouer.

The diſtemperatures of *France* that this time diſeaſed it, grewe from the violent humours of *Charles* King of *Nauarre*, who had married *Iane* the *French* Kings daughter, a Prince of a ſtirring Spirit, ſubtile, haughtie, and preſuming vpon his great Eſtate, and high Blood, being the ſonne of *Lewis* Conte *d' Aureux* and *Iane* daughter to King *Lewis Hutin*, which *Iane* was put by the inheritance of the Crowne of *France* by *Philip de Long* her Vncle, in regard of the *Soliqque Lawe*: and by him preferred to be Queene of *Nauarre*, in whoſe right this *Charles* her ſonne, bare both the Title and State of that Kingdome, with many other great inheritances: all which could not yet content him, but holding himſelfe wronged that hee had not alſo the Counties of *Champagne* and *Bray*, which appertained to his Mother by the ſame right as did the Kingdome of *Nauarre*, enters into violent courſes. And (daring not to complaine directly to the King) hee falles vpon the Conſtable of *France*, as chiefe of his Councell, and one of whom hee was iealous, in regard of the Kings particular fauour vnto him, and in the end cauſed him to be murthered in his bed at *L' Aigle* in *Normandy*, ruſhing himſelfe vp into his Chamber, accompanied with his brother *Philip* of *Nauarre*, two of the *Harcourts*, and diuerſe other of his owne retinue. After the deede done, hee retires to his owne City of *Eureux*, and iuſtifies the act to bee lawfull.

The King of *Nauarre* diſturbes the French King.

The *French* King, though extreamely ſtung herewith, yet was faine to temporize, and promiſes the King of *Nauarre*, if hee would come and craue pardon, hee ſhould haue it. Whereupon hee appeares at *Paris* before the Councell, to render reaſon for his act, is condemned, as guiltie of treaſon (notwithſtanding the Kings promiſe) and committed priſoner. Three Queenes are earneſt ſutors for him, his Mother (the olde Queene of *Nauarre*) his Siſter (the Widdow of the late King *Philip de Valois*) and his owne Wife daughter to the *French* King. His releaſe is obtained, and away hee goes with the rancour of his wound (which had beene better not giuen, vnleſſe it had beene home) offers his ſeruice to the King of *England* (who knewe well how to make vſe of ſuch a powerfull member) and withall ſurpriſes certaine peeces in *Normandie*, practiſing all he could to withdrawe the peoples affections, and aydes from their King, when he had moſt need of them. Theſe inſolencies, notwithſtanding the *French* King is faine to indure and diſſemble, vntill hee might againe take him vpon ſome aduantage: to vſe force, he ſaw was dangerous, both in regard of his party and the time. An occaſion at length fell out, whereon he ſeazes. *Charles* his eldeſt ſonne beeing lately inueſted in the Duchy of *Normandy*, is viſited by all the great men in the Countrey, amongſt whom as chiefe comes the King of *Nauarre*, and is royally feaſted at *Roan*. Whereof the *French* King hauing notice, ſets out of *Paris* ſuddenly takes him at dinner with his ſonne, and without farther proceſſe cauſes foure of the principall which maſſacred the Conſtable, to be preſently executed; of which, two were the *Harcourts* brethren; and withall ſends away *Nauarre* vnder ſure guard to *Arras*, and his chiefeſt ſeruants to diuerſe priſons.

The French King committs the King of *Nauarre* priſoner.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* ſents into *Normandy* to aide the king of *Nauars* brother and others.

This ſudden execution, though it gaue a preſent amazement, yet it wakened the partiſans of *Nauarre*, and eſpecially *Philip* his brother, who with *Geffrey Harcourt* (Vncle to the two brethren) paſt ouer into *England*, exclaiming againſt this violent murther, inuoking King *Edward*, in a caſe of ſo notorious iniuſtice, to ayde them: offering their hearts, their goods their Townes and Hauens, to let him into *Normandy*. The occaſion is entertayned, the Duke of *Lancaſter* is ſent ouer with foure thouſand men at Armes, and by the aſſiſtance of this great party, winnes many ſtrong Townes.

1335. *Anno Reg.* 29.

King *Edward* to be furniſhed for ſo great actions, hath by Parliament graunted vnto him fifty Shillings vppon euery Sacke of Wooll, for ſixe yeeres next enſuing: by which impoſition it was thought (ſay our Hiſtorians) the King might diſpend a thouſand Markes ſterling, a day. Such vent of Woolls were there in that time. And preſently after the Parliament, in Winter (to ſhew that he was of all weathers) he goes

Fifty ſhillings granted by Parliament of euery ſacke of wooll, for ſixe yeares.

goes with an Army to recouer *Barwicke*, which had beene surprised by the *Scots*, whilest he was last at *Calais*; and here hath he not onely his Towne, but the whole Kingdome of *Scotland* resigned vnto him, by *Edward Baliol*, who held himselfe King thereof by the best title, but not best regarded: for King *Alexander* (though now Prisoner in *England*) had the most powerfull party there: and so both were Kings to their seuerall sides that held them so: a miserable distraction to that poore Kingdome. And euery where dwelt affliction but in *England*, and here was nothing but Triumphs, Vanquishings, and Recouerings in all parts.

Edward Baliol resignes the kingdome of Scotland vnto King *Edward*, reserving to himselfe a pension.

The Prince ouer-runs *Guien*, passes ouer *Languedoc* to *Thoulouse*, *Narbonne*, *Bourges*, without any encounter in the field; sackes, spoyles, destroyes where he goes, and loaden with booties returnes to *Burdeaux*.

1336. *Anno Reg.* 30.

The *French* King thus assaulted on all sides, gathers what power he possibly could, and first makes against his enemies in *Normandy*, recouers many of his lost Townes; and was likely to haue there preuailed, but that he was drawne of force to oppose the fresh Inuador, the Prince of *Wales*, who was againe abroad, and come to the *Loyre* against whom he brings his whole Army, causing all the Townes and passages vpon the Riuer *Loyre* to be strongly guarded: Whereupon the Prince whole power was not to encounter those so mighty, was aduised to withdraw again through *Tourayne* and *Poytou* towards *Burdeaux*. The *French* King to preuent his course followes, and within two Leagues of *Poytiers* hath him at a great aduantage. Two Cardinals at that instant came from the Pope to mediate a peace. The *French* King supposing he had his Enemie now in his mercy, would accept of none other conditions, but that the Prince should deliuer him foure Hostages, and as vanquished, render himselfe and his Army to his discretion.

The *French* King hath the Prince of *Wales* at an aduantage.

The Prince was content to restore vnto him what he had gained vpon him, but without preiudice of his Honour, wherein he sayd: *He stood accomptable to his Father, and to his Countrey.* So the Legates perswasions (though earnestly vrged) could preuaile nothing vpon the *French* Kings obstinacy; who presuming of victory (in regard his Army was fiue to one) would instantly (as loath to loose time to loose himselfe) set vpon the Prince: who reduced to this Straight, takes what aduantage he could of the ground, and prouidently got the benefit of the Vines, Shrubs and Bushes, so that part he was like to be assailed, to impester and intangle the *French* horse, which he saw were to come furiously vpon him. The successe answered his expectation, for behold the Cauallarie of his enemies vpon their first assault, wrapt and incombred amongst the Vines, so that his Archers without danger, gall and annoy them at their pleasure.

The battaile of *Poytiers*, fought the 19. of September 1356.

For the *French* King to giue the honour of the day to his Cauallarie (whereof he had caused a choice to be elected out of euery Company, to the discontent of the rest (imployed them onely without his *Infantery*: So that they being disordered, and put to rout, his whole Army came to be vtterly defeited.

The errours committed in the battaile of *Cressie*, could not warne the King to auoide the like. For had he had the patience to haue tymed it out awhile, the Prince could not haue possibly subsisted, being thus inuironed, and shut vp from all succours as he was: and now thus furiously assaulted, and hauing no safety but what was to be wrought by the Sword (which desperation euer makes the sharper.) Hee, and his shewed that admirable courage that day, as purchased them the most memorable glory that euer any Martiall action did, that was atchieued by the *English* with so few hands.

The *French* king taken prisoner.

Here was now the head of that great Kingdome claymed, taken Prisoner, with his youngest sonne *Philip* (who valiantly defending his Father, when his other brothers forsooke him, had afterward the Title of *Hardie*, and became Duke of *Burgogne*) *Iames de Borbon, Conte de Ponthieu*, the Arch-bishop of *Sens*, *Iohn d'Artois, Conte d'Eu*, *Charles d'Artois*, his brother *Conte de Longuenale*, *Charles Conte de Tancarville*, the *Conte* of *Vendosme*, *Salbourg*, *Dampmartin*, and *La Roche*, with many other Lords of Markes besides 2000. Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen, in so much as the Conquetours, holding it not safe to retaine so many, let many of these go.

The number of prisoners taken.

The *French*, who can giue beſt account of their owne loſſes, report there dyed in the Battaile a thouſand and ſeauen hundred Gentlemen, amongſt which were fiftie and two Bannerets: the moſt eminent, *Peter de Barbon*, the Duke *d' Athens*, Conſtable of *Fraunce*, *Ian de Clermont* Marſhall, *Geffrey de Charney* High Chamberlaine. There eſcaped from this Battaile three of the *French* Kings Sonnes (for hee brought them all thither) *Charles* Prince Dauphin (and the firſt ſo intitled) *Lewis* after Duke of *Anion*, *Iohn* Duke of *Berry*, all great Actours in the time following.

The ſlaine in the battell.

This blow might ſeeme to haue beene enough to haue vtterly ouerthrowne that Kingdome, and abſolutely ſubdued it to the Crowne of *England*, but that it was a body which conſiſted of ſo many ſtrong limbs, had ſuch ſtore of ſpirits diſperſed in ſeuerall parts, and contained ſo wide an extent of State, as all this blood letting could not diſſolue it, or make it faint to giue ouer. And ſure theſe powerfull Kingdomes, howſoeuer they may be diſeaſed, and ſuffer, either through the diſtemperature of their heads, or diſtractions of their other parts, can neuer vnleſſe by a generall diſſolution) be ſo low brought, but they will recouer againe in the end: their frame holds by many nayles, which neuer faile all together.)

The Prince of *Wales* in this Battaile, hath a double Victorie, the one by the Sword, the other by his Curteſie: firſt he viſites the Captiue King, with all reuerence and regard of Maieſtie, comforts him by the examples of the fortunes of Warre, and aſſures him of all faire entertainement according to his dignity. The eſpeciall great men who were Actors in this worke muſt not paſſe vnremembred, the Earles, *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Saliſbury*, *Oxford*, *Stafford*: the Lords, *Cobham*, *Spencer*, *Barkley*, *Baſſet*: Of *Gaſtoignes*, *Le Capital de Beuf*, the Lords *Pumier*, *Chaumont*, and others. And here the Lord *Iames Audley* is renowned both for his valour and bounty, who hauing vowed to be formoſt in this fight, performed his word, and ſealed it with many wounds: for which the Prince hauing rewarded him with the gift of fiue hundred markes, Fee-ſimple in *England*, hee preſently gaue it to foure of his Eſquires, who had with him indured the brunt of the day. Whereupon the Prince demanding, whether he accepted not his gift, he anſwered how theſe men had deſerued the ſame, as well as himſelfe, and had more need thereof. The Prince pleaſed with this reply, gaue him fiue hundreth Markes more in the ſame kind? An example of the worthineſſe of the time, wherein good deſeruings went not vnrewarded.

A memorable act of *Iames* Lord *Audley*.

(All things prouidently accomodated after the battaile) the Prince with his priſoners firſt retires to *Burdeaux*, and then paſſes with great glory into *England*, now the Theatre of Tryumph. The *French* King is lodged at the *Sauoy*, then a goodly Pallace of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*. Many priſoners vpon reaſonable ranſome, and many vpon the *French* Kings word (vndertaking for them) are deliuered and ſent home honourably. *Dauid* King of *Scots*, who had remained priſoner eleuen yeares in *England*, is ſhortly after, by the earneſt ſolicitation of *Ioan* his Wife, ſiſter to King *Edward*, ſet likewiſe at liberty for the ranſome of a hundreth thouſand Markes ſterling, to be payd at ten yeeres. The ſecurity now had of *France*, gaue way to this Princes libertie.

1337. *Anno Reg.* 11.

Aboue foure yeares the *French* King remained priſoner in *England*, (in which time were many ouertures, and great offers made for his deliuery, but nothing effected.) *Charles* the Dauphin, who managed that Kingdome (during the captiuity of his father) a Prince of great diſcretion, wrought all meanes poſſible to bring that factious people to yeelde their contribution, for ranſoming their King, but little preuailed. (The Parliament called to conſult thereof, rather augments the miſery of the State, then prouides remedy.) (Wherein after the Dauphin had gravely deliuered the deſolation and danger they were in, being thus depriued of their Head, and the neceſſitie of recouering and relieuing the ſame, by their vtmoſt meanes: There was a choyce required of fiftie to auoyde confuſion) to bee made out of all the Prouinces, to conſult of what was propounded, according to the inſtructions they ſhould receiue. Theſe fifty, after many meetings, ſends for the Dauphin to heare their reſo-

The ſtate of *France* during their Kings captiuity.

lution

lution, which was much otherwise then he expected. For in stead of ayde and subuention, they require reformation in the State. And first, the Bishop of *Laon*, chosen their Speaker, besought him to keepe secret what should bee vttered vnto him by the *States*. The young Prince answers (*That it were much preiudiciall to do degrees bee held in the Kingdome, to take the Lawe of his Fathers Subiects*.) And therefore commanded them (by their Allegeance) openly to reueale what they had in their hearts. The Bishop thereupon, declares the euill managing of the Publike Reuenues, demaunds redresse, and Commissioners appointed to call such as were answerable, to yeelde their Accounts. *That all who had managed the Treasury should be deposed from their Office; That both the moneys, and all the affaires of the State, should from thenceforth be dirested by foure Bishops, and twelue Burgesses, whereof the City of* Paris *should be chiefe: and that without this Councell the* Dauphin *should do nothing*: And in conclusion, they instantly require; *That the King of* Nauarre *might be set at liberty*. (On which conditions they would yeeld any reasonable subuention for redeeming their King.)

(To these harsh Demands, the *Dauphin* requires time to answer, which he so puts off from day to day (in hope thereby to separate and disvnite their Councels) as the Deputies, at length, tyred with delay grew cold, and the Assembly brake vp without doing any thing.)

But this left such a poyson as infected the people, and specially those of *Paris*, who shortly after presumptuously demaund to haue the King of *Nauarre* deliuered, according to the decree of the Deputies; and without delay they so wrought with *Pinquigny*, the Gouernour of *Artoys* (who had the keeping of this Fire-brand, as he was deliuered after 19. moneths imprisonment, and comes to *Paris* so accompanied, as shewed both of what spirit and state he was, and that he meant to take his time of reuenge. Here is he welcom'd with the applause of the whole City, to whom in publike matter with great eloquence, he declares the wrongs he had receiued; and besides intimates, what right he had to the Crowne of *France*, (thereby to imbroyle the affaires of that State, which were already too much in combustion). This put the businesse of redeeming the captiue King quite out of their mindes for that time: and the *Dauphin* is constrained (by an Acte of Abolition) to acquit the King of *Nauarre* and his Complices, of all former offences. And seeing the peruersenesse of the *Parisians*, goes to solicite other Cities, and Prouinces: trauailing from place to place for aide and succour, leauing his brother *Philip*, Duke of *Orleance*, at *Paris*, to keepe them in (the best he could) during his absence.

The King of *Nauarre* let at liberty.

The Prouince of *Languedoc*, is renowned in their Historics, for being the first that made the largest offer of aide towards the redemption of their King, in the Assembly of the three States at *Tholouse*, wherein they promised to their Gouernour, the Conte *d'Armignac*, not onely to imploy their Reuenue, but their moueables, and euen to sell their Wiues Iewels to raise the same. Besides, to witnesse their publicke sorrowe, they ordaine, that no costly Apparrell, Feasting, Playes, or other iollyties, should be vsed within their Prouince, during the time of their Kings captiuitie. *Champagne* by their example doth the like. But nothing could moouе the *Parisians* to yeelde any thing. (The King of *Nauarre* had wonne them, both from their obedience, and all humanitie, and put them into such flames of Rebellion, as when the *Dauphin* came backe to the Citie, the Prouost of Merchants assaulted his house with three thousand Artificers in Armes, and rushed himselfe vp into his Chamber with certaine of his trayne: wherewith the *Dauphin* beeing amazed, the Prouost bids him be content, it was resolued it must bee so. And presently vpon Signall giuen, *Ian de Conflans*, and *Robert de Clermont*, Marshall of *France*, and his chiefe Counsellors, are slaine in his presence. The *Dauphin* cryes out; *What meane you? Will you sit vpon the Blood of* France? *Sir* (sayd the Prouost) *Feare you not, It is not you we seeke, it is your disloyall seruants, Who haue euill counsailed you*. And heere withall hee takes (and puts on) the *Dauphins* hat, edged with Gold, and sets his owne, which was party coloured, Red and Peach-colour (as the Liuery of the City vpon the *Dauphins* head, and out he goes adorned with the Hat of a Prince, as a signe of *Dilatorship*, causing the bodies

of these two Noble men to be trayled along the streetes to the Court of the Pallace, for all the furious multitude which ran to applaude the murther, to gaze on.

This done, the Prouost writes in the name of the whole Citie, to all the great Townes, soliciting them to ioyne with theirs (the principall of the Kingdome) and take their Liuery, as the Dauphin had done, for the reformation of the Estate. Besides, they compose a Councell of themselues, whereof the Bishop of *Laon*, the Primier President, the Prouost, with some of the Vniuersitie, were chiefe, assuming a Soueraigne power to order all affaires of the State, as a Common-wealth. So that wee see in what a miserable confusion that Kingdome stood, beeing without a head, and how apt it was then to shake off all Authoritie, and dissolue the Gouernment into parts: shewing vs that it was no new proiect amongst them to Cantonize, as the great Townes and the Princes of late practised to do, in their leagues during their Ciuill combustions.

The Dauphin thus disgraced, with much adoe, gets out of this tumultuous Citie, and retires into *Champagne*, and at *Vertus* assembles the states of the Countrey, whom he found Loyall, and ready to yeelde him all succour. The rest of the great Townes refusing (with much disdaine) to ioyne with the Citie of *Paris*, offer him likewise their ayde: So that he was put into some heart, and likely to effect his desires in short time, had not the King of *Nauarre*, who sought his destruction, still raised new broyles in the State, and taken Armes against him.

France spoiled by the souldiers and others on all sides.

Now besides these confusions, greater mischiefes arose in that miserable Kingdome: the poore Pausants that had beene eaten out by the souldiers, and troden vnder foote by their Lords, colleague and arme themselues in the Countrey of *Beauuoysis*, and turne head vpon the Gentry, and such as had done them wrong, spoyling, sacking, burning their houses, killing their Wiues and Children in most outragious manner. This was not all, troopes of souldiers which had no worke or meanes to liue, ioyne together in mighty Companies, ouer-runne and rauage other parts of the Kingdome. The forces in *Brittaine* vnder the conduct of Sir *Robert Knoles*, breake out vpon the confining Countries, and returne loaden with inestimable booties of wealth.

All which miserable calamities (enough to haue vtterly dissolued a state) prolong the imprisonment of their King in *England*; so that nothing could be effected for his ransome, which King *Edward* thinkes long till he haue in his Treasury: and vrges likewise for his part very hard conditions; requiring, say they, besides infinite summes, that King *Iohn* should do Homage, and hold the Kingdom of *France* of the Crowne of *England*: which (he with great disdaine refuses, as being not in his power to alien what was vnalienable, vowing that no misery of his, should constraine him to do any thing preiudiciall to his successors, to whom he would leaue the state as he receiued it.) But yet at length offers other, and more large conditions then the *French* were willing to yeeld vnto, which being long in debating, and nothing concluded (after foure yeeres expectation) King *Edward* in great displeasure, resolues to make an end of this worke with the Sword, and to take possession of the Kingdome of *France*. And ouer he passes to *Calais*, with a Fleete of eleuen hundreth sayle. His Army he deuides into three battailes, one he commits to the Prince of *Wales*, another to the Duke of *Lancaster*, and the third he leades himselfe. And first he marches to the City of *Aras*, which he takes within three dayes. Thence into *Champagne*, where the Cities of *Sens* and *Neuers*, are rendered vnto him. The Duchy of *Burgogne* terrified with these examples, redeemes it selfe from spoyle, vpon paying two hundred thousand Florins of Gold. Furnished with which treasure, and booties by the way, vp King *Edward* marches to *Paris*, where the Dauphin (who had now the Title of Regent, hauing lately ouercome the faction, and executed the principall of the Mutiners) was with great forces (which in the common daunger flocked together to defend their Countrey) and would not (by the example of his Father and Grandfather) be drawne out to hazard vpon any attempt, but stood onely vpon his defences) which the King of *England* seeing, after many prouocations, rayses his siege, and returnes into *Brittaine* to refresh his Army.

King *Edward* goes to take possession of the kingdome of *France*.

Anno Reg. 34.

In

In the meane time the Regent layes in mightie ſtore of Victuals, prouides that the Souldiers ſhould haue enough without preſſing the Inhabitants, and with extreame diligence ſo fortifies the City, as King *Edward* returning with all his refreſhed power, was vtterly diſappointed of his hopes, to doe any good there. Thus that great Cittie which was like to haue endangered the whole Kingdome of *France*, was the onely meanes to preſerue it.

From hence King *Edward* takes his way towards *Chartres*, with purpoſe to beſiege that Citie, but being by an horrible tempeſt of haile, thunder and lightning, that fell vpon his Armie, ſo terrified as he vowed to make peace with the *French* King, vpon any reaſonable conditions, as he ſhortly after did, at the Treatie of *Bretigny* neere *Chartres*, vpon theſe Articles. That the Country of *Poitou*, the *Perſes* of *Thouars*, and *Belleville*, the Country of *Gaſcoigne*, *Agenois*, *Perigort*, *Limoſin*, *Cabors*, *Thorbe*, *Bigorre*, *Rouergne*, *Angoulmois* in Soueraignty, with the Homages of the Lords within thoſe Territories, *Monſtruel* on the Sea, *Pontbieu*, *Calais*, *Guines*, *La Merk*, *Sangate Boulogne*, *Hames*, *Vales* and *Ouis* ſhould be the King of *Englands*: who beſides was to haue three Millions of Scutes of Gold: whereof ſixe hundreth thouſand preſently in hand, foure hundreth thouſand the yeare following, and the Surplus in two yeares after inſuing, vpon reaſonable payment. The Treaty of Accord concluded at *Bretigny*.

And for this, the King of *England*, and his Sonne the Prince of *Wales*, as well for them, as their Succeſſours for euer, ſhould renounce all their right pretended to the Crowne of *France*, the Duchy of *Normandy*, the Countries of *Touraine*, *Anion*, *Maine*, the Soueraignetie and Homage of the Dutchy of *Britaigne*, and the Earledome of *Flanders*; and within three weekes King *Iohn* to be rendred at *Callais*, at the charge of the King of *England*, except the expences of his houſe. For aſſurance of which accord ſhould be giuen into his hand Hoſtages: *Lowys* Duke of *Anion*, *Iohn* Duke of *Berry* (King *Iohns* ſons) *Philip* Duke of *Orleance* his brother, *Iohn* Duke of *Burgoyne*, the *Conts* of *Bloys*, *Alenſon*, *S. Pol*, *Harcourt*, *Poncian*, *Valentinois*, *Grand*, *Pre*, *de Brenne des Forreſts*, the Lords *Vaudement*, *Cuſcy*, *Pienniz*, *de S. Venant*, *de Preaux*, *de Mommorancy de Garancieres*, *La Roche guion*, *Eſtou-teville*, *Le Dauphin d' Auergne*, *& Audrigil de Craon*, ſufficient cautions for the ſaid Summes, and conditions. The *Scots* not to be aided by the *French* King, nor the *Flemmings* by the *Engliſh*. *Charles* King of *Nauarre*, and his brother *Philip* are comprehended likewiſe in theſe Articles, &c.

This Treaty of good accord and finall Peace ſignified by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldeſt Sonnes; *Edward* and *Charles*: and ſworne vnto by the Nobility of both Kingdomes. The Hoſtages are deliuered vnto King *Edward*, who departing from *Honfleur*, brought them into *England*, leauing the Earle of *Warwicke* in *France*, to haue a hand in the execution of the Accord. King *Iohn* is honourably conducted to *Callais*, attending the promiſed Summe, the firſt gage for his liberty. The City of *Paris* yeelds one thouſand Royals; by whoſe example other Cities, contribute according to their proportions. And thus is King *Iohn* deliuered, after hauing remained Priſoner in *England* neere about fiue yeeres. And both Kings depart in kind manner, with all demonſtrations of brotherly Loue. King *Iohn* deliuered.

1361. *Anno Reg.* 35.

King *Edward* returning with his Crownes, cals a Parliament, wherein, the forme of the Accord was read, and allowed of all the Eſtates, and an Oath taken by the Nobles to obſerue the ſame for their parts. Here the King reſtores to the Priors *Atians*, their Houſes, Lands, Tenements, which he had taken from them *Anno Reg.* 12. for the maintenance of his *French* Warres: Which now being ended, he grants by his Letters Patents, in a Fee manner, as before they held them. A rare Example of a iuſt King, being ſeldome ſeene that Princes let go any thing, whereon they haue once faſtned.

Now againe, was the ioy and glory that *England* receiued by their gettings, ſeaſoned with the ſowerneſſe of another mortalitie, called *The ſecond Peſtilence*, whereof dyed many Noblemen, the chiefe was *Henry* Duke of *Lancaſter*, of the Royall Blood, a Prince of great note for wiſedome and valour: who had beene an eſpeciall Actor in all theſe Warres, and a principall Pillar of the Crowne of *England*: whoſe The ſecond great Peſtilence.

Anno Reg. 36.

whose Daughter and Heyre was a little before married to *Iohn* of *Gaunt* (by dispensation being neere of consanguinitie) whereby he is made Duke of *Lancaster*. And shortly after, by the like Dispensation, the Prince of *Wales* marries the Countesse of *Kent*, Daughter to *Edmond*, brother to *Edward* the second. And so both are prouided of Matches within the Kingdome. The King giues to the Prince of *Wales*, the Duchy of *Aquitayne*, reseruing to himselfe Homage and Fealtie, and shortly after sends him ouer with his Wife, and Court to liue there. His sonne *Lionell* Earle *Vlster* is sent into *Ireland*, with a Regiment of 1500. men to guard his Earledome against the *Irish*, and was created Duke of *Clarence* in the next Parliament held at *Westminster* in *November*, which continued vntill the Feast of Saint *Brice*, King *Edwards* Birth-day, and the fiftieth yeare of his age. Wherein for a *Iubile* he shewes himselfe extraordinarily gracious to his People, freely pardoning many offences, releasing prisoners, reuoking Exiles, &c. And vpon petition of the Commons, causes *Pleas* which before were in *French*, to be made in *English*, that the subiect might vnderstand the Law, *By which he holds what he hath, and is knowne what he doth*: A blessed Act and worthy so great a King, who if he could thereby haue rendered the same also perspicuous, it had bene a worke of eternall honour, but such is the Fate of Law, that in what language soeuer it speakes, it neuer speakes playne but is wrapt vp in such difficulties and mysteries (as all professions of profit are) as it giues more affliction to the People then it doth remedy. Here was also an Acte passed for Purueiors (as there had beene many before in his time) that nothing should be taken vp but for ready money, vpon strict punishment. For retribution of which relieuements the Parliament graunted sixe and twenty shillings eight pence for transportation of euery sacke of Wooll for three yeares. Thus all were pleased, sauing, the remouing of the Saple, from the Townes of *England* to *Calais*, was some grieuance to those whom it concerned. Yet the Kings desire to inrich that Towne, being of his owne acquisition, and now a member of the Crowne of *England*, might heerein be well borne withall. And sure the King, the most renowmed for valour and *Goodnesse*, that euer raigned in this Kingdome, not onely laboured to aduance the State by enlarging the Dominions thereof, but to make his people as well good as great, by reforming their vices (whereunto fortunate and opulent States are euermore subiect) as may bee noted in the next Parliament held at *Westminster*, *Anno Reg.* 37. Wherein for the publicke Good, certaine Sumptuarie Lawes, the most necessarie to preuent Ryot (that dissoluing sickenesse, the Feuer Hecticque of a State) were ordained both for Apparrell and Dyet; appointing euery degree of men from the Shepheard to the Prince, the Stuffe and Habits they should weare: prohibiting the adornements of Gold and Siluer, Silkes, and rich Furres to all, except eminent persons. Whereby forraine superfluities were shut out, and home-made Commodities onely vsed. The Labourer and Husbandman is appointed but one meale a day, and what meates he should eate, &c. Whereby *Gluttony* and *Drunkennesse*, those hideous euills, which haue since vtterly disfashioned and infeebled the *English* Nation, were auoided. So carefull was this frugall King for preseruing the estates of his Subiects from Excesse.

Vide Stat.

Vide Stat.

And as prouident was hee for the ordering of his owne (committing his Treasure to the safest Chest that Religion could keepe lockt) For by a Certificat *Anno Reg.* 39. sent to Pope *Vrbane*, concerning Pluralities, and the estates of Church-men in *England*, there were found more of the Spiritualtie which bare Office about this King, then any other of Christendome beside. As first *Simon Langham* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was Chancelor of *England*, *William Wickham* Archdeacon of *Lincolne*, Keeper of the Priuie Seale: *David Woller*, Parson of *Somersham*, Maister of the Rolles: Ten beneficed Priests Ciuilians, Maisters of Chancery: *William Mulse* Deane of Saint *Martins le Grand*, Chiefe Chamberlaine of the Exchequer, Receiuer and Keeper of the Kings Treasure and Iewels: *William Askby* Archdeacon of *Northampton*, Chancelor of the Exchequer: *William Digbton* Prebendarie of Saint *Martins*, Clerke of the Priuy Seale: *Richard Chesterfield* Prebend of Saint *Stephens*, Treasurer of the Kings House: *Henry Snatch* Parson of *Oundall*, Maister of the Kings Warde-robe: *Iohn Newnham*

Clergie men Officers to the King.

Newnham, Parſon of *Fleui-ſtanton*, one of the Chamberlaines of the Exchequer, and keeper of the Kings Treaſurie and Iewels: *Iohn Rouſbie*, Parſon of *Harwicke*, Surueior and Comptroler of the Kings workes: *Thomas Britwgham* Parſon of *Aſbie*, Treaſurer to the King for the parts of *Giuſnes*, and the Marches of *Calais*: *Iohn Troys* Treaſurer of *Ireland* a Prieſt, and beneficed there. Theſe men, being without thoſe Feminine Ginnes of attraction and conſumption, deuoted onely to Sanctity, were thought then fitteſt to be husbands for his profit.

Shortly after, three Kings came to viſite the King of *England*; The King of *France*, the King of *Scots*, and the King of *Cypres*: The occaſions that mooued the *French* King might be diuerſe, but it ſeemes the ſpeciall were to free ſome Hoſtages that remained here, and to cleere ſuch imputations as were had of him, for not obſeruing in all points the late Accord: wherewith his Nobles were much diſcontented, and many difficulties aroſe among them: ſo that in an Aſſembly of the States at *Paris*, certaine particular Lords, whoſe Homages were paſſed ouer to the King of *England*, proteſted againſt it; *Alledging, how that the King could not diſpoſe of the Soueraigntie of the Kingdome, nor alien his Demeane, and therefore they would not obey it.* The *French* King notwithſtanding, leaſt King *Edward* ſhould thinke this but a colluſion betweene him and his ſubiects, publiſhes his Commaundement for the obſeruation of the Accord, and thereof certifies King *Edward*. Beſides, he had vndertaken a iourney for the *Holy Warres*, and deſired to ſettle all things in peace at home, before his going. And this might be the occaſion of his comming, and not his loue to the Counteſſe of *Salisbury*, as is reported. But howſoeuer, this King ſhewed a ſtrange diſpoſition to returne to the Gaole, where he had indured ſo much affliction, and where ſhortly after his comming, he ended his life, much lamented of the King of *England*, who ſolemnly attended his Corps to *Doner*, whence it was conueyed to Saint *Denys*, and entombed with his Anceſtors.

The death of king *Iohn* of *France*.

1364. *Anno.* *Reg.* 38.

The debate for the Dutchie of *Britaigne*, is about this time determined by the death of *Charles de Bloys* ſlayne in a Battaile neere *Vannes*, by *Iohn de Mountfort*, and the *Engliſh* Forces, led by the Lord *Latimer*, Sir *Iohn Chandos*, and Sir *Hugh Caurley*. *Iohn de Montfort* marries *Mary* daughter to King *Edward*, and by his conſent doth his Homage for the Duchie, to *Charles* (now King of *France*) compounding with the widdow of *Charles de Bloys* for a ſumme of mony, and ſome eſtate in land.

The buſineſſe of *Brittaine* accomodated for a time.

And here we haue ſome time of reſt, which the Souldier whom the warre had bred, could not well brooke. The caſt Companies in *France*, though they had no head, yet had ſtrong bodies, and did much miſchiefe in many parts of that Kingdome, till they were imployed in the Warres of *Spaine*, which fell out ſhortly after. A Company of them paſſed ouer into *Italy*, vnder the conduct of Sir *Iohn Hawent*, a great Warriour, who found ſuch entertainment with the Princes there (where he reuiued Military diſcipline, that had layne long vnuſed among them) and got ſuch honour and eſtate by his valour, as his fame remaines to this day, and his Statue amongſt their memorable Princes for Action and Vertue, though he went but a Taylor out of this Kingdome, which in thoſe dayes could haue furniſhed the whole world with Leaders, and expert Militarie men.

The Italians call him *Iohannes de Acuto*.

And now heere haue wee brought this Mightie King to the Fortieth yeere of his Raigne, which had it beene his laſt, wee ad left him the moſt glorious and Tryumphant Prince in the world, to whom Fortune neuer yet ſhewed her back, neuer was retrograd. But now theſe laſt ten yeares preſent vs with a turning of the Beame, a declination from that height of glory, with certaine blemiſhes that age and frailtie brought vpon him. This new King of *Eraace*, *Charles* the Fifth, Intituled *The wiſe*; recouered great aduantages vpon him, hauing in the life time of his Father ſtrugled ſo with affliction (a better Miſtreſſe of Wiſedome then proſperitie) and learned ſo well to knowe a Crowne before he had it, as now hee manages the ſame with great temperance and vigilancie: and finding the preſeruation of that State conſiſted more in Councell then force (which had beene too aduenturouſly imployed by his Father and Grand-father) he workes his fortune by lying ſtill, hauing excellent aides

Anno Reg. 40

and

and ministers to execute his designes, and labour for him: of whom for his Warres, *Gueſclin* a *Britaine* whom he made Conſtable of *France*, was of eſpeciall note, and firſt ſhewed the way how that State was to be recouered.

1367. Anno Reg. 41. The Prince of *Wales* aides the King of *Caſtile*.

The Prince of *Wales* remaining in his Duchy of *Aquitaine*, with a great Court, which required great expences, and many Military attendants, without worke, is ſolicited by *Peter* King of *Caſtile*, chaſed out of his Kingdome by his baſtard brother *Henry*, to ayde him to recouer the ſame: which the Prince vpon great promiſes of remuneration, vndertakes by the conſent of his Father. The cauſe was better then the perſon. For this *Peter* ſonne to *Alphonſo* the eleuenth King of *Caſtile*, had committed ſo tyrannicall outrages, as were intollerable to his Subiects, oppreſſing and deſtroying his Nobles to enrich himſelfe, putting away, and after murthering his Wife (which was the daughter to *Peter* Duke of *Burbon*, and Sifter to the now Queene of *France*) by the inſtigation of his Concubine *Maria de Padilla*, whom he afterwards married. Whereupon the State adhering to his Brother *Henry* (who though he were a Baſtard by his birth was more Legitimate by his vertues then he, who was more a baſtard by his vices) Crowned him King of *Spaine* at *Bargos*, and forced *Peter* to flye the Kingdome. This *Peter* thus reiected, the Prince of *Wales*, with an Army of thirtie thouſand, attended by his brother *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, and many Lords of *England*, goes to re-inueſt in his Kingdome. *Henry* is ayded by the *French*, and thoſe ſtoring Companies fore-membred, led by *Gueſclin* Conſtable, and *Dandrehen* Marſhall of *France*; hauing beſides the Caſtilians, Chriſtians, and Sarafins ſo many; as his Army conſiſted of neere an hundreth thouſand men. Vpon the borders of *Caſtile* it came to a Battaile, the Prince of *Wales* hath the Victory: *Henry* is put to flight, the *French* Leaders taken priſoners, and *Peter* put into his Throne againe at *Bargos*.

The Prince obtaines the Victory in *Spaine*.

The worke done, reward for the ſame is required by the Prince, which *Peter* could not, nor cared not to prouide, but ſtaruing him with delayes, inforced him in the end to returne to *Burdeaux*, without money to pay his Army, and which was worſe, without health, which he neuer after recouered. This ſucceſſe had this vnfortunate action, vndertaken to right an vngratefull Tyrant, who afterward notwithſtanding, was againe diſpoſſeſſed, taken and put to death, by his Brother *Henry*. It is written, that to ſtrengthen himſelfe, he combined with a Prince of the *Saracins*, married his daughter, and renounced the Chriſtian Faith: but it is commonly the reward of euill Princes to be made worſe then they are.

The ill ſucceſſe of this iourny.

The Prince of *Wales* returning thus out of *Spaine*, charged with more debts then before, and deſtitute of meanes to content his people, fals vpon another misfortune (as commonly men in theſe declinations, ſeeking remedies increaſe Maladies) impoſing a new taxation vpon the *Gaſcoignes*, of Feuage, or Chimney money, ſo diſcontented the people, as they exclaime againſt the Gouernement of the *Engliſh*, and appeale to the King and Court of *France* for redreſſe. The King of *France*, at the inſtance of the great Lords and others, who were turned out by the accord to hold of the Crowne of *England*, ſends a Gentleman to the Prince of *Wales* at *Burdeaux*, with Sommons to aunſwere before him and his Court at *Paris*, to theſe Complaints.

1369. Anno. Reg. 43. The Emperour *Charles* 4 makes a iourney into *France* to reconcile the two Kings.

Now had the Lords of *Arminiaque*, *D' Albret*, *Perogot*, *Comminges*, and many others, made their proteſtations againſt the King of *England*, for the Crowne of *France*, which, they ſay, *They were by nature to obey, and not to a ſtraunge Soueraigne: that it was abſolutely againſt the Fundamentall Law of the Kingdom, to diſſeuer them from the Crowne: that the Contract was made in priſon, and therefore inciuill, and not to be held by the right of Nations*. So that they were reſolued to ſpend their liues and eſtates, rather then be vnder the gouernement of *England*. By their example the Cities of the Country of *Pontbieu* rendered themſelues to *Guy* Conte de Saint *Pol*, and *Guy de Chaſtillon*.

The King of *England* complaines of this breach of the accord to the Pope, and the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, who made a iourney into *France* to reconcile the two kings, and determined the buſineſſe. Before whom our Ambaſſadors firſt declare *how this*

Accord

Accord, having beene more for the good of France *then vs, in regard we resigned thereby, not onely our Title to* Normandy, Touraine, *and* Anion, *the fairest and richest Countries of* France; *but also our Title to the Crowne, to the end we might hold in Soueraignty the Duchy of* Aquitayne, *the County of* Ponthieu, *with some other peeces, which by Hereditary right appertayned to the Crowne of* England, *whereby the effusion of Christian blood was staied,* France *had peace, and their King restored in faire manner, after a faire imprisonment, and vpon the most reasonable (onditions could bee deuised: Notwithstanding the French King, (who himselfe, with the whole Co(ncel of* France *contralled the Accord, and solemnly (were to obserue the same) hath contrarie to the Law of God and Nations (after he had recouered his Hostages by fraud) seazed both vpon the Duchy of* Aquitayne, *and the County of* Ponthieu, *without denouncing Warre, by his Heralds, &c.*

The allegations of the *English* Ambassadors before the Emperour.

The French reply: *How we by the Accord, were bound immediately to with-draw our Army out of* France *which they say we did not, during all the Raigne of their King* Iohn: *That the peace was thereby made more offensiue then the War, they being constrained to purchase the departure of our Souldiers with greater charge then would haue maintayned an army. That the breach was on our side, for that the Souldiers were ours. That King* Edward *was bound to renounce his Title to the Crowne of* France, *in open Assembly of the States of both Realmes, which they say was not done. And concerning the releasing of their King, they say, it cost* France *more gold then the redeeming of Saint* Louys *their King, his brother, the Peeres, and the whole Armie, taken by the* Soldan, *an Infidell.* Thus both sides defend their cause, beeing easie for Princes who will breake out of their Couenants to finde euasions. The *French* King (it seemes) though willing to get in what he could, yet was very loath to renue a Warre, and therefore with many Presents, courts the King of *England*: Who seeing himselfe thus deluded, prepares to haue out his Sword. And hauing borrowed great summes of the Clergy, sends ouer *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Humphrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, with a mighty Army to *Calais*, to inuade *France* on this side; whiles the Prince of *Wales* workes to recouer the reuolted Townes on the other. But little was effected. The Duke shortly returnes. And then *Thomas Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwicke*, with fresh supplies is sent ouer, who dyes in the iourney. Sir *Robert Knolles* a man renowned in those times for Valour and Counsell, is made Leader of an Army, consisting of many great Lords, who disdayning to bee commanded by him, whom they held their inferiour, ouerthrew themselues, and the Action.

The rep'y of the *French*.

Anno Reg. 44.

Forces sent into *France*.

Thus all went backe, and the French King growes both in State and Alliance. *Margaret*, sole Daughter and Heire to *Louys* Earle of *Flanders*, to whom King *Edward* sought to match his sonne *Edmond*, is wonne to marry *Philip le Hardy* Duke of *Burgogne*, brother to the *French* King. And this much vexed King *Edward*, who the better to furnish himself for reuenge, calles a Parliament at *Westminster*, wherein hee resumes his clayme to the Crowne of *France*, and requires ayde of his Subiects and hath it. The Clergy granted him fifty thousand pounds, to bee payde the same yeare; and the Laytie as much. For the leuying whereof, euery Parish in *England* was rated first to pay 22. shillings foure pence (the great helping the lesse) vppon supposition there had beene Parishes enough to haue made vp that summe. But by certificate vpon the Kings Writs sent out to examine what numbes of Parish Churches were in euery Shiere, they found it came short: And then rated euery Parish at fiue pound sixteene shillings (the greater to helpe the lesse) and so, of 8600. Parishes, found to bee in the 37. Shires, 5m. thousand, 181. pound, 8 pence was raised. But in regard of the great pouerty of *Suffolke*, *Deuon-shire*, the 181. pound was abated, and the King answered fifty thousand pounds for the Laytie.

Anno Reg. 45.

A subsidy granted by Parliament, and the manner of seizing the same.

Vppon this supply, the King grants that the great Charter, and the Charter of *Forrests*, should be obserued in all poynts: Which in most Parliaments of his, is euer the first Act; as may bee seene in the Printed Statutes. And now *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Edmond* Earle of *Cambridge*, are sent with Forces into *Aquitayne*, to aide the Prince of *Wales*, who after he had sacked the City of *Lymoges*, that was reuolted, his health failing to performe any more, leaues the prosecution of the Warre to

The Duke of *Lancaster* sent into *Aquitaine*

The Prince of *Wales* returnes into *England*.

to his brother; and with his wife, and yong ſonne *Richard* borne at *Burdeaux*, returnes home into *England*, and here reſignes vnto his father the Duchy of *Aquitaine*.

The Duke of *Lancaſter*, after the departure of the Prince, did little, but beeing now a widdower (his wife dying two yeares before, in the third great Peſtilence, in which yeare alſo *Philippa* wife to King *Edward* ended her life) hee marries *Conſtance* eldeſt daughter to *Peter* King of *Caſtile*, by whom hee had the empty Title of King, and was (after the death of his Father-in-law) ſtiled King of *Caſtile* and *Leon*. This *Conſtance*, though ſhee were the daughter of a wicked father and infamous mother, yet was ſo happy, that the daughter ſhe had by this Duke of *Lancaſter*, named *Katherine*, became after Queene of *Caſtile* and *Leon*, (being married to *Henry* third in poſſeſſion before, and in her right King of both thoſe Realmes) and left her poſterity Kings of *Spaine*. *Edmond* Earle of *Cambridge*, married alſo at the ſame time *Iſabel* the yongeſt daughter of King *Peter*, and both ſhortly after returned into *England*, though without Victory, yet with wiues. *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, a little before, marries *Violenta*, the Duke of *Milaines* daughter in *Italy*, where they feaſted him ſo as ſhortly after hee dyed.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* marries *Conſtance* daughter to the King of *Caſtile*.

1372.
Anno
Re. 46.

The City of *Rochell*, that yet held out for the Engliſh, had indured a long ſiege both by Sea and Land, to relieue which important peece, the Earle of *Pembrooke* is ſent with forty ſhips well manned and victualled, and beſides furniſhed with twenty thouſand markes to defrey the Voyage, who incountring the Spaniſh Armado ſent to ayde the *French* in this ſiege (by *Henry* now King of *Caſtile*) after a long and cruell conflict, is taken Priſoner, and his Nauy vtterly deſtroyed. King *Edward* himſelfe, though now aged, ſets forth a mighty Army to recouer theſe loſſes, but thereby loſt more, the windes with his fortune being againſt him, beate him backe, hauing ſpent in this preparation nine hundred thouſand markes.

The Earle of *Pembrook* taken priſoner by the *Spaniard*.

1373.
Anno
Re. 47.

Shortly after, *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, paſſes ouer agayne to *Calais* with another Army, which hee leades through *France*, by the way of *Auergne*, where amongſt the mountaynes he loſt many of his people for want of Victuals, and almoſt all his horſe, ſo that he came to *Burdeaux* with a ſtarued and diſtreſſed Company, which after ſome time he relieues and made certayne attempts vpon the enemy, but effected nothing, the date of Victories was out, all went ill with the Engliſh. The Duke returnes the next yeare, and all *Gaſcoines* reuolts except *Burdeaux* and *Bayon*.

Another ſubſidy granted by Parliament.

King *Edward* hath another ſupply by Parliament, a Tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laytie, towards theſe Warres: which now are ſought to bee ended by treaty, an vnlikely way to doe any good. Two yeares are ſpent therein, at *Burges* and other places, with great charge of Commiſſioners, and much debate. The *French* hauing now the aduantage of the time, would make their owne conditions, they require the Towne of *Calais* (from whence King *Edward* had now remooued his Staple, in regard of the danger of Merchants goods) and reſtitution of great ſummes of money, which were not to be yeelded: So that nothing but temporary Truces were to bee gotten to ſerue preſent ſhifts, wherein the Engliſh and their party, had euer the worſe.

1376.
Anno
Reg. 50.

A Parliament at *Weſtminſter* which was called the good Parliament.

And heere at home, beſides the ſickneſſe of the Prince (which grew deſperate) the State is diſeaſed, the Kings age is miſled, his Treaſure exhauſted, and his affaires ill managed. A Parliament to cure theſe euills is called at *Weſtminſter*, the Kings wants are opened, and ſupplies required: The whole body of the Aſſembly, weary to beare theſe continuall burthens, in ſteede of Contributions, exhibite complaynts, charging the Kings Offices with fraude, and humbly craue that the Duke of *Lancaſter*, the Lord *Latimer*, then Lord Chamberlaine, Dame *Alice Peirce*, the kings Concubine, and one Sir *Richard Sturry*, might be amooued from Court. Their Complaynts and deſire are ſo Vehemently vrged by the Speaker, (Sir *Peter La Mare*,) as the King rather then not to be ſupplyed, gaue way vnto them, and all theſe perſons are preſently put from Court. The Prince was held to fauour their proceeding, for there ſeemes to bee no good correſpondence betweene him and his brother, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, who now managed all vnder his aged Father, and whoſe ambi-

The Duke of *Lancaſter* with others baniſhed the Court.

tion

tion might be dangerous to his young Sonne *Richard*, whom hee was like to leaue to his mercy.

The King in this Parliament, being the Fiftieth yeare of his raigne, to gratifie his Subiects, grants another generall Pardon, as another *Iubile*; wherein onely *William Wineham*, Bishop of *Winchester* is excepted, beeing lately by the procurement of the Duke of *Lancaster* fallen into the Kings displeasure, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. But this *Iubile* was soone turned to sorrow, by the death of the Prince of *Wales* which happened in this Parliament time. A heauy losse to the State, beeing a Prince of whom wee neuer heard any ill, neither receiued other note then of goodnesse, and the noblest performances, that Magnanimity and Wisedome could euer shewe: in so much, as what prayse can bee giuen to Vertue, is due vnto him. His death changed the face of affayres. The late excluded parties returne to Court, and their former places. This Parliament, called *the good Parliament*, now wrought ill effects. Sr. *Peter de la Mare*, at the suite of *Alice Pierce*, an impudent woman (working vppon the Kings impotences) is committed to perpetuall imprisonment at *Nottingham*. An acte without example of former times, and did no good in this, especially beeing wrought by such a subiect. This woman presuming vppon the Kings fauour, whom she had subdued, grew so insolent (the common guill of such fortunes) that shee entermedled with Courts of Iustice and other Offices, where she her selfe would sit to effect her desires: which, though in all who are so exalted, are euer excessiue, yet in a woman most immoderate, as hauing lesse of discretion, and more of greedinesse.

The Duke of *Lancaster* is come now to haue the Regency, and to manage all the affaires of the Kingdome, and might thereby presume farther. But King *Edward*, to preuent the mischiefes, which by disordering the succession might growe in the Kingdome, prouidently setled the same in the Parliament, vppon *Richard* of *Burdeaux*, creating him first Earle of *Chester* and *Cornewall*, and then Prince of *Wales*; which made much for this present safety, least *Iohn* of *Lancaster* should supplant him, as Earle *Iohn* did his Nephew *Arthur*, in the like case. For (sure it seemes) the Duke had his designe that way bent: but this confirmation by the Parliament (which hee had offended) and shortly after a breach with the Citizens of *London*, put him so by, as he durst not now attempt that which his Sonne after effected. But yet he behaues himselfe very imperiously in this state he had. And first shewes his authority on the Earle of *March*, commanding him ouer to the guarding of *Calais*, and the parts there about. Which the Earle refuses, and rather yeelds vp his Rodde, with the Office of *Marshall*, then obey his commandement therein. The Duke takes the Rodde, and giues it with the Office to Sir *Henry Piercy*, a man most inward with him.

Shortly after, the Parliament is assembled againe at *Westminster* (whether a new or the last prorogued I know not) and thither, the Duke himselfe brings Prince *Richard* (of the age of 11. yeares) places him in the Kings Seate, and taught him to demaund a Subsidie. Which was two Tenths, to bee payde in one yeare: Or twelue pence in the pound of al Merchandizes sold, for one yeare; and one pound of siluer for euery Knights Fee; and of euery Fire-house one penny. And this Demaund the Duke earnestly vrges, Saying, one of them ought of necessity to be granted, in regard the enemy proclayming warre, purposed to inuade the Realme.

The Knights of the Parliament (whom the Duke they sayd, had by practise made, and put by all of the last Assembly, except twelue which hee could not alter) require respite to answere: a day is appoynted. The maior part make choyce of one *Hungerford*, a Creature of the Dukes to deliuer their answere. The other would haue Sir *Peter de la Mare* to bee enlarged, and deliuer theirs; and also answere to what could be obiected against him, before the Lords in Parliament, and there to submitte himselfe. Then the Duke demaunds ayde of the Bishops. They refuse to treate therein, without their Brother, the Bishop of *Winchester*, prohibited from comming to the Parliament.

Now there fell out an Accident, that besides gaue interruption to this businesse. A certayne Diuine, named *Iohn Wicliffe*, depriued by the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* of a benifice

Another *Iubile*.

The death of the Prince of *Wales*.

The Duke of *Lancaster* returnes with the rest, to the Court.

The reuenge and behauiour of *Alice Pierce*.

The Duke of *Lancaster* gouernes all.

Richard of *Burdeaux* created Prince of *Wales*.

The Earle of March resignes his Office of Marshall, which is giuen to Sir *Henry Piercy*.

Iohn Stow.

The Prince motions a Subsidy in diuers kindes.

The Parliament diuided.

A diſſention about *Iohn Wicliffe.*

benifice in *Oxford*, which hee was found vniuſt to holde, had heeretofore, beeing diſcontented (the humour that commonly breeds Sciſme) inueighed in his Sermons, and other actes in the Schooles againſt the abuſes of Church-men, Monkes and other religious orders (which were not then ſo free from ſcandall, but might well bee taxed) and had by this doctrine there, and in *London* wonne many Diſciples vnto him (who after were called Lollards) profeſſing pouerty, going bare footed, and poorely cladde in ruſſet, which made them (as extreames are) the more noted, and get paſſage into the opinion of the people, apt to embrace nouelties, and vſually beguiled by diſguiſes, in regard they rather *Beleeue* the *Iudge*. Amongſt other his Doctrines, hee taught that neyther King or other Secular Lords, could giue any thing in *Perpetuitie* vnto Church-men, and that Temporall Lords if they neede, might lawfully take the goods of ſuch religious perſons to relieue them in their neceſſities, by the example of *William Rufus, &c.* A Doctrine very pleaſing to great men, who commonly embrace Sects, either for ambition to get, or for iealouſie not to loſe, or for hatred to reuenge.

His doctrine.

The Duke of *Lancaſter* fauours *Wicliffe*, and why.

This man, the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and Sir *Henry Piercy*, much fauour and cheriſh, extolling him both for his learning and integrity of life, which made him ſo farre preſume, as hee dayly in one Church or other publiſhed his opinions without feare: Whereupon at length hee is cited to anſwere before the Arch-biſhop, the Biſhop of *London* and others, in *Paules*. At the day appoynted, the Duke of *Lancaſter* and the Lord Marſhall goe to conduct him: By the way hee is animated by his Followers not to feare the Biſhops, and entring into *Paules*, the preſſe is ſo great, as hardly any paſſage could be made, whereuppon the Marſhall vſing ſome violence, thruſt in vpon the people, which *Courtney*, Biſhop of *London* prohibited him to doe, ſaying: *If he had knowne he would haue behaued himſelfe ſo in that place, he ſhould not haue come into the Church.* The Duke hearing theſe words, angerly replyed, *That the Marſhall ſhould execute his authority, whether he would or not.* When they were come to our Ladies Chappell, the Duke and Barons, with the Biſhops, ſitting downe, *Iohn Wicliffe* (ſent for in by the Lord Marſhall) was by himſelfe willed to ſit downe, in regard hee ſaide, the man had much to anſwere, and needed a conuenient Seat. The Biſhop of *London* told him, it was againſt all law and reaſon, that he who was there cited before his Ordinary, ſhould ſit: Heereupon contumelious words aroſe betweene the Lord Marſhall and the Biſhop, the Duke takes the Marſhals part, and ſharpely reprehended the Biſhop, the Biſhop returnes the like to the Duke, who in great rage, ſeeing hee could not preuaile, ſwore *he would pull downe the pride of him, and all the Biſhops of* England, *Yon truſt, ſaid he in your Parents but they can profit you nothing. I truſt not in my Parents ſaid the Biſhop, nor in any man liuing, but in God in whom I ought to truſt.* The Duke, as if whiſpering in his eare, told him, *he had rather pull him out of the Church by the haire of the head, then ſuffer theſe indignities:* which words the *Londoners* ouer-hearing, ſwore with a loud voice, *they would rather loſe their liues, then ſuffer their Biſhop to be thus iniuriouſly vſed, and threatned to be pulled out of his owne Church.* Their fury was the more incenſed againſt the Duke, for that the day before in the Parliament (whereof he was preſident) it was required in the Kings name, that from thenceforth there ſhould be no more a Maior of *London*, but a Captaine appoynted for the gouernment of the City, and that the Lord Marſhall of *England* ſhould arreſt offenders within the Liberties, as in other places.

The conuention of *Wicliffe* before the Biſhops in *Pauls.*

The Citizens of *London* take their Biſhops part.

About this buſineſſe, and this wrong offered to their Biſhop, the Citizens aſſembling the morrow after, to conſult among themſelues, it happened the Lord *Fitzwater*, and *Guido Brian*, came into the City, which the people ſeeing, furiouſly ranne vppon them, and were like to beate them downe for comming vnſent for, at that time. The Lord *Fitzwater* proteſted hee came to no other end, but to offer his ſeruice to the City, being by inheritance their Standard-bearer, and was to take iniuries offered to them, as to himſelfe, and therefore willed them to looke to their defence. Whereuppon they preſently take Armes, aſſayle the Marſhalls Inne, breake open the gates, brought foorth a priſoner in his Gyues, and let him at liberty, but found

The Citizens in vprore.

not

not the Lord Marſhall, who with the Duke that day were to dine with one *Iohn de Ypres*. Then this furious multitude run to aſſayle the *Sauoy*, which a Knight of the Dukes ſeeing, haſtes to the place where his Maiſter dyned, and acquaints him with this vp-roare in this City. The Duke leapes from the Table ſo haſtily, that hee hurt both his ſhinnes in the Fourme, and with Sir *Henry Piercy*, alone takes boate, and away hee gets to *Kennington* neere *Lambeth*, where the Princeſſe with the young Prince lay; to whom hee complaynes of this Ryot, and the violence offered him. In the meane time the multitude comming to the *Sauoy*, a Prieſt inquiſitiue to know the buſineſſe, was anſwered, *They went to take the* Duke *and the* Lord Marſhall, *and compell them, to deliuer* Sir Peter de la Mare, *vniuſtly detayned in Priſon.* The Prieſt replyed; *That Sir* Peter *was a Traytor to the* King, *and worthy to be hanged.* At which words they all cryed out; *This is* Piercy, *this is the Traytor of* England, *his ſpeech bewrayes him though his apparell be diſguiſed; and preſently they ran vpon him, and wounded him to death.*

The Duke of *Lancaſter* in danger flees to the Princeſſe.

The Biſhop of *London* hearing of this Out-rage, leaues his dinner, haſtes to the *Sauoy*, admoniſhes them *to be mindfull of the Holy time, (being Lent) and for the loue of* Chriſt *to deſiſt from ſuch ſeditious acts; aſſuring them, all things ſhould be fairely ended for the good of the City.* Whereupon they were ſomething pacified, and forbeare to aſſault the Dukes houſe, whoſe perſon (if they could haue found) they had (no doubt) made an end of him, and the Lord Marſhall in this their fury, at that time; but miſſing him, they yet hung vp his Armes reuerſed, in ſigne of Treaſon in all the principall ſtreetes of the City.

The Biſhop of *London* appeaſes the tumult.

The Princeſſe from *Kennington*, ſent *Albert de Vere*, *Louys Clifford*, and *Simon Burleigh* to the Citizens, perſwading them to make their peace with the Duke. They returned this anſwere, *That for her Honour they would do whatſoeuer ſhe commanded:* but yet enioyned the Knights, to will the Duke, *to permit the Biſhop of* Wincheſter, *and* Peter de la Mare *to come to their Anſwere, according to the cuſtome of the Lawes of* England. They ſent likewiſe of the chiefe Citizens to the ſicke *King*, to excuſe them of this Tumult, proteſting *themſelues not to be priuy thereunto, but ſought all meanes to ſuppreſſe the ſame, which they could not do (the whole Communalty being in commotion) vpon an Information, that their Liberties ſhould be taken away from them by Parliament.* The King told them, *It neuer was in his thought to infringe their liberties, but he rather deſired to enlarge them.* And therefore willed them not to feare, but returne to appeaſe the Citizens, and keepe them in peace and order: which they did, and were well pleaſed with this anſwere. But yet they could not ſtop the paſſage of rimes and libels (thoſe ſecret ſtings that wound vnſeene) but that they were daily ſpread in the City to the defamation of the Duke, and to make his name odious to the people. For which, hee procured the Biſhops to excommunicate the Author of ſuch Rimes, and Libels.

The Citizens ſend to the King.

Notwithſtanding, this harſh proceeding of the Duke with the State, and in a time ſo vnſeaſonable, both for his owne ends and the publike buſineſſe hee vndertooke; The Commons in Parliament, deſirous to ayde their King, granted a Subſidy on this condition, that being leauied, it ſhould bee committed to certaine *Earles* and *Barons* to ſee it iſſued, according to the occaſions of the Kingdome. But this Subſidy was of a new Nature neyther in any of thoſe kindes propounded. Euery perſon, man and woman within the Kingdome, aboue the the Age of 14. yeares, were to Pay 4. pence, thoſe who liued by Almes onely excepted. The Clergy likewiſe grants 12. pence of euery Parſon Beneficed; and of all other Religious perſons 4. pence of the head; A mighty and vnknowne ayde, ſuch as neuer was granted to any King of *England* before, and became a Precedent for the next Raigne: wherein it cauſed the firſt and greateſt popular Inſurrection, that euer was ſeene in this Kingdome: So tender a thing is it to taxe the people by the Poule.

A Subſidy granted in this Parliament.

And now hereupon the Parliament ended; but not the Dukes diſpleaſure againſt the City. The Maior and Aldermen are brought before the King at *Shene*, and aduiſed to ſubmit themſelues to the Duke, and craue pardon for their grieuous offences. They proteſt as before: they could not ſtay the rage of the multitude, who committed thoſe inſolencies, beſeeching the King not to puniſh ſuch as were innocent and

ignorant of the fact, promising the Duke, they would indeauour by all meanes to bring in the malefactors, and compell them to make satisfaction, to the honour of the Duke, and more, sayd they, we cannot doe. Whereupon they were dismissed the Court, and shortly after from all their places, by power of the Duke of *Lancastar*, Sir *Nicholas Brember* was elected Mayor in stead of *Adam Staple*, and other Aldermen appointed in their places who were put out.

The King was desirous to haue reconcild them to his Sonne, but sickneſſe hauing now vanquished him, hee is forced to giue ouer the world, as the same did him, before his breath left him. And first his Concubine packing away what shee could snatch, euen to the rings of his fingers, left him; then his other attendants, by her example, seasing on what they could fasten, shift away, and all his Councellours and others forsooke him in his last agony when most hee needed them, leauing his Chamber quite empty: which a poore Priest in the house seeing, by chance, as he passes, approaches to the Kings bed side, and finding him yet breathing, calles vppon him to remember his Sauiour, and to aske mercy for his offences, which none before about him would doe, but euery one putting him still in hope of life, though they knew death was vppon him (a misery fatall to Princes and great persons, whom flattery will neuer suffer to know themselues, nor their owne state either in health or sickneſſe) made him neglectiue of those spirituall cogitations fit for a dying Christian. But now stirred vp by the voyce of this Priest, hee shewes all signes of contrition, and his last breath expresses the name of *Iesu*. Thus dyed this mighty and victorious King, at his mannor of *Shene* (now *Richmond*) the 21 day of Iune, *Anno, Dom.* 1377. in the 64 yeare of his Age, hauing raygned fifty yeares, foure moneths and odde daies.

The death of King *Edward* and the manner thereof.

His Character.

His Iustice.

His loue to his people.

His prouidence.

His Character wee finde best expresst in his actions, yet thus briefly. Hee was a Prince, he sooneſt a man, and the longeſt that held so, of any we reade. Hee was of Personage comely, of an euen stature, gracefull, respectiuely affable, and well expreſſing himselfe: A Prince who loued 1. *Iustice*, 2. *Order*, and his *People*, the Supreame vertues of a Soueraigne. 1. His loue of *Iustice*, was seene by the many Statutes he made for the due execution thereof, and the most streight binding oath, hee ordayned to bee minister vnto his Iudges and Iusticiars: the punishment inflicted on them for corruption in their Offices, causing some to be thrust out, and others greuiously fined, as Sir *Henry Greene*, and Sir *William Skipwith*. *Anno Reg.* 39. Hee better'd also that forme of publike Iustice which his Grand-father first began (and which remaines to this day) making also excellent lawes for the same. 2. His regard to the obseruation of *Order* amongst his people, witnes so many lawes, as were made to restraine them for Excesses in all kinds. 3. His loue to his subiects, was expreſt in the often easing of their greiuances, and his willingneſse to giue them all faire satisfaction, as appeares by the continuall granting of the due obseruation of their *Charters*, in most of his Parliaments. And when (*Anno Reg.* 14.) they were iealous, vpon his assuming the title of the kingdom of *France*, least *England* should thereby come to bee vnder the subiection of that crowne, as being the greater, he to cleare them of that doubt, passed a Statut, in the firmest manner could be deuised; that this Kingdome should remaine intyre as before, without violation of the rights it had.

Prouident he was in all his actions, neuer vndertaking any thing before he had first furnished himselfe with meanes to performe it. And therein his subiects allowed him more with leſſe adoe, then euer any of his predeceſſours had: and he as fairely issued what hee receiued from them, hauing none other priuate vent of profusion, then his enterprises for aduancing the state, and honor of the Kingdome. True it is, that most attent and carefull he was to get monies, but yet it was without Sackage of any man, such as his grand-father made vpon the Officers *of Iustice*, the *Iewes* and officers.

For his gifts we finde them not such as either hurt his owne Fame and reputation, or any way distasted the state. To be short, he was a Prince who knew his worke, and did it: and therefore was he better obeyed, better respected and serued then any of his predeceſſours.

His

His *Workes of Piety* were great and many, as the founding of *East-minſter*, an Abbey (of the *Ciſteaux* Order) neere the Tower. An Abbey for Nunnes at *Detford*. The *Kings Hall* in *Cambridge* for poore *Schollers*. An Hoſpitall for the poore at *Calais*. The building of Saint *Stephans* Chappell at *Weſt-minſter*, with the endowment of 300. pound, *per annum*, to that Church. His augmenting the Chappell at *Windſor*, and prouiſions there for Church-men, and 24. poore *Knights*, *&c.* Theſe were his publique Workes, the beſt Monuments and moſt laſting to glorifie the Memory of Princes. Beſides theſe, his priuate buildings are great and many; as the Caſtle of *Windſor*, which hee re-edified and enlarged. The Caſtle of *Quinborow*, Fortifications at *Calais* and other places.

His workes of Pietie.

His buildings.

His magnificence was ſhewed in his Trytumphes and Feaſts, which were ſumptuouſly Celebrated, with all due Rites and Ceremonies, the preſeruers of Reuerence and Maieſty. To conclude, he was a Prince, whoſe nature agreed with his Office; as onely made for it. Thoſe defaillances we finde him at laſt, wee muſt not attribute to him but his age, wherein we neuer yet ſaw Prince happy. When their vigor fayles them (which is commonly about 60.) their Fortune doth. Whileſt this Prince held together, he was indiſſoluable, and as he was then, we take his Figure.

His Magnificence.

Fortunate he was alſo in Wife, a Lady of excellent Vertue, who though ſhee brought him little or none Eſtate, ſhe brought him much content, ~~ſome benefit by Al~~liance, and a faire Iſſue. She drew euenly with him in all the courſes of *Honor* that appertayned to her ſide, and ſeemes a peece ſo iuſt cut for him, as anſwered him rightly in euery ioynt. Gracious and louing ſhee euer ſhewed her-ſelfe to this Nation, and did many workes of Piety, amongſt which *Queenes Colledge* in *Oxford* remaines eſpecially, a Monument of her Name and Renowne. And it is worthy the Marke, that this *King* and his Grand-father *Edward* the firſt, the beſt of our Kings, had the two beſt Wiues. Which ſhewes that *worthineſſe* is ſuch an *Elixar* as by contaction (if there be any diſpoſition of goodneſſe in the ſame Mettall, it will render it of the Property: So that theſe *Queenes* could be no otherwiſe then they were, hauing ſo excellent Husbands.

His Wife, and his iſſue.

She bare vnto him ſeuen ſonnes, whereof fiue liued to haue Iſſue; *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, *Lionel* Duke of *Clarance*, *Iohn* Duke of *Lancaſter*, *Edmond* Earle of *Cambridge*, after Duke of *Yorke*, and *Thomas* of *Woodſtocke*, which became Duke of *Gloceſter*. Foure daughters (of fiue ſhe bare) liued to be married. *Iſabel* the eldeſt: to *Ingelram* Lord of *Coney*, Earle of *Soiſſons* and *Bedford*. *Ioan* to *Alphonſo* 11. King of *Caſtile*, but ſhe dyed before ſhe lay with him. *Mary*, to *Iohn Monford* Duke of *Brittaine*, *Margaret*, to *Iohn Haſtings*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, and ſhee alſo dyed without Iſſue.

Thus haue we ſeene the end of this great *King*: who, how he came to the Crowne, we know, and now how he left it wee ſee: In both are conſiderations of importance. His ſtepping ouer his Fathers head to come to his throne, though it were not his fault, yet had it a puniſhment, and that in a moſt high kinde: For, hauing ſo plentifull, and ſo able an Iſſue Male, he had not yet a ſonne of his owne to ſit on his Seate; but left the ſame (worſe then he found it) to a Childe of eleuen yeares of age, expoſed to the Ambition of Vncles, which ouer weighed him: to a factious and diſcontended State at home: To broken and diſtracted inheritances abroad: Himſelfe hauing ſeene all his great gettings, purchaſed with ſo much expence, trauaile and blood-ſhed, rent cleane from him, and nothinng remaynig, but onely the poore Towne of *Calais*. To ſhew that our Bounds are preſcribed vs; and a Pillar ſet by him who beares vp the Heauens, which we are not to tranſpaſſe.

The end of the Life, and Raigne of Edward *the third.*

THus farre haue I brought this Collection, of our Hiſtory, and am now come to the higheſt exaltation of this Kingdome, to a State full built, to a Gouernment reared vp with all thoſe maine Couplements of Forme and Order, as haue held it together euer ſince: notwithſtanding thoſe dilapidations made by our ciuill diſcord, by the Nonage or negligence of Princes, by the alterations of Religion, by all thoſe corruptions which Time hath brought forth to fret and canker-eate the ſame. And heere I leaue, vnleſſe by this which is done, I finde incouragement to goe on.